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LeRoy H. Fischer
Oppenheim Regents Professor of History
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OKLAHOMA TERRITORY, 1890–1907

By LeRoy H. Fischer, Guest Editor

The area of present-day central and western Oklahoma that would soon become Oklahoma Territory had its beginnings with the opening of the Unassigned Lands for settlement on April 22, 1889, as a result of a proclamation issued by President Benjamin Harrison. Until this time an abundance of desirable homestead land was available in the American West. But now, with only about 2,000,000 acres to be opened in the Unassigned Lands, there would likely be many more settlers than claims. Federal government planners, in order to equalize opportunity, decided on a novel procedure, a land run. This occurred on April 22, 1889, on a clear and bright day. By evening, nearly every town lot and homestead claim was occupied in the area opened to settlement. Principal townsites included Guthrie, Kingfisher, Norman, Oklahoma City and Stillwater.

In the rush to open the Unassigned Lands, Congress failed to create a territorial government, and for slightly over a year the settlers provided their own makeshift law and order. In each town citizens organized a local government generally made up of an elected mayor and town marshal. Boards of local people were established to arbitrate disputed land claims and subscription schools were organized and supported. Efforts were made to organize a territorial government during the summer of 1889 by conventions at Guthrie and Oklahoma City, but ended in sending petitions to Congress to do so. Then, on May 2, 1890, Congress passed the Oklahoma Territory Organic Act, which provided for the organization of Oklahoma Territory; from it the present state government of Oklahoma evolved.

Under authority of the Organic Act, President Harrison appointed a governor and a supreme court of three judges, who served also as district judges. The legislature, consisting of the House of Representatives, with twenty-six members, and the Council, containing thirteen members, together with a delegate to Congress, were to be elected by the voters. The laws of Nebraska were to apply to the new territory until the legislature drew up a code. County and township governments were also to be organized, and until the voters elected their local officials, the governor was to fill the posts by appointment. The growth of Oklahoma Territory was also taken into consideration, for the Organic Act provided that all reservations in western Indian Territory, when opened to settlement, were

automatically a part of Oklahoma Territory. In addition, No Man's Land, the present Oklahoma Panhandle, was attached to Oklahoma Territory. Overall, the Organic Act provided the future state of Oklahoma with its first counties: Payne, Logan, Kingfisher, Oklahoma, Canadian and Cleveland, which were organized from the Unassigned Lands. Another county, Beaver, was organized in the Panhandle, and was eventually divided into Beaver, Texas and Cimarron counties. Guthrie was designated as the territorial capital by the Organic Act.

President Harrison appointed George W. Steele of Indiana to the office of governor; the post of territorial secretary was filled by Robert Martin of El Reno. Horace Speed of Guthrie was named United States district attorney, and Warren S. Lurty of West Virginia became United States marshal. The first justices of the Supreme Court were Abraham J. Seay of Missouri, Edward B. Green of Illinois and John B. Clark of Wisconsin.

Oklahoma Territory voters at the first election, on August 5, 1890, selected members of the legislature. Fourteen Republicans, eight Democrats and four members of the People's Party Alliance ticket were elected to the House of Representatives; the Council consisted of six Republicans, five Democrats and two members of the People's Party Alliance. Oklahoma Territory's second election, held on November 4, 1890, named a Republican, David A. Harvey, as the first territorial delegate to Congress.

The first legislature of Oklahoma Territory met in Guthrie on August 29, 1890. Although much work needed to be done to activate the government established in the Organic Act, much of the time was used in quarreling over the future location of the capital, for a number of aggressive Oklahoma Territory towns wanted it. The largest was Guthrie, with a population of 5,884; followed by Oklahoma City, 5,086; Kingfisher, 1,234; Norman, 764; Stillwater, 625; and El Reno, 519. The leading contenders for the capital were Kingfisher, Guthrie and Oklahoma City. The first bill passed located the capital at Oklahoma City, the second at Kingfisher, but both were vetoed by Governor Steele, who explained that selecting a permanent location at the time would be premature due to anticipated additions to the land area of Oklahoma Territory. Meanwhile, Norman, Stillwater and Edmond profited from the quarrel by shrewdly applying their support in the legislature, which secured for Stillwater the Territorial Agricultural and Mechanical College, for Edmond the Territorial Normal School and for Norman the Territorial University.

The same act of Congress that provided for the settlement of the Unassigned Lands in 1889 also contained a clause authorizing President Harrison to appoint a commission to negotiate with the tribes of western Indian Territory to open their surplus lands for settlement. The membership of

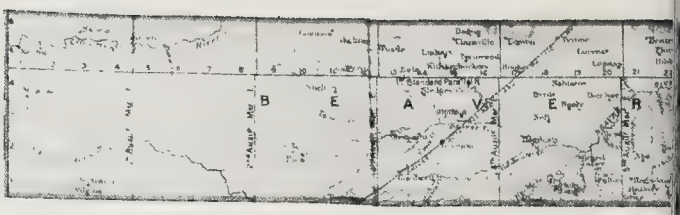
the commission—usually known as the Jerome Commission—consisted of David H. Jerome, the chairman and former governor of Michigan, Warren G. Sayre of Indiana and Alfred M. Wilson of Arkansas. Over a period of about five years the Jerome Commission completed arrangements with almost all of the tribes holding land in western Indian Territory. The procedure was to obtain an agreement with the leaders of each tribe for the assignment of an individual allotment to be privately owned by each man, woman and child on the official tribal roll. The remaining land was then purchased by the United States government for homesteading.

Two years after the opening of the Unassigned Lands, the Sac and Fox, Potawatomi, Shawnee and Iowa surplus lands, about 900,000 acres, were opened to homesteaders in a run that occurred on September 22, 1891. Lincoln and Pottawatomie counties were created and Payne, Logan, and Cleveland counties were enlarged with these lands. The following spring, on April 19, 1892, the Cheyenne-Arapaho surplus lands, consisting of 3,500,000 acres, were opened to settlers. From these lands, six new counties were added: C County became Blaine, D County became Dewey, E County became Day, F County became Roger Mills, G County became Custer and H County became Washita. In addition, Canadian and Kingfisher counties were enlarged, but Day County was later abolished by the Constitutional Convention.

The largest of the surplus land runs took place on September 16, 1893, when nearly 6,000,000 acres of land in the Cherokee Outlet became available to settlement. In the earlier land runs, sections sixteen and thirty-six were set aside for the support of public schools in each township. In the Cherokee Outlet in addition, section thirteen was reserved for the maintenance of higher education institutions and section thirty-three was set aside for the support of public buildings. The counties established initially in the Cherokee Outlet were Kay, Pawnee, Noble, Grant, Garfield, Woods and Woodward; other counties in the Cherokee Outlet were created later by the Constitutional Convention.

In 1895, the surplus Kickapoo lands were opened to homeseekers, but so little land was available that the Kickapoos received allotments of only eighty acres each. About one-half of the claims filed on the former Kickapoo reservation were by Sooners, thus creating a major problem, and one that had grown to an alarming degree since the first land run in 1889. A Sooner was a settler who illegally entered the area to be opened ahead of schedule, selected a choice claim, hid out, and then appeared at the time of the run. Thus, the United States government worked toward a reliable system before opening additional surplus Indian lands for settlement.

Meanwhile, Oklahoma Territory grew by court action. Confusion over



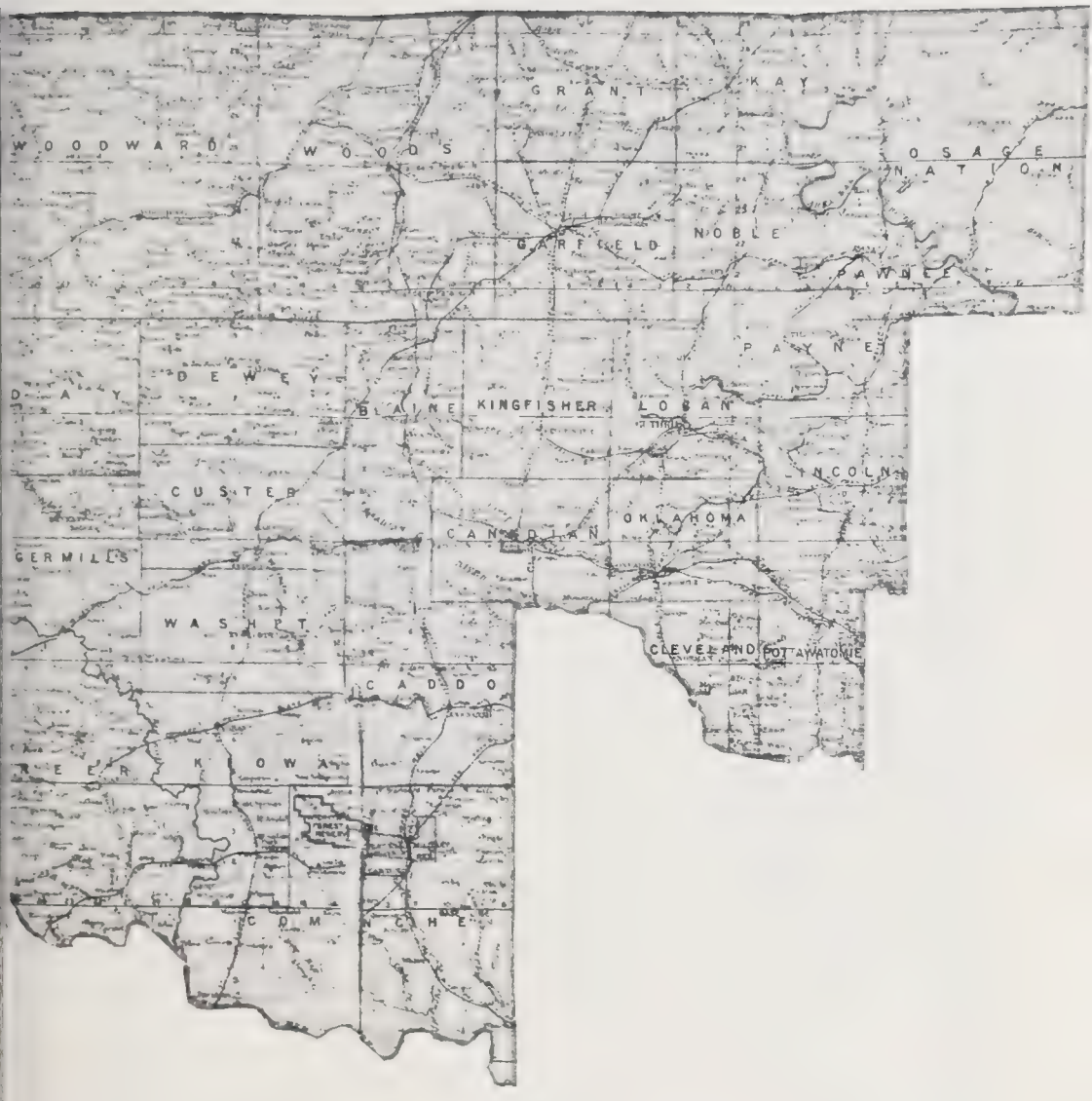
the Texas-Indian Territory boundary resulted from early surveys when the North Fork of the Red River was considered the major branch of that stream. Soon Greer County, Texas, was organized in the disputed area between the two rivers. Finally, in 1896, the United States Supreme Court directed that Greer County be made a part of Oklahoma Territory; this added 1,400,000 acres, which in 1906 the Constitutional Convention divided into Greer, Harmon, Jackson and a portion of Beckham counties.

When the Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Wichita and Caddo surplus lands, consisting of more than 2,000,000 acres, were opened for settlement in August, 1901, a lottery was used instead of the customary run. By this means "Soonerism" was avoided and no confusion resulted when the 15,000 claims available attracted 165,000 registrants. The new counties of Caddo, Kiowa and Comanche were created and one-half section of land in each township was set aside to provide income for public purposes in addition to sections sixteen, thirty-six, thirteen and thirty-three in each township to be used for other special purposes.

Other surplus lands, small in acreage, were made available to settlement in 1904 and attached to Oklahoma Territory when the Ponca, Otoe, Missouria and Kaw reservations were dissolved by Congress. The Big Pasture Reserve, made up of land in both Comanche and Tillman counties, was finally sold at auction by sealed bids in 1906. That same year the Osage Nation was dissolved by Congress, with each tribal member receiving over 500 acres of land. Thus, all reservations west of Indian Territory—the home of the Five Civilized Tribes—became a part of Oklahoma Territory by the eve of Oklahoma statehood.

Only the energy, determination and ambition of the homeseekers changed central and western Oklahoma from a wilderness to a thriving agricultural area between the first settlement in 1889 and statehood in 1907. The settlers were generally poor and survival was the basic problem. While adjusting to the prairie-plains environment, they traded butter and eggs for coffee, sugar and salt, and often a cow or horse for a year's supply of flour. Buffalo bones were gathered on the prairie and sold to fertilizer companies, cedar posts were cut and sold to ranchers, and many fathers and sons followed the wheat harvest northward to Kansas to earn enough to continue living in Oklahoma Territory.

The early homesteader dwellings of Oklahoma Territory were built from



Oklahoma Territory on the eve of statehood, 1907

the resources of the land. Temporary shelters immediately after each run were tents or canvas covered wagon boxes. Then, if trees were available on the claim, a log cabin would be constructed. But most of central and western Oklahoma was grassland, so settlers constructed dugouts, half-dugouts, sod houses or sod fronts in banks or low hills. The sod house was the most frequently used type of dwelling.

In addition to the grains and beef produced for food, much reliance was placed on game such as wild turkeys, quails and prairie chickens. The wild sand plum proved popular because it made excellent pies and jellies. When the family filled its canning jars, the remaining plums were cooked, spread on flour sacks, dried in sheets, rolled up and put away for winter use.

Politically, the Republican Party dominated Oklahoma Territory. This was in part because the governor was appointed by Republican presidents, with one exception. Thus, all governors were Republican except William C. Renfro, a Democrat, who served from 1893 to 1897, when President Grover Cleveland, also a Democrat, was in office. The pattern of Republican domination prevailed in elective offices as well. All territorial delegates sent to Congress were Republican except James T. Callahan, a Populist, elected in 1896 through a fusion of Populist and Democratic voting. Republicans largely controlled the territorial legislature as well. Only from 1897 to 1899, when the Populist-Democratic majority dominated both houses, from 1901 to 1903 when the Democrats controlled the Council, and from 1903 to 1905, when the Democrats dominated the House of Representatives, were the Republican out of supreme political control in the territorial legislature. The voters of Oklahoma Territory supported the Republican Party because of its liberal land legislation, such as the Homestead Act of 1862, which was largely responsible for the settlement of the territory. Other reasons were that many homesteaders were Union Army veterans and therefore Republicans, that the Democratic Party had the image of opposing territorial expansion nationwide and finally that the Democrats generally resisted Union veteran benefits, such as when President Cleveland, a Democrat, cancelled the pensions of most Union veterans during the economic Panic of 1893.

The politics of Oklahoma Territory were shaped largely by rapid settlement, primitive conditions of living and working, the poverty always a part of any frontier, the economic Panic of 1893, the political party in the White House, the Homestead Act of 1862 and Union Army veterans. The turmoil of politics in Oklahoma Territory was a significant part of the administration of each of the territorial governors.

GEORGE WASHINGTON STEELE
Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1890–1891

*By Thomas Arthur Hazell**

George Washington Steele

The place was Guthrie, the designated capital town of Oklahoma Territory; the day was May 22, 1890. A cornet band fell in line and struck up some spirited tunes as the crowd waited. Everything was in readiness for the grand march to Capital Hill; the streets were lined with carriages, bands, members of the Grand Army of the Republic and people from all corners of the territory. Special delegations came from everywhere: Kingfisher, El Reno and Oklahoma City. Even Miss Williams' horseback riding class of little girls added beauty to the occasion which caused more than 10,000 to assemble to welcome the first governor of Oklahoma Territory, George Washington Steele.[1]

Finally the train arrived, and as it came to a halt, Governor Steele, his wife and children stepped onto the station platform, followed by the other newly-chosen territorial officials. They entered waiting carriages which took them on an hour-long procession through the city to Capital Hill. Upon arrival, Steele took his position on the speaker's stand and the official welcome began. Judge A. C. Schnell, the master of ceremonies, introduced the Reverend Lemuel Jones, who spoke briefly. Jones turned to the governor in concluding his remarks: "It also remains for me to give you the right hand of welcome. I am advised to say to you that 60,000 hands join yours to-day, and to pledge to you their immediate and continued intelligent and affectionate co-operation under your leadership."[2] Governor Steele replied concerning his arrival, his duties as governor and his obliga-

* The author is a Master of Arts candidate in history at Oklahoma State University.

[1] *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), May 24, 1890, p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*

tions to the people of Oklahoma Territory: "I am determined as far as in my power to make my coming here both lucky to myself and lucky and useful to the people of Oklahoma." He continued by saying, "It is my intent and desire to commence with the organization of the territory immediately. I see the necessity for immediate action and the people can rest assured there shall be no unnecessary delay."[3] Then he finished his comments: "The power is not in me, it is in you. You can depend upon me to do my duty honestly as I see it."[4] Rain and wind soon drove the huge gathering to shelter, thus ending the ceremonies. The next evening a great ball and banquet were held in honor of the new governor. Steele took but little time in getting acquainted with the people and the work that was before him.[5]

The Unassigned Lands had been opened for settlement on April 22, 1889, an event often described as the rush of the Boomers. It was through a bill known as the Oklahoma Territory Organic Act that in 1890 formal territorial organization was provided for the area; under this legislation the United States Congress established the limitations and powers of the new territorial government. The first sections of the act provided for the boundaries of the territory; the second and third sections provided for the selection of a territorial governor and secretary, who were to serve terms of four years, and be appointed by the president of the United States. Other positions were to be appointive also. A large number of names and credentials had been recommended to President Benjamin Harrison, a Republican, for appointment to positions in the government of Oklahoma Territory, but most of these people were from outside of the territory. Because of this, protests came from the Republicans of the territory against the selection of these nonresidents, often referred to as carpetbaggers, to positions in the new government. The Republicans, along with other Oklahomans, believed that there were candidates of equal ability in Oklahoma Territory. These cries were of little avail, for President Harrison, out of the seven appointments to be made to territorial offices, chose five nonresidents. This caused considerable disappointment not only to the people of Oklahoma Territory in general but more especially to those who aspired to careers in the public service of their territory.[6]

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[5] Dan W. Peery, "The First Two Years," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (December, 1929), pp. 425–426.

[6] *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1893* (Guthrie: State Capital Printing Company, 1893), pp. 34–39; Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood* (4 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1957), Vol. II, p. 454; Dan W. Peery, "George Washington Steele, First Governor of the Territory of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (December, 1934), pp. 386–387.

For the office of governor, President Harrison appointed Steele, an old friend from Marion, Indiana, his home state. In spite of the criticism he received for appointing a nonresident, President Harrison had made a good choice. Steele was born near Connersville in Fayette County, Indiana, on December 13, 1839, but lived most of his life in Marion, where his father was a lawyer for many years. Young Steele received his education in the public schools of Marion and later attended Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware. After he left school he studied law and set up a practice in Hartford City, Ohio, in early 1861. While establishing himself as a lawyer, Fort Sumter was attacked, and he soon enlisted in the United States Army. He was mustered into the 12th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment on May 2, 1861, and was quickly commissioned a first lieutenant. He served with this unit briefly and later joined with the 101st Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment until the end of the war. He was a participant in the battles at Chattanooga and Missionary Ridge, the campaigns resulting in the fall of Atlanta, and was with Major General William T. Sherman on his march through Georgia from Atlanta to Savannah. He was discharged from the military service at the close of the war with the rank of lieutenant colonel in July, 1865.[7]

After the war, Steele tried to establish a grocery business in Kansas City, Missouri, but had limited success. Returning to Marion, Indiana, he married his boyhood sweetheart, Marietta Swayzee, a member of one of the oldest and most respected families in the area. At this time he again entered the United States Army, receiving a commission as a first lieutenant in the 47th United States Infantry Regiment. He was first ordered to California, then to Mississippi; later his military duties dealt primarily with securing frontier settlements from Indian attacks. After ten years in the peacetime army, Steele resigned and returned to Marion to try politics. In 1880 he began his political career by running for the United States House of Representatives on the Republican ticket. He was successful and was later reelected to three succeeding Congresses, serving from 1881 to 1889.[8]

Due to the insistence of President Harrison and because he understood the appointment to be temporary, Steele decided to accept the governorship of Oklahoma Territory. Under the Oklahoma Territory Organic Act, it was his first obligation to outline the boundaries of the counties and name the county officers. To help him with his duties and to fulfill the requirements of the Organic Act, President Harrison appointed Robert Martin of

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[7] *Lambs Biographical Dictionary of the United States* (2 vols., Boston: Federal Book Company, 1903), Vol. II, p. 190; Rolland Lewis Whitson, *Centennial History of Grant County, Indiana, 1812–1912* (Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1914), pp. 845–847.

[8] *Ibid.*

Overlooking Guthrie from Capital Hill where many residents hoped the permanent capital of the new territory would be located

El Reno as secretary of the territory. Horace Speed of Guthrie was named to the office of United States district attorney and Warren G. Lurty of West Virginia was named the United States marshal. Named to the territorial supreme court by the president were Edward B. Green of Illinois, Abraham J. Seay of Missouri and John C. Clark of Wisconsin. To work with these federal officials, Steele selected the following men to make up his cabinet: C. H. Brown, attorney general; Samuel Murphy, treasurer; Harry Clark, adjutant general; Bayard T. Haner, school land secretary; and H. Lawhead, auditor and superintendent of schools.[9]

After Governor Steele had established the county boundaries, he proceeded to appoint the county officers and set up the format for local government. Next, determination of the population of the territory was needed for legislative allotment. For this he selected and appointed enumerators who took a census, which was completed in June of 1890. These reports indicated that the population of Oklahoma Territory was close to 60,000.

[9] Peery, "The First Two Years," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, pp. 424–425; Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, Vol. I, p. 454; *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1893*, pp. 39–40; *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital*, June 7, 1890, p. 5.

The first county organized, called Logan, contained the largest population, which was 14,254 people. The smallest number of people lived in what is now Beaver County, which contained 2,982. After the apportionment was finished and election districts were defined, Governor Steele issued a proclamation in July of 1890 calling for the election of the territorial legislature. There were to be twenty-six members in the House of Representatives and thirteen in the Council. On August 5, 1890, an election was held to choose the members of the legislature. Then on August 29, 1890, the legislature met in Guthrie, organized and ready for business; many of the members had come early to assist with the preliminary preparations. The initial bill introduced into the legislature dealt with the control and custody of criminals in the territory. Steele made a contract with the authorities of Kansas to keep the prisoners in the penitentiary at Lansing, Kansas, where many worked in coal mines to earn their keep.[10]

The Guthrie papers at this time were insisting that the first order of legislative business should be to locate the capital permanently at Guthrie,

[10] United States House of Representatives, 52nd Congress, 1st Session, *Executive Document 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), pp. 449–450; Whitson, *Centennial History of Grant County, Indiana, 1812–1912*, p. 848; *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1893*, p. 40; *Norman Transcript*, July 3, 1890, p. 4; Peery, "The First Two Years," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, p. 388; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the First Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie: State Capital Publishing Company, 1890), p. 623.

thus settling the question and allowing the legislature to get on to other business. Dan W. Peery, a member of the legislature from Oklahoma City, pointed out that "the Governor recognized that the controversial issue that would come before the legislature was the location of the Capitol and he was anxious to avoid this, at least until the necessary laws were enacted for the functioning of a territorial government."[11] On September 2, 1890, a bill introduced by J. L. Brown of Oklahoma City directed that the capital be removed from Guthrie to Oklahoma City. On September 16 the bill came up for debate in the Council, where it passed by a vote of seven to six. It was then sent to the House of Representatives, where it passed fourteen to twelve. Before the measure reached the hands of Governor Steele, many citizens of Guthrie thought that if they could get the bill, they would be able to keep the capital at Guthrie. Thinking that Peery, who served on the House committee handling the bill, actually had the bill, a group of Guthrie residents went on an all day chase for Peery and the bill. In fact, Peery did not have the bill, but R. J. Nesbit of Cleveland County, who was also a member of the House committee handling the bill, had it in his possession. Peery hid behind a large refrigerator in the back of a butcher shop to avoid the mob that was after him. He returned to the legislature the next day to see the bill approved and sent off to Governor Steele for his signature.[12]

Governor Steele received the capital bill on October 8, 1890. He listened to delegates on both sides of the argument as to where the capital should be located. He kept the bill for five days, the time allowed under the Oklahoma Territory Organic Act, and then returned it to the House of Representatives unsigned. In his veto message he based his decision upon irregularities and mistakes in the measure itself, thus avoiding the main issue. He further explained his action: "It is my sincere hope and belief that large areas of the territory will be added to what we now have before the date fixed in the bill for removal, in consequence of which the center of population may be materially changed, and thereby furnish better reasons than it seems to me are now presented for changing the present temporary site."[13] His decision was met with both disappointment and relief.[14]

Upon hearing the news that the capital bill had been vetoed, the citizens of Guthrie were jubilant. They marched and rejoiced that they were able

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[11] Peery, "George Washington Steele, First Governor of the Territory of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, p. 388.

[12] Dan W. Peery, "The First Two Years," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (March, 1930), pp. 101, 103, 110–115.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[14] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the First Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, p. 53.

to keep the capital at Guthrie. But their excitement was short-lived, for the Oklahoma City delegation in the legislature was pledged to make Kingfisher the capital town if Oklahoma City were turned down. To accomplish this, a House of Representatives bill was introduced by Joseph Post of Kingfisher. This bill tried to overcome the objections which Governor Steele had stated in his veto of the Oklahoma City bill. The bill went to the Council for a vote and on October 24 was passed by a count of nine to four; it was submitted to the House on November 10, and approved by a vote of fifteen to ten.[15] It was then forwarded to Governor Steele for his signature, but on November 18, 1890, he returned the measure to the legislature with a message explaining his veto. He said, "I find that there are amendments necessary to make it what I think it ought to be before it should become law and which it will be my pleasure to point out should your honorable bodies deem proper to recall it."[16]

This brought Steele a flood of criticism. Corum F. Oaks, who was head of the English Department at what is today Central Oklahoma State University, described the action of some of his students the day after the Kingfisher capital bill was vetoed: "You never saw as mad a bunch of boys as came to school the next day. They brought an old suit of clothes stuffed with hay and hung it on the fence, and said they were going to burn Governor Steele in effigy." Oaks continued, "I told them they must not because the tall grass was dry and there was too much danger of fire. So they did not do it themselves but they persuaded two little boys to set fire to the dummy. Just what I expected happened. The fire spread fast and it took a long time with neighbors helping to put out that fire."[17] With incidents such as this, the struggle to remove the capital from Guthrie abated. The legislators had come to the conclusion that the governor, who had twice found excuses for vetoing capital location bills, would find other reasons for vetoing any measure removing the capital from Guthrie. The issue was to remain a painful problem in Oklahoma politics for the next twenty years. It was not taken up again in territorial or state legislation until after Oklahoma had been admitted into the Union.[18]

Even though the capital issue was not settled by the first territorial legis-

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[15] Peery, "The First Two Years," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, pp. 118–120.

[16] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the First Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie: State Capital Publishing Company, 1890), p. 870.

[17] Rhoda Morris Interview, Grant Foreman, ed., "Indian-Pioneer History" (113 vols., unpublished manuscript), Vol. LXXXI, p. 113, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[18] Peery, "The First Two Years," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, pp. 118–120; Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, Vol. I, p. 457.

lature, legislation passed which established three institutions of higher education, all of which were encouraged and sponsored by Governor Steele. "It had been customary in all Territories in which school land was reserved to allow the land to lie until such time as the Territory was admitted to statehood, when some provision would be made for the disposal of the lands," as Governor Cassius M. Barnes pointed out in 1900. "It was wholly through the foresight of Oklahoma's first Governor, . . . George W. Steele that this great waste did not take place in Oklahoma."[19] There were three major present-day institutions established by the first territorial legislature: the University of Oklahoma at Norman, the Oklahoma State University at Stillwater and the Central Oklahoma State University at Edmond. Governor Steele from the start of his administration had planned for the organization of a public school and college system in Oklahoma Territory. Steele found little resistance in locating these institutions, for the Guthrie and Oklahoma City delegations both agreed with his choice of locations for the territorial schools of higher education.[20]

Under authority of the Oklahoma Territory Organic Act, $50,000 was approved for the governor to use in the support and the development of common school education in the territory. The public school system bill was not passed until late in the session of the first legislature; therefore there were a number of districts that were unable to organize any form of school for their citizens the first year. Roughly $37,500 of the $50,000 was expended for teacher salaries, books and other supplies. Later the remaining $12,500 would go for teacher salaries where schools were not yet established. The bill for the founding of the University of Oklahoma was introduced into the Council by Mort L. Bixler of Cleveland County on October 30, 1890, was passed, then approved by the House of Representatives without a dissenting vote and signed by Governor Steele in December, 1890. The Oklahoma State University bill was considered by most people in Oklahoma Territory to be especially significant because it would establish the choicest of the territorial collegiate institutions for reason that the United States Government would make appropriations to it to support the agricultural experiment station which would be a part of the school. Governor Steele vetoed the bill at first because it did not locate the institution at Stillwater; the revised bill placed the school at Stillwater and was finally passed again by both houses of the legislature, and on December 24, 1890, was signed by Governor Steele. Earlier, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by Dr. J. W. Howard of Edmond providing for the

[19] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of Interior, 1897* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), pp. 22–23.

[20] Peery, "The First Two Years," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, pp. 120–121.

Early-day campus of Oklahoma State University. Left to right, Old Central, Barn, Laboratory and Residence of the Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station

establishment of a teacher training college at Edmond, now Central Oklahoma State University; Governor Steele approved this bill also. Steele's view on the location of the territorial institutions was that all of the towns should compete fairly for the privilege of becoming the sponsor of a school, college, or other governmental agency. He considered appointing a special commission to arbitrate the contests between rival towns, but the plan did not receive much favor.[21]

Meanwhile a significant political event was occurring in Oklahoma Territory. In the Organic Act there was a provision for the election of a delegate to represent the territory in the United States Congress: "The first election shall be held at such time and place and conducted in such manner as the Governor shall appoint and direct, after sixty days' notice to be given by proclamation."[22] Thus, Governor Steele issued a proclamation calling for the election of a delegate on November 4, 1890. The Democrats nominated two candidates: James L. Mathews of Payne County was named to

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 121–122; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the First Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, p. 17; United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document* 1, p. 452; Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, Vol. I, p. 458.

[22] *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1893*, p. 47.

fill out the remainder of the Fifty-First Congress and Joseph G. McCoy of El Reno was selected for the Fifty-Second Congress. The Republicans held their convention at Guthrie where they nominated David A. Harvey of Oklahoma City to fill out the remainder of the Fifty-First Congress and to serve the full term of the Fifty-Second Congress. The election resulted in victory for Harvey by a plurality of 2,000 votes.[23]

When Steele reached Oklahoma Territory to begin his service as governor, he found the condition of many rural people somewhat destitute. He personally appealed to Congress for special funds to assist them. This was met by a federal allocation of $47,000 to purchase food rations to help needy persons. Because of the pressing demand of farmers for wheat seed for their fall planting, Steele was able to convince the managements of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad and the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad to each send $10,000 worth of wheat to the destitute farmers. The railroads were to be paid for this assistance when the crop was harvested in 1891. Along with these measures, the territorial legislature passed a bill which created a relief board and authorized a commissioner of relief to distribute supplies to the needy. Many of the destitute settlers of Oklahoma Territory were faced either with taking government aid or leaving.[24]

Problems such as these were among the initial issues brought to the attention of the first Oklahoma Territory legislature when Governor Steele read his message on August 28, 1890, to a joint session soon after the legislature convened. In addition to speaking of the needs of the destitute farmers and the programs he planned in their behalf, he was certain that these settlers had the ability to recover from adversity and become prosperous. Because the laws of the state of Nebraska applied to Oklahoma Territory when applicable, Governor Steele felt the need to adopt them as they applied to the liquor traffic. In the discussion of the subject, Steele recommended the adoption of a policy based on local option much like Nebraska. He commented: "A rigid enforcement of this . . . would, in my opinion, give us better protection against the evils of intemperance than that enjoyed by states attempting a prohibitory law. . . . I regard it as a wisely enacted chapter, which I am sure will receive your best consideration."[25] Thus he maintained that the liquor problem should be

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[23] *Ibid.*; Peery, "The First Two Years," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, pp. 123–124; Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, Vol. I, pp. 458–459; Frederick S. Barde, "Oklahoma's Twenty-Year Capital Fight," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (April, 1911), p. 1.

[24] *Norman Transcript*, August 20, 1890, p. 1; United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document 1*, p. 450; Peery, "The First Two Years," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, p. 95; *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital*, September 13, 1890, p. 2.

[25] *Norman Transcript*, August 20, 1890, p. 1.

A favorite project of Governor Steele—the Territorial Militia Band

dealt with locally; he felt that this would work better than the territory attempting to regulate and enforce the sale of intoxicating liquors.

Governor Steele in his message to the legislature also called for laws concerning the development of local roads and bridges. He believed this program would be a benefit to future territorial development as well as an asset to the people presently in need of them. The construction of these projects would provide many jobs for the destitute. He recommended property taxation based on assessed valuation rather than the number of acres of land owned. "It is also important," Steele told the legislature in his message, "that wise counsel should prevail in the preparation of laws fixing the legal rate of interest, an economical fee and salary bill, the regulation and control of corporations and for the protection of homesteads."[26] Finally, Steele called on the legislature for the development of an efficient and economical code of laws.[27]

Relations between the first territorial legislature and Governor Steele

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Ibid.*; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the First Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, pp. 19–21.

were not always cordial. Some members of the legislature resented Steele's appointment because he was from outside of Oklahoma Territory and also because he kept them from appointive jobs by naming other outsiders. Steele himself had a number of favorite measures that he felt were essential for the territory; these were sometimes disliked by members of the legislature. One such measure dealt with the location of public institutions, which Steele believed should be decided by an executive commission instead of by the legislature or an individual. The governor, being from a military background, insisted upon the introduction of a bill in the legislature which would call for the organization and equipping of a territorial militia. These and other proposals made by him were not at the time carried out by the legislature or even acted on later.[28]

In reporting to the secretary of the interior, Governor Steele made a number of recommendations for the development of Oklahoma Territory through land openings. The most important of these dealt with Indian lands, especially those of the Cherokee Outlet. Other Indian lands were also named, including the Cheyenne and Arapahoe, along with the reservations of the Sac and Fox, Iowa and Potawatomi. Steele believed that these lands should be open to settlement, and he wanted Congress to pass a law to accomplish this. If Congress would not approve such a bill, he believed that the president of the United States should by proclamation open these lands. By "forbidding the use of these lands," he explained, "for 'cow pasture' or for 'quarry purposes' is a long step in the right direction and highly appreciated by the home-seeker."[29]

Governor Steele not only told the secretary of the interior how the lands could be better utilized but also related his policy regarding the acquirement of the land by former soldiers. It was Steele's plan to let ex-soldiers choose their own plots of land and not leave it to intermediaries who usually were out to make money off of the soldiers instead of securing for them suitable homesteads. While Steele was governor, the Cherokee Commission had negotiated a number of treaties with the Sac and Fox, Shawnee and Potawatomi in which the tribes had allotted and made available for homestead settlement 868,414 acres of surplus lands. This area was opened by a proclamation issued by President Harrison and settled by a run on September 22, 1891; Governor Steele then split the area into two counties, which he designated A and B; they were later named Lincoln and Potta-

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[28] *Norman Transcript*, August 20, 1890, p. 1; Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, Vol. I, p. 459.

[29] *Norman Transcript*, October 19, 1891, p. 1.

watomie counties by a vote of the people of the area. Supervising this land opening was one of the last official acts of Governor Steele.[30]

The role of the first governor of Oklahoma Territory was not easy, for there were many problems and many conflicting interests. Even with Steele's efforts to open more land for settlement, together with his policies for protecting veterans' interests, he was still met with an avalanche of protest. The fact was that the wheels of bureaucracy were moving too slow for the people; thus the blame fell upon Steele for the delay in Washington over the opening of more Indian lands. He was also blamed by legislators desiring to locate the territorial capital in Oklahoma City or Kingfisher rather than at Guthrie. Whatever the reasons, Steele became angry and disgusted, and resigned from the office of governor of Oklahoma Territory on October 3, 1891, but served until November 8, when Robert Martin, the secretary of the territory, became acting governor. Steele had remained as governor for seventeen months instead of the five or six that he had planned on. Perhaps this was one of the reasons for his resignation.[31]

In addition, suspicion was plentiful that Steele's wife and his family did not like being in Oklahoma Territory. Steele also felt quite sure that he could be reelected to the United States House of Representatives if he returned to Indiana; likewise, he wanted to return to enter business. Steele told President Harrison that he would serve as governor of Oklahoma Territory until the president "could select someone else for the place." Years later Steele confided: "Well sir, when I got there I found matters in a pretty bad shape. Civil laws had been laid down for the guidance of the people but there were no officers to enforce these laws. After bringing practical order out of chaos the great county seat war of which every one has read broke out. This caused fresh and serious trouble." After a period of uncertainty, continued Steele, "peace and order was restored and to-day the people out there are civilized and prosperous. The only thing they pine for is excitement.... Oklahoma is a good country and to a stranger entering it today gives every evidence of having been settled and under control of civil government for a century instead of a few brief years." In concluding, Steele declared: "Yes, I resigned the governorship. I had interests in Indiana demanding my attention. I did not expect to become permanently

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[30] Peery, "George Washington Steele, First Governor of the Territory of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, pp. 390–391.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 391; Whitson, *Centennial History of Grant County, Indiana, 1812–1912*, p. 849; Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, Vol. I, p. 459; *Evening Gazette* (Oklahoma City), October 24, 1891; *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital*, November 17, 1891, p. 1, November 14, 1891, p. 1.

identified with Oklahoma, so I concluded to step aside and make room for some one who did."[32]

Steele returned immediately to Indiana. He was elected to the United States House of Representatives and served from 1895 to 1903. During these years in Congress he introduced a bill establishing a National Military Home in Marion, Indiana, his home town. Because of his ability, military background and political connections, he was appointed governor of the National Military Home in Marion, a position he held from 1904 to 1915, when he resigned. Death came in Marion on July 12, 1922, with burial in the Odd Fellows Cemetery. When the news of his demise reached Oklahoma, Governor James B. A. Robertson ordered the flag over the state capital lowered to half mast and all business in Oklahoma City was to be suspended during the hour of the funeral.[33]

The term of Governor Steele, although brief, can be looked upon as a success. Steele himself was somewhat strong willed and set in his opinions; these aspects of his thinking and personality had grown out of fourteen years in the military service. He also suffered from the start of his term from being a nonresident governor. This put strains upon his administration and could have hindered developments that would likely have occurred if he had been from Oklahoma. Nevertheless, through his efforts a number of precedents were established. This is where his role as the first territorial governor was so important. In developing new and imaginative programs while placing Oklahoma Territory in working order, Steele was able to lay a firm groundwork which the other territorial governors as well as future state governors and legislatures could draw upon for their administrations. There were a number of Steele's programs that failed or were not efficient, but in these failures, as well as in his successes, he gave to Oklahoma the policies, institutions and anatomy of government that were to see her through the territorial period and into statehood.

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[32] Dora A. Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933), pp. 368–369; *Oklahoma State Capital*, January 10, 1891, p. 7.

[33] Whitson, *Centennial History of Grant County, Indiana, 1812–1912*, p. 849; *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), July 13, 1922, p. 3.

ROBERT MARTIN
Acting Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1891–1892

*By Jack R. Yakey**

Robert Martin

"Mr. Martin, I understand, has made an exceptionally good secretary, the most responsible office in a territory, and I am afraid it would be very hard to fill his place," replied Benjamin Harrison, the president of the United States, when queried about Robert Martin's chances of succeeding George W. Steele as the second governor of Oklahoma Territory.[1] Although denied the governorship by Harrison, Martin, as the secretary of Oklahoma Territory in accordance with the provisions of the Oklahoma Territory Organic Act, had administered the duties of the governor since Steele's departure in November, 1891. He continued in this capacity until February 1, 1892, when Abraham J. Seay was inaugurated governor of Oklahoma Territory. Although his tenure was short and he lacked legal title to the office, Secretary Martin, nevertheless, had served as the first acting governor of Oklahoma Territory.[2]

Martin was born in Frankfort Springs, Pennsylvania, in 1833. At the age of twelve he moved with his parents to Columbiana County, Ohio, where he spent the rest of his boyhood days on a farm near East Liverpool. After graduating from Westminster College in New Wilmington, Pennsylvania, in 1859, Martin settled in Steubenville, Ohio. He taught in the Steubenville High School, reading law in the meantime in the office of John H. S. Trainer, a prominent attorney. Martin married Ada S. Gilmore of

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[1] *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), January 9, 1892, p. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, February 6, 1892, p. 4; *Oklahoma Statutes, 1890* (Guthrie: State Capital Printing Company, 1891), pp. 38–45.

Marietta, Ohio, on April 2, 1862; shortly thereafter he became Trainer's partner in the practice of law in Steubenville.[3]

However, Martin's legal work was short-lived because of the Civil War. On August 16, 1862, he enlisted for three years in the United States Army and was mustered into Company D of the 126th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment on September 8 as a first lieutenant; on March 1, 1863, he was promoted to the rank of captain. Soon thereafter, while serving near Martinsburg, West Virginia, Martin contracted scurvy—a disease resulting from a vitamin C deficiency—and a host of intestinal ailments from which he never fully recovered. Not only did he lose his teeth and suffer continual indigestion, but his physical disability worsened as he grew older. Consequently, he secured an early release from the army and was honorably discharged on November 3, 1863, in Columbus, Ohio, having served approximately thirteen months of his enlistment.[4]

Once again a civilian, Martin returned to Steubenville and resumed his law practice with Trainer. In 1866, Martin was elected probate judge of Jefferson County, Ohio, and remained in office from February 12, 1867, to February 15, 1876, when he returned to private law practice. Apparently, Martin's interests and juridical activities led him into contact with various Ohio politicians, for in the years following the Civil War, he formed friendships with two very influential Republicans: United States Senator John Sherman of Ohio and a young congressman—and future president—by the name of William McKinley. Martin's legal acumen also aided him in the organization of the Youngstown and Pittsburg Railway Company, which he served as attorney for six years and receiver for three years. The prominent financier, Andrew Carnegie, was underwriter for the railway.[5]

In December, 1887, Martin relocated in Wichita, Kansas, and later joined 150 former soldiers in moving to Harrison, Oklahoma Territory, on the North Canadian River in April of 1889. By mid-May, he had accepted a call issued by the leading men of Guthrie to meet in a convention to form a provisional government for Oklahoma Territory. Martin and ninety-five other delegates assembled in Guthrie on July 17, 1889, for the three day meeting and drew up the necessary committees. Reconvening on August 20, the convention framed a proposed organic act for Oklahoma Territory. The organic act was enacted on May 2, 1890, by the Congress, thus establishing territorial government. By May, 1890, Martin had left Harrison and

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[3] *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), March 2, 1897, p. 1.

[4] Robert Martin Military Service Record, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[5] *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, March 2, 1897, p. 1, March 3, 1897, p. 2; Joseph B. Doyle, *20th Century History of Steubenville and Jefferson County, Ohio* (Chicago: Richmond-Arnold Publishing Company, 1910), pp. 150, 715.

settled in El Reno, where he was notified of his appointment as secretary of Oklahoma Territory, a position which had been secured for him by his old Ohio friends, Sherman and McKinley.[6]

On July 8, 1890, Governor George Steele issued a proclamation calling for the election of members of the territorial legislature. Soon after the elections were held, Secretary Martin, in the McKennon Opera House in Guthrie on August 27, 1890, called to order the Council and then the House of Representatives of Oklahoma Territory, and administered the oath of office to the members of both houses. Thereupon, he addressed the legislature and counseled the body to cast aside its differences and to act with wisdom and intelligence for the benefit of Oklahoma Territory. In concluding, he said: "Here upon the virgin soil of Oklahoma the golden wheat of the North meets and kisses the maiden-like cotton of the South." "And under intelligent cultivation by the people of this Territory," he climaxed, "these two great productions will in the future go hand in hand to a glorious prosperity, blessing with abundant harvests the inhabitants of this fair land."[7]

Martin occupied a double position in Oklahoma Territory. As secretary, he was accountable to the Department of the Interior, and as disbursing agent he was responsible to the Treasury Department. He was charged with the printing and distributing of the laws and journals of the legislative assembly, and of seeing them through publication. Especially noteworthy was his efficiency in supervising the compiling of the statutes of 1890 in record time. The *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital* of Guthrie also lauded his sound business methods and reported that the people of Oklahoma Territory appreciated his trustworthiness. His vouchers and reports sent to Washington were received on schedule and were prepared with unusual accuracy.[8]

On October 3, 1891, Governor Steele tendered President Harrison his resignation to become effective on the appointment of his successor. However, the appointment was slow in coming, and Steele asked finally to be relieved of his duties by mid-November, 1891. This was granted, and on November 8, 1891, Secretary Martin, in accordance with the law, became Oklahoma Territory's first acting governor.[9]

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[6] *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, March 2, 1897, p. 1; Marion Tuttle Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma* (Topeka: C. B. Hamilton and Son, 1890), pp. 143–148.

[7] Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma*, pp. 208–210; Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood* (4 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1957), Vol. 1, p. 455.

[8] *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital*, March 21, 1891, p. 2, March 28, 1891, p. 5, June 6, 1891, p. 2; Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma*, p. 209; *Oklahoma Statutes, 1890*, p. 38.

[9] *Evening Gazette* (Oklahoma City), October 24, 1891, p. 3; *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital*, November 7, 1891, p. 7, November 14, 1891, p. 7.

However, Martin's new duties as acting governor proved to be light. On November 19, he issued a Thanksgiving proclamation which prompted the *Evening Gazette* of Oklahoma City to announce that although Martin did not proclaim thanks for Steele's absence, the *Gazette* was pleased to do so. In December, Martin chartered the Farmer's and Merchant's Bank of Stillwater; he also attended, on December 29, an executive committee meeting of a statehood convention in Guthrie.[10]

Angelo C. Scott, who together with Martin and Abraham J. Seay, was a candidate for governor of Oklahoma Territory in 1892

But if Martin's official duties lacked excitement, territorial politics did not. The most prominently mentioned candidates for the post of governor were Martin, Judge Abraham J. Seay of the Oklahoma Territory Supreme Court and Angelo C. Scott of Oklahoma City. Each of these contenders had strong support within the territory, with the *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital* of Guthrie backing Martin and the *Evening Gazette* of Oklahoma City editorializing that Martin was the only candidate who stood a chance of receiving the appointment. However, when President Harrison learned of the factional strife among the supporters of the various contenders within the territory, he favored the appointment of a nonresident. In order to secure the post for an Oklahoman, Martin joined Scott in writing President Harrison that all was quiet in the territory. Thus convinced, Harrison yielded to their insistence that an Oklahoman be named. However, Scott was soon eliminated from contention, as was Martin, when the president learned of his effectiveness as secretary. And, consequently, with the support of former Oklahoma Territory land inspector Eugene E. Weigel and Secretary of the Interior John Noble, the post went to Judge Seay. Martin relinquished all gubernatorial duties to the new governor on the afternoon of February 1, 1892. Martin continued on as secretary of Okla-

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[10] *Evening Gazette*, November 17, 1891, p. 4, December 30, 1891, p. 4; *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital*, December 19, 1891, p. 6.

homa Territory until the Democrats came into power on the national level in 1893, when he was removed from office by President Grover Cleveland in early May.[11]

On April 3, 1894, Martin was elected mayor of Guthrie in municipal balloting that swept the entire Republican slate of candidates into office. The Republicans campaigned on the issues of economy and honesty in government, and denounced the Democratic scandals and deficit spending that had left Guthrie seriously in debt. Both the Democrats, who ran a defensive campaign, and the Populists, who counted on voter disenchantment with both major parties, fared poorly in the elections. Martin was sworn into office on the evening of April 17, 1894; at this meeting he appointed the eight newly elected Republican councilmen and two Democratic holdovers to committees in charge of municipal finances, maintenance, ordinances and internal improvements. Although Martin was absent at a majority of the council meetings during his two year term, Guthrie was run efficiently and on a cash basis. By April 16, 1896, when Martin's term expired, the city had paid off a large percentage of its debt, for which Martin was accorded a vote of thanks by the council.[12]

After returning from an extended visit to Hot Springs, Arkansas, Martin died of heart failure at his home in Guthrie on March 2, 1897. Funeral services were held at the local Congregational Church and burial was in Summit View Cemetery two miles northeast of Guthrie.[13]

There is little doubt that Martin was ambitious for political office; indeed, his removal to Oklahoma Territory may have been made for that reason. Martin's service as secretary of Oklahoma Territory was outstanding, but it is doubtful that this reason alone precluded him from attaining the governorship. It is more likely that President Harrison simply preferred to name Judge Seay to the post. However, as mayor of Guthrie, Martin continued to serve the people ably and performed a valuable public service in his careful management of Guthrie's finances. Throughout his public life, Martin administered his duties with precision and dedication, and served Oklahoma Territory as an extremely able public servant.

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[11] Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, pp. 460–463; *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital*, January 9, 1892, p. 8, February 6, 1892, p. 4; *Evening Gazette*, December 30, 1891, p. 4.

[12] *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, April 2, 1894, p. 2, April 4, 1894, p. 2, March 30, 1895, p. 4; Record of Council Proceedings 1893–1896, City Hall, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

[13] *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, March 2, 1897, p. 1, March 3, 1897, p. 2, March 4, 1897, p. 2; Record of Interments, 1897, City Hall, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

ABRAHAM JEFFERSON SEAY
Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1892–1893

*By Harry E. Henslick**

Abraham Jefferson Seay

On May 10, 1893, Democrat William C. Renfrow succeeded Republican Abraham J. Seay as governor of Oklahoma Territory. Seay made a short but humorous speech at Renfrow's inauguration, noting that he felt as if he were participating at the "graveyard ceremonies of . . . [his] own funeral."[1] He explained that he would be solemn on this occasion were it not for his great faith in the next life where a reward awaited him for his deeds. Amid great laughter, he continued: "I believe that those who die shall live again."[2] With the crowd enjoying the levity, Seay indicated that this was "a proud occasion, at least for many of you."[3] In his remarks, Seay made a strong appeal for political unity under the banner of Oklahoma Territory, regardless of an individual's party affiliation.

Thus ended Seay's fifty-year public career. During his brief service as chief executive of Oklahoma Territory, the surplus lands of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation were opened to white settlement, a census and reapportionment were completed, the legislature convened and an official territorial exhibit was sent to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois. A man of unique achievements, Seay was also a typical representative of his era and environment.[4]

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1 *Evening Gazette* (Oklahoma City), May 11, 1893, p. 2.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 Abraham J. Seay, "Autobiographical Sketch of A. J. Seay's Public Life," unpublished typescript, unpaged, Virginia Sigler Collection, Tucson, Arizona, also available in Dan W.

Light haired, blue eyed, and more than six feet tall, Seay was an imposing figure, although he was plagued with chronic overweight. His high pitched, falsetto voice was a contradiction of his imposing stature, particularly to new acquaintances. Seay's unusual voice appears to have been a major impediment, for he had a wide reputation as a poor speaker. But Seay possessed a sense of humor: he could smile at adversity, chuckle in moments of embarrassment and laugh at his shortcomings.[5]

Born in Virginia on November 28, 1832, Seay was three years old when his family moved to the farming frontier in Gasconade County in south-central Missouri. From this beginning, Seay developed into a successful teacher, lawyer, judge, businessman, banker and politician. After deferring his own advancement because of family misfortune, young Seay quit a teaching job and qualified to practice law in Missouri just before the outbreak of the Civil War. He served four years in the Union Army, rising from private to lieutenant colonel, before returning to his law practice in Union, Missouri.[6]

In the 1870s Seay ran unsuccessfully for the United States House of Representatives as a Republican against Richard "Silver Dick" Bland. Meanwhile, he continued to practice law, entered the banking profession and served twelve years as an elected district court judge in Missouri. Soon financially secure, but limited politically in Democratically dominated Missouri, Seay began to yearn for a federal appointment from the Republican administrations in Washington, D. C. Seay was considered for several federal positions during the late 1870s and the 1880s, but none were formally offered. Renewed efforts by Seay during the Benjamin Harrison administration eventually bore fruit.[7]

Peery, ed., "Autobiography of Governor A. J. Seay," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1939), pp. 35–47; Clark Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay," unpublished typescript, unpaged, Union, Missouri, 1921, Seay Mansion-Chisholm Trail Museum, Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

[5] *Ibid.*; Abraham J. Seay Military Service Record, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Seay, "Autobiographical Sketch of A. J. Seay's Public Life"; for more on Seay's character, see Harry E. Henslick, "The Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay" (unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1973).

[6] Seay, "Autobiographical Sketch of A. J. Seay's Public Life"; [Susan Isabella Seay Collins?], untitled family history, unpublished typescript, unpaged, No. 342, A. J. King Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma; Allen Sigler and Ruth B. Hubbard, eds., *The Civil War Diary of Col. A. J. Seay* (Kingfisher: Times Publishing Company, 1968); Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay."

[7] *Ibid.*; Seay, "Autobiographical Sketch of A. J. Seay's Public Life"; [Susan Isabella Seay Collins?], "A. J. Seay's Debut as a Lawyer," unpublished manuscript, unpaged, Ruth B. Hubbard Collection, Kingfisher, Oklahoma; United States House of Representatives, 49th Congress, 2nd Session, *Investigation of Labor Troubles in Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, Texas, and Illinois* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), Report No. 4174, Vol. I, pp. i–xxv, 607–609, Vol. II, pp. 219, 302; Ruth A. Allen, *The Great Southwest Strike* (Austin: Univer-

On April 28, 1890, while presiding over a district court meeting in Linn, Missouri, Seay received a telegram from Washington: "It is thought of making you one of the Associate Judges of Oklahoma at three thousand a year. Will you take it?"[8] The telegram was signed by Seay's Civil War friend, Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble. Seay answered: "I would prefer chief, will accept associate if you desire."[9] Soon, on May 23, 1890, Seay was appointed associate justice of the first supreme court of Oklahoma Territory. In later years, when reflecting upon his disappointment at not being appointed chief justice, he was fond of saying, "after all, the only advantage of being chief justice is sitting in the middle upon the bench."[10] Thus he began his public career in Oklahoma Territory.

Oklahoma Territory was opened to homestead settlement on April 22, 1889, but no provisions were made for local government until the passage by Congress of the Organic Act of May 2, 1890, which formed Oklahoma Territory. Under this legislation, each member of the territorial supreme court also had district court responsibilities. Seay was assigned the third district court which encompassed Kingfisher, Canadian and Beaver counties. By late May of 1890, the judge had established his residence in Kingfisher.[11]

In the early days of Oklahoma Territory the judicial system gave confidence, encouragement and support to law-abiding settlers. The territorial courts were often overworked and, as Seay recalled, judicial officials were not well paid, housed or fed. These officials were also pioneers who had to "blaze the roads and build the bridges."[12] Seay proved to be an ideal trial judge in this primitive environment. He recalled in later years that his bench was known as a "shotgun court" because of his bluntness in rulings and decisions. He never resented the charge that his court was "double barreled and breech-loading." He firmly believed that "having to shoot offhand in the dark, a shotgun was more likely to do execution, and less likely than a Winchester to do irreparable injury." He believed that through these methods he only got small game, "but a good deal of it," even though he "did not always hit the mark."[13]

As an Oklahoma Territory judge, Seay presided over several prominent

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sity of Texas Press, 1942), pp. 71, 75–77, 81, 84; Henslick, "The Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay," pp. 74–77.

[8] John W. Noble to Abraham J. Seay, April 28, 1890, in Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay."

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*; United States Congress, 51st Congress, 1st Session, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), Vol. XXVI, pp. 81–100; Seay, "Autobiographical Sketch of A. J. Seay's Public Life."

[12] *Ibid.*

court cases. In November, 1891, he heard the controversial case of *Bank of Kingfisher vs. Prier P. Smith, et al.* The bank demanded payment of a $1,500 note. The defendants claimed the money was a gift and was given them for "illegal and unlawful purposes of corruptly influencing" the territorial legislature to gain passage of the Kingfisher capital location bill.[14] After a sensational trial, Judge Seay instructed the jury to decide in favor of the plaintiff, the Bank of Kingfisher, because evidence supporting the claim of the defendants was absent. In another case, *Jake Guthrie vs. Captain Hall*, Seay declared his court did not have jurisdiction to determine if the Cherokee Outlet had reverted to federal ownership as the federal government claimed.[15]

Because the territorial government was new, few cases reached the supreme court before Seay was elevated to governor in February, 1892. The court agreed to hear, and announced decisions on, only eleven cases during his tenure. No major homestead disputes reached the court. In two cases, *Allison vs. Berger, et al.*, and *Ex Parte Larkins*, the court confirmed that because of an act of the territorial legislature the Nebraska statutes remained in effect in Oklahoma Territory after the legislature adjourned. None of the other cases to reach the supreme court during Seay's service was of any particular or lasting historical significance.[16]

George W. Steele, the first governor of Oklahoma Territory, had come from Indiana to serve briefly as a personal favor to President Benjamin Harrison, but found the office difficult and unsatisfying. He resigned effective November 8, 1891. Robert Martin, the secretary of Oklahoma Territory, was appointed acting governor pending a regular appointment. Territorial support for this appointment soon focused upon Acting Governor Martin, Angelo C. Scott of Oklahoma City and Seay. Oklahomans wanted a local man named governor, not another nonresident.[17]

United States Marshal William G. Grimes, working for Seay, convinced

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[13] *Ibid.*; Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay."

[14] *El Reno Democrat*, August 1, 1891, p. 1; *Kingfisher Free Press*, November 19, 1891, p. 3.

[15] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1891, p. 2, July 23, 1891, p. 2; *El Reno Democrat*, September 26, 1891, p. 1, October 19, 1891, p. 1.

[16] West Publishing Company, *The Pacific Reporter* (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1891–1892), 25 Pac., pp. 511, 516, 745; 26 Pac., pp. 1009, 1069; 27 Pac., p. 920; 28 Pac., pp. 864, 867; 29 Pac., pp. 80–86, 630, 652–654.

[17] John Bartlett Meserve, "The Governors of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (Fall, 1942), p. 219; C. C. Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma" (unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1926), pp. 6–8, 12; Dora A. Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933), p. 230; *El Reno Democrat*, October 24, 1891, p. 1, January 9, 1892, p. 4, January 30, 1892, p. 5; *Kingfisher Free Press*, August 13, 1891, p. 2, October 22, 1891, p. 2, November 19, 1891, p. 2, December 17, 1891, p. 2.

both Martin and Scott to write President Harrison supporting the need for an Oklahoma Territory appointee and recommending Seay. In Washington, Secretary of the Interior Noble and Edward F. Weigel, a federal government employee and confidant of the president, supported Seay's candidacy. On January 5, 1892, while Seay was serving in Guthrie on the Oklahoma Territory Supreme Court, Henry P. Asp, a prominent Republican lawyer from Guthrie, delivered the expected notice of his appointment as governor. That night Seay attended the performance of "Joshua Whitcomb" at McKennon's Opera House and later a reception in his honor at the Harriott Building.[18]

Inauguration day, February 2, 1892, began bright and sunshiny, but by noon heavy rain was falling. Seay put in a full day of court work before Chief Justice Green of the Oklahoma Territory Supreme Court formally accepted Seay's resignation from the bench and administered the oath of office in the Guthrie district court room. The evening's festivities included a reception for the new governor in the district court room, a performance of "Ole Olson" at the McKennon Opera House, followed by a ball, a midnight supper at the Noble Hotel and another dance.[19]

One of Seay's first actions as governor was purely political. The Republican territorial convention to elect delegates to the Republican national convention met on March 2, 1892, in Oklahoma City. Before the convention there was a wave of support for James G. Blaine because of President Harrison's alleged appointment of nonresidents to Oklahoma Territory offices. This atmosphere affected the appointments Seay was about to make to offices in the counties to be formed from the Cheyenne and Arapaho surplus lands which were soon to be opened to settlement. The governor wanted to win the territory for Harrison, and he therefore decided against appointing several men from outside of the territory who were under consideration. Instead he appointed mostly local men in trade for support of Harrison at the Republican territorial convention. Thus, Harrison easily carried Oklahoma's Republican convention. Governor Seay later went to the Republican national convention in Minneapolis as a Harrison delegate from Oklahoma Territory.[20]

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[18] *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), February 6, 1892, p. 2; Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay."

[19] *Ibid.*; Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma," p. 13; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 235–236; Abraham J. Seay, "Official Journal as Governor," unpublished manuscript, Library Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, p. 1; *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital*, January 9, 1892, p. 4, February 6, 1892, p. 2.

[20] Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma," p. 18; Seay, "Official Journal as Governor," p. 12.

One of the most significant events of Governor Seay's administration was the opening for settlement of the surplus lands of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation. At first it was hoped that the opening could take place on April 15, 1892, but preparations were not complete. Agreement about these lands had been reached between the Indians and the federal government in October, 1890, and ratified by Congress on March 3, 1891. By this arrangement over 3,000,000 acres of land were to be opened soon to settlement; the opening would take place as quickly as the area could be organized. Edward F. Weigel arrived from Washington and Governor Seay assisted him in selecting and locating the new county seats. Then Seay had to contract to have the new town sites surveyed and platted, and these tasks were completed by April 10, 1892. The governor also pressured officials in Washington to name postmasters for the new county seats before the opening. Finally, as preparations neared completion, Secretary of the Interior Noble telegraphed Governor Seay that the surplus Cheyenne and Arapaho lands were to be opened at noon on April 19, 1892.[21]

Kingfisher, one of the jumping-off points for the Cheyenne and Arapaho land rush, was bustling with activity as the date approached. The day coincided with the completion of construction on Seay's home in Kingfisher; therefore the governor held a large reception on the morning of the opening. Seay had purchased fifteen acres of land just outside of Kingfisher in August of 1891 on which he planned to build a substantial residence. By early March of the next year carpenters were rushing to finish the large three story home named "Horizon Hill," just in time to host the various dignitaries present for the celebration of the land opening.[22]

Once Seay was in office, he had found himself busy making appointments to the new county offices, one of his least enjoyable chores. Six new counties were created in the area and the governor was charged with filling ten positions in each county. The newness of Oklahoma Territory and the short time that it had been settled would have handicapped anyone with such a responsibility. Because Seay as a judge had remained aloof from day-to-day politics in Oklahoma Territory, he knew few of the job applicants and thus faced a particularly difficult task. He complained that he had more than four hundred applicants for the sixty positions available, but knew only a few. He was not only compelled to choose from strangers, but for the most part he had to select from a group of men who had been un-

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[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 9, 13; Seay, "Autobiographical Sketch of A. J. Seay's Public Life"; *Kingfisher Free Press*, April 14, 1892, p. 2, April 21, 1892, p. 2.

[22] *Ibid.*, March 3, 1892, p. 2; Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay."

The Kingfisher home of Governor Seay, "Horizon Hill"

successful in business, necessitating their move to Oklahoma Territory; thus they were already proven failures in Seay's opinion.[23]

Seay was widely criticized for the poor quality of officials he appointed in the new counties formed from the Cheyenne and Arapaho lands. Seay himself believed that some of these appointments were perhaps his worst actions as governor. Some critics even maintained that he was a poor judge of men. Actually, Seay closely watched his new appointees, and whenever he found dishonesty, improprieties or inability to do the job, he immediately demanded a resignation. Only seven such incidents were recorded. Considering the problems Seay faced, it appears that he did a commendable job in judging and appointing men.[24]

Seay's predecessor as governor of Oklahoma Territory, Steele, had been a strong advocate of public education. Following his recommendations to

[23] Seay, "Official Journal as Governor," pp. 5, 9, 12, 17–19, 21, 24, 26–33, 37, 40, 66.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–5, 9–12, 14–22, 24–35, 37–47, 50, 52, 55–56, 60–66; Seay, "Autobiographical Sketch of A. J. Seay's Public Life"; for later stories about Seay's appointments and his ability to judge men, see *El Reno Democrat*, September 29, 1910, p. 4; *Watonga Republican*, January 20, 1921, p. 1; Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma," p. 19.

Congress, an act of March 3, 1891, allowed Oklahoma Territory to lease sections sixteen and thirty-six, reserved in each township for the benefit of public schools. Proceeds were to be used for the maintenance of public schools in the territory. In earlier territories these lands had remained unused until statehood. Much of this land was already leased, but Seay instituted a vigorous program to increase revenues from this source. In fact, his first official act as governor was to write to Secretary of the Interior Noble regarding the leasing of school lands.[25]

Governor Seay called in all overdue notes on leases under threat of forfeiture of the lease or the opening of new bids for the land with the sale of all growing crops and improvements on the property. During his first two months in office, Seay collected $3,752.28 for school land leases. With the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho lands, a large quantity of new school lands were available for lease. Seay opened these lands for bids beginning in July, 1892, and in the last quarter of that year alone he signed an additional 207 school land leases. Money from these leases was apportioned to the several school districts in the territory according to their population.[26]

As governor, Seay was a pioneer in efforts to secure government donation of land for the benefit of higher education institutions. Following his recommendations, when the Cherokee Outlet was opened in September of 1893, section thirteen in every township was reserved for college endowment by proclamation of the president. Congress ratified this proclamation the following year. Moreover, during Seay's administration the official opening of the University of Oklahoma Territory at Norman—today the University of Oklahoma—was announced. In addition, the governor worked hard to get the Oklahoma Territory Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater—today Oklahoma State University—which had opened the year before, on its feet.

The acts which formally established and located the Oklahoma Territory Agricultural and Mechanical College were also passed by the legislature and signed by Governor Seay. He also accepted the land grant from the town of Stillwater for the institution and signed the legislative act approv-

[25] Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, p. 169; Seay, "Official Journal as Governor," pp. 1, 5–7, 11, 14, 32, 34, 35; "Report of the Governor of Oklahoma, 1891," in Edward Dale and Jesse L. Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1930), pp. 560–566.

[26] Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma," pp. 17–19; United States House of Representatives, 52nd Congress, 2nd Session, "Report of the Governor of Oklahoma, 1892," *Executive Document 14* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), pp. 469–481; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, "Governor's Message, 1892," *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma: Beginning January 10, 1893* (Guthrie: State Capital Printing Company, 1893), pp. 30–38.

The University of Oklahoma which officially opened during Seay's administration

ing the provisions of Congress providing for a government appropriation to the school. As governor, he also made several appointments to the governing boards of the territory's colleges. In later years he sent at least fifteen of his relatives to study at the Oklahoma Territory Agricultural and Mechanical College.[27]

Between the time of Seay's appointment and his inauguration, the fight within the local Republican Party had reopened over the question of home rule. Seay's detractors claimed he was not a home man, and that he was in Oklahoma Territory only because of his commission as a judge. His appointment as governor, they claimed, and the rumored designation of an outsider to replace Seay on the Oklahoma Territory Supreme Court were continued evidence of President Harrison's disregard for Oklahoma Territory Republicans. Harrison and his appointees were falling into more and more disfavor among certain Republicans, and the local Democrats and

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 64; Seay, "Official Journal as Governor," pp. 6, 9–10, 19–20, 41, 51, 57, 59, 62; Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma," pp. 17–19; *Kingfisher Free Press*, August 25, 1892, p. 5; unidentified newspaper article, dated about 1907, notes Seay was sending fifteen relatives to Oklahoma Territory Agricultural and Mechanical College that year; United States Congress, 52nd Congress, 2nd Session, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), Vol. XXVIII, p. 71.

Populists very much enjoyed the entertainment and political possibilities this disagreement provided. The Republicans held a caucus in Guthrie where the majority drafted a resolution thanking President Harrison for naming Seay, a home man as governor, but factional strife continued.[28]

When Seay was inaugurated as governor, it was time for another session of the territorial legislature, but no provision for it had been made. The Oklahoma Territory statutes set two year terms with biennial meetings for the legislature, but did not provide for a general election to select a new membership. The first legislature that met in 1890 became so embroiled over the location of the capital and similar disputes that needed legislation was ignored. Some Oklahomans wanted Seay to call a special session of the old legislature to write an election law and reapportion the territory. Others, including the United States attorney, believed that there were legal and financial barriers to calling a special session even if elections to fill any vacancies were held first. The Oklahoma Territory Organic Act provided for biennial sixty day sessions with expenses paid by the federal government; expenses for a special session may not have been paid by the government.[29]

Kingfisher's opposition to a special session of the legislature ceased after the opening for settlement of the Cheyenne and Arapaho surplus lands. Instead, its residents demanded that the government call a special session for the purpose of affecting a just reapportionment recognizing the newly created counties. Kingfisher still hoped to become the capital of Oklahoma; thus, the local newspaper called for the governor to declare an emergency, whereby he could convene the legislature in special session in that city.[30]

Some people supported the calling of elections and a new legislature, but authority for such action had to come from Congress. A few newspapers noted, in view of the conflict Governor Steele had with the legislature, that Seay might be better off not calling the legislature together at all. In February, 1892, Seay asked David A. Harvey, the territory's representative in Congress, to "look after an act of Congress authorizing the holding of fall elections . . . and for redistricting the Territory."[31] Seay also met with the leading members of the first territorial legislature to discuss the situation.[32]

By early July, 1892, the governor wrote to members of the first legislature

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[28] Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 238–239; *Evening Gazette* (Oklahoma City), January 8, 1892, p. 2, January 25, 1892, p. 2, February 10, 1892, p. 2.

[29] Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma," p. 6; *Kingfisher Free Press*, January 28, 1892, p. 2, May 12, 1892, p. 2; *El Reno Democrat*, January 9, 1892, p. 4.

[30] *Evening Gazette*, February 22, 1892, p. 4; Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay."

[31] Seay, "Official Journal as Governor," p. 6.

[32] *Kingfisher Free Press*, January 28, 1892, p. 2.

asking their opinion of the situation and their recommendations for action. Because no provision had been made for a second legislature even though it was time for another meeting, and since the members of the first legislature expressed themselves as opposed to a special session, Seay took other action. Armed with the necessity for a second legislature and the need to redistrict the enlarged territory, Seay personally headed for Washington carrying a petition from the people of Oklahoma requesting Congress to pass an election law for Oklahoma.[33]

Seay appeared before the United States Senate and House of Representatives committees on territories. The Senate approved a simple election bill but the House version, as a rider to other legislation, was more complex. The bill as eventually approved included the Democratically controlled House's provisions. It authorized an election and a legislative session, but prohibited the legislature from taking any action to move the capital from Guthrie or to provide permanent buildings for the capital. Seay was not completely pleased with these provisions, which were later to be added to every such bill passed while Oklahoma remained a territory, but this did postpone a decision on the capital and perhaps brought temporary harmony to meetings of the territorial legislature.[34]

By the midsummer of 1892, Governor Seay was back in his executive office above Moses Weinberger's saloon in Guthrie. A session of the territorial legislature was scheduled, but first the territory had to be redistricted. In order to reapportion, Congress had authorized a new census of the territory. Congress had appointed a three man commission including a Democrat, Leslie Ross, a Populist, Samuel Crocker and Governor Seay, a Republican, to take the census. Beginning in August, the three men canvassed Oklahoma Territory, traveling together in a government mule ambulance with a driver and a cook. The population in June 1892 was estimated to be just over 133,000. Using this figure and other data the commission proceeded to reapportion and redistrict the territory. Governor Seay discovered after their field service was over that Ross and Crocker had "fused" and were working against the Republicans. New district lines were drawn by a two to one vote of the appointed commission, which resulted in a highly gerrymandered set of districts.[35]

In the election which was held in November, 1892, four Populists, nine

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[33] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1892, p. 3; *Evening Gazette*, February 12, 1892, p. 3.

[34] United States Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 300; *Kingfisher Free Press*, August 11, 1892, p. 4, August 18, 1892, p. 4.

[35] *Ibid.*, October 13, 1892, p. 4; Seay, "Autobiographical Sketch of A. J. Seay's Public Life"; Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma," p. 16; *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), March 12, 1922, Section C, p. 13. The governor's office of Oklahoma Territory was located above Weinberger's saloon for thirteen years, from 1890 to 1903.

Democrats and thirteen Republicans were sent to the House of Representatives, while two Populists, five Democrats and six Republicans were sent to the Council. The result was that no party had a sufficient number of representatives to control legislation, a situation that probably hindered the accomplishments of this legislature. On January 10, 1893, both houses of the legislature were called into session. After some delay in the House, the legislature announced it was organized and ready to commence business on January 19. That same afternoon the governor met the legislature in joint session and delivered his formal message in which he stressed support of public education and economy in government.[36]

Governor Seay called for a new statute on public education. He wanted to guarantee to black children equal opportunity for education in separate but equal facilities on a local option basis. He also advocated compulsory attendance in grammar schools and authorization to school districts to issue bonds for construction of brick school buildings. To increase common school revenues in the territory, he desired a license tax on retail and wholesale liquor dealers. Governor Seay also advocated a license tax on corporations operating in the territory. To cut expenses, he suggested that some county officials be taken off a salary and put on a strictly fee basis. He was familiar with bank practices and suggested certain adjustments to improve bank stability; he wanted the governor to have the power to inquire into a bank's financial condition at any time. He also suggested, as he had previously in Missouri, that county treasurers be required to deposit all county monies with banking institutions or associations which provided ample security and bid the highest interest rate for the use of county funds.[37]

Turning to other money needs, the governor noted that the contingent funds for the governor's office had been greatly reduced in 1893, and all of the federal appropriation already spent. He requested that the legislature make an appropriation, or else he would have to take unauthorized funds from the territorial treasury for the remainder of the year. He also requested an appropriation to pay for an Oklahoma Territory exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 in Chicago, Illinois, a major trade and industrial fair. He indicated that the legislature should pass an act fixing the time of general elections; it should also appropriate funds to codify, index and publish the statutes of Oklahoma Territory. Finally, he proposed ending suffrage for any Indian whose land was non-taxable.[38]

Governor Seay remained close to his office in Guthrie throughout the

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[36] *Kingfisher Free Press*, January 26, 1893, p. 2; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma: Beginning January 10, 1893*, p. 29.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 30–38.

[38] *Ibid.*

legislature's sixty-day session. Thus he was available for consultation with legislators and to support legislation he believed worthwhile. As the Republicans had lost the presidential election of 1892, Seay was clearly a lame-duck governor and would soon be replaced by President Grover Cleveland, a Democrat. Overall, Seay's relations with the legislature were cordial. Many of his proposals were acted upon, and he agreed with most of the legislation sent to him for approval.

Nevertheless, a major conflict between Governor Seay and the legislature arose over a bill to increase the pay and the number of clerks working for the House and the Council. By January 26, 1893, the bill had been approved by both houses and sent to the governor for his signature. Two days later he returned the bill with a veto message contending that the bill was unwise, uneconomical, unneeded and unconstitutional. It was his opinion that it was illegal for the legislature to increase the number of minor officers without prior approval of Congress. United States Attorney Horace Speed agreed with Seay's opinion. This bill was subsequently passed over the governor's veto, and the Council actually appointed additional clerks. The House eventually accepted the governor's position, however, and both houses passed a resolution asking Congress for authority to hire additional help. Thus Seay emerged victorious.[39]

Other than the bill to hire additional employees, the only major conflict between Seay and the legislature involved the general appropriations bill for the territory for 1893 and 1894. The bill was finally passed on the last day of the session and signed by the governor on the same day. The general operating funds provided by this bill were not in dispute, nor was the special $10,000 appropriation, which the governor requested and received to use for his "seeds for the seedless" program. Some farmers, particularly new settlers on the Cheyenne and Arapaho lands, were destitute and did not have seed to plant in the spring of 1893. Within one day of this appropriation's passage, Seay wrote officials in the new counties, telling them to gather information immediately on who would need how much aid to get through the current year. He also requested that bids be submitted to him by those who had seed to sell to the territorial government for use in this program. Seay later visited each county where seed was distributed to ascertain the success of the program.[40]

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[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 54, 63, 66–67, 71–72, 79, 82, 83, 85–86, 169.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 180, 253, 254, 271, 277, 289, 313, 319; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma: Beginning January 10, 1893* (Guthrie: State Capital Printing Company, 1893), pp. 71, 83, 133, 159, 195, 196, 198, 225, 227, 250, 251, 254, 256, 258, 261, 264, 274, 278, 280, 282, 291, 299, 304, 305, 311, 358, 392, 395, 396, 412; *The Statutes of Oklahoma, 1893* (Guthrie: State Capital Printing Company, 1893), pp. 521, 522, 653, 660, 1104.

Governor Seay had asked the legislature to appropriate $15,000 for an Oklahoma Territory exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. This amount was written into the general appropriations request, but almost stopped the entire bill from being passed. There was strong opposition to funding an exhibit, especially among House of Representative members. Governor Seay had early supported sending an exhibit for publicity purposes. In addition to his executive duties, he was named president of the Oklahoma Territory Fair Committee and began a year-long series of meetings on the project; the committee planned an exhibit featuring the opportunities for new settlers in the territory. The exhibit would include photographs of new and growing communities, reports on the productivity of the soil, samples of industrial and agricultural products and glowing predictions for the area's future.[41]

The governor negotiated with officials of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad who agreed to donate $500 to the project and to transport three carloads of freight to the Chicago site at no charge. The Chicago and Rock Island Railroad was subsequently advised of the Santa Fe's generous contribution, and they were asked to consider a similar gift. Seay then proclaimed October 12, 1892, the day the grounds of the exposition in Chicago were to be dedicated, Columbus Day in Oklahoma Territory.[42]

In spite of this publicity, some legislators opposed the $15,000 appropriation for a fair exhibit. Perhaps they thought it was incongruous to veto a bill costing hundreds of dollars to hire more clerks, and then support a $15,000 outlay for a fair. The appropriation passed, in spite of the opposition, and Oklahoma was fully represented at the World's Columbian Exposition. In early May, 1893, Governor Seay and other Oklahoma Territory dignitaries journeyed to Chicago for the official opening of the exposition; they were escorted by an honor guard of the United States Army from Fort Reno. At the opening ceremonies, Seay's formal dress included a tall silk hat of the same style worn by President Grover Cleveland.[43]

Additional legislation in 1893 in Oklahoma Territory included a school bill, which was approved, incorporating much of what Seay suggested in his message to the legislature. Another act, which would have established a college for blacks at Langston was passed by the Council, but never reached the governor for his signature. A new bill making various types of

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[41] Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay"; Seay, "Autobiographical Sketch of A. J. Seay's Public Life."

[42] *Ibid.*; Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay."

[43] *The Statutes of Oklahoma, 1893*, pp. 104–109. Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma: Beginning January 10, 1893*, pp. 363, 396, 417; unidentified newspaper article, dated about 1893, Ruth B. Hubbard Collection.

Edward P. McCabe, the prominent black newspaper editor, championed the early civil rights movement in Oklahoma Territory

gambling illegal, as well as a revised liquor code, was also passed. The governor was likewise successful in getting a license tax assessed upon liquor dealers and upon corporations operating in Oklahoma Territory. A bill to provide for the selection of a depository for county and territorial funds was introduced but was not passed.[44]

At midnight on March 10, 1893, the second legislature of Oklahoma Territory adjourned, exactly sixty days after the session began. More could have been accomplished by it, yet, when measured against what had to be done, or against what the first legislature accomplished, the session was highly successful. Despite being a lame-duck governor, Seay had also been quite successful in seeing his programs put into action, and in developing harmonious relations with the legislature.

A trait of Governor Seay's which caused some degree of bitterness throughout his administration was his favorable attitude toward blacks. The *Langston Herald*, which had a black editor, came out strongly in support of Seay for governor, stating that he appeared to be an "ironclad" Republican and would thus be good for the blacks in Oklahoma Territory. At Seay's inauguration rumors had circulated of 650 blacks resting at Fort Smith, Arkansas, before they planned to continue to Oklahoma Territory as friends of the new governor. At the reception following Seay's inauguration, Edward P. McCabe, the black assistant auditor of the territory, and a

[44] Seay, "Official Journal as Governor," pp. 8, 33, 55, 61, 65; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma: Beginning January 10, 1893*, pp. 316–322, 327; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma: Beginning January 10, 1893*, pp. 362, 363, 396, 417; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *The Statutes of Oklahoma, 1893*, pp. 104–109; *Kingfisher Free Press*, February 11, 1893, p. 2; Seay, "Autobiographical Sketch of A. J. Seay's Public Life"; Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay."

resident of Oklahoma City, was quoted as saying that the blacks at last had an administration that would put them on a basis of equality with their white brothers. At a later date Seay helped elect McCabe vice-president of the Oklahoma Territory Republican League. McCabe refused the post with thanks, but while declining the position he made several racist comments, thereby alienating some anti-Negro supporters of Seay.[45]

A few days after Seay met and talked with President Cleveland and Secretary of the Interior Hoke Smith at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, he resigned from the last public office he was ever to hold. William C. Renfrow took office as the third and only Democratic governor of Oklahoma Territory on May 10, 1893. The end of Seay's public career did not mean the end of his political life. As he prospered and continued to involve himself in Oklahoma affairs, he remained prominent in the Republican Party. He campaigned vigorously for his party in each election, making regular trips to Missouri to work for old political friends. He attended several more Republican national conventions and played a prominent part in several statehood movements for Oklahoma Territory.[46]

In 1896, he was considered a frontrunner to be reappointed governor of Oklahoma Territory when William McKinley regained the presidency for the Republicans in 1897. A period of bad health at that time caused Seay to withdraw from consideration, but he later made a trip to Washington to visit President McKinley and came back confident that his candidate, Cassius M. Barnes, would be the next governor. When statehood neared for present-day Oklahoma in 1907, Seay argued against several provisions of the state constitution, particularly sections which tended to make blacks second-class citizens.[47]

After serving as governor of Oklahoma Territory, Seay was also able to devote more time to his business interests and greatly enhanced his financial position. Seay at one time owned two hotels in Kingfisher, was president of three national banks, and held considerable stock in at least four others. During the first decade of the twentieth century he fought vigorously in support of national banks against powerful state bank interests. Likewise, he invested in land in Oklahoma and coal and iron ore mining property in Missouri. Through skillful transactions and prudent invest-

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[45] *Ibid.*; *Langston Herald*, as quoted in *Evening Gazette*, January 7, 1892, p. 2, February 2, 1892, p. 3, February 22, 1892, p. 2; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 237–244.

[46] Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay"; *Kingfisher Free Press*, many articles after May, 1893.

[47] *Ibid.*; Abraham J. Seay, "Correspondence of Governor Abraham J. Seay, 1905–1909," unpublished typescript, Virginia Sigler Collection; various letters and newspaper articles in Ruth B. Hubbard Collection; Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay."

ments he amassed a personal fortune of more than $500,000. When he died in 1915, his estate was still valued at over $200,000, although he had distributed some of it and lost a considerable amount by neglecting his holdings because of poor health.[48]

In 1903, Seay was standing in the doorway of the Kingfisher Hotel when a gust of wind blew the door against him, throwing him to the pavement and breaking a hip. He never fully recovered and spent most of the rest of his life in a wheelchair. In April, 1906, he was staying in an upper story of a San Francisco, California, hotel when a disastrous earthquake hit the city. He narrowly escaped injury. As soon as the shaking subsided, he went on crutches from his room to an elevator, but found it inoperable. He returned to his room, put on his overcoat, picked up his lap robe, and Jake Liesman, a black attendant, carried him to the street. Liesman lifted him onto a passing freight wagon and they traveled to the nearest park. Seay was amazed at the number of people on the streets and the bravery many exhibited.[49]

Burdened by his broken hip and various ailments of advancing age, Seay slowly withdrew from business and public life. In 1909, his doctor advised him to move to Long Beach, California, for his health, and he did so briefly, but returned to Oklahoma for several years. Living again in Long Beach, Seay suffered a stroke of apoplexy in 1913, from which he was slowly recovering when he died in his sleep on December 22, 1915. His body was returned to Kingfisher, where he was buried next to his sister, Susan Isabel Seay Collins. He had never married.[50]

Starting as the son of a poor man who had little to offer except a mediocre education, Seay developed himself into a lawyer, a lieutenant colonel in charge of a regiment in the Civil War, a judge and finally the second governor of Oklahoma Territory. A man of the West, he had a complex personality but demonstrated many of the traits commonly associated with life on the American frontier. He was independent, self-reliant and family oriented. After voting for the Whigs and the American Party, he joined the Republicans in support of the Union and in opposition to slavery. For the rest of his life, he remained a Republican and always supported measures to better the condition of blacks.

As governor of Oklahoma Territory, Seay proved to be active and suc-

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[48] *Ibid.*; *Kingfisher Free Press*, many articles after May, 1893; Seay, "Correspondence of Governor Abraham J. Seay, 1905–1909"; Seay's Last Will and Testament and other estate papers, File No. 607, Kingfisher County Courthouse, Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

[49] Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay"; various letters and newspaper articles in Ruth B. Hubbard Collection; Seay, "Correspondence of Governor Abraham J. Seay, 1905–1909."

[50] *Ibid.*; Brown, "Life of Abraham Jefferson Seay."

cessful. He was an able judge of men and usually appointed quality people to official positions under his jurisdiction. As titular head of the Republican Party, he was a dynamic leader. He successfully presided over the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho lands; he also took actions which improved conditions for blacks in Oklahoma Territory. Public education was particularly important to Seay, and during his administration he achieved significant strides for educational institutions. Most importantly, Seay played a crucial role in plans for the second legislature of Oklahoma Territory, including authorization to call it and the census needed for the reapportionment of the election districts. He usually worked in harmony with the legislature and won action on many of his recommendations to that body. He was an honest, hard working public servant who believed in individualism, yet supported government regulatory measures which tended to help the business community and the economy in general.

WILLIAM CARY RENFROW
Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1893–1897

*By James F. Morgan**

William Carey Renfrow

It was inaugural day, May 10, 1893, in Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory. Abraham J. Seay, the outgoing territorial governor, a Republican, introduced the incoming governor, William Cary Renfrow, a Democrat. Jubilant Democrats in the audience listened attentively and applauded vigorously as Seay called for unity between the two parties in their efforts for statehood. When Seay had finished, Renfrow stepped forward and told the audience the same things he had said to the people of Norman, his home town, but two nights before. "I am not an orator," Renfrow contended, and his appointment had come to him "unsought and unthought of like a clap of thunder." Renfrow then emphasized that in his role as governor he was not to be the people's "ruler, but your servant," and he further assured them that it would be his "aim to be the governor of the whole territory and of the whole people."[1]

Even the Republican press spoke in praise of Renfrow as he was inaugurated. They said, as Renfrow promised in his inaugural address, that he would not needlessly remove men from office and that when he did replace them, it would be without regard to their politics. To a large extent Renfrow held to this promise, but there were instances when he let politics influence him, occasions which the Republican newspapers proved only too willing to point out. However, of all of the appointments sent to the two legislatures that met during Renfrow's term, not one of his nominees

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[1] *Norman Transcript*, May 12, 1893, p. 1.

was rejected, although the 1895 legislature was Republican controlled. Thus, Renfrow chose his appointees well.[2]

The new governor was born in Smithville, North Carolina, on May 15, 1845. His father, Perry Renfrow, was a planter who, according to the 1850 census, had accumulated $300 worth of property. Perry Renfrow, who lived to know that his son became governor of Oklahoma Territory, did not die until January 15, 1895. Renfrow's mother, Lucinda Hawkins Atkinson Renfrow, died much earlier, on April 19, 1870.

Little is known of Renfrow's early life. He was educated in the public school system of North Carolina, from which he withdrew in 1862 to enlist in Company C of the 50th North Carolina Infantry Regiment and served the remainder of the Civil War in the Confederate States Army. He joined Company C as a second sergeant but was soon promoted to first sergeant. He was serving in this grade under General Joseph E. Johnston when Johnston surrendered his army in April, 1865, to the forces of Major General William T. Sherman.

With the end of the fighting, Renfrow returned home, but not for long. In late 1865 or early 1866 he left North Carolina for Arkansas and eventually settled in the vicinity of Russellville. There he engaged in the mercantile industry, served as a deputy county official and, on October 17, 1875, married Jennie B. York of Judsonia, Arkansas.

But Renfrow did not always live in Arkansas. In 1889, the area that later became Oklahoma Territory was opened for settlement and, in the fall of that year, Renfrow moved to Norman. His first business enterprise was a livery stable operation; he invested the profits from this in banking stock, and by 1891 he owned the majority share in the Norman State Bank. His interest lay also in Norman real estate and he was so successful in this work that by the time federal authorities recorded the ownership of the land, he reputedly held nearly four percent of the lots within the town.[3]

Even with all of these businesses, Renfrow still found time for Norman community activities. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church, an Odd Fellow and a Mason. In addition, he was also on the committee to select a site for High Gate Female College in 1890, and he was one of the promoters of M. E. Smith College. Besides this, he was the president of the Board of Trade and was instrumental in attracting at least one physician to Norman. In his political endeavors, he was a member of the first Demo-

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[2] *Ibid.*

[3] John Bartlett Meserve, "The Governors of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (September, 1942), p. 221; Lewis A. Robertson to Robert L. Williams, August 21, 1942, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (September, 1942), p. 309.

cratic territorial convention, held in 1890, attended the national Democratic convention of 1892 in Chicago, Illinois, as a member of the Oklahoma committee, was a delegate to another Democratic territorial convention and, at the time of his selection as governor, was a member of the county central committee of the Democratic Party.[4]

President Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, arrived at the selection of Renfrow as governor of Oklahoma Territory for various reasons. Not only had Renfrow been a member of the convention that nominated him in 1892, but Renfrow also had suggested in 1890 that his home county in Oklahoma—Cleveland County—be named in honor of Cleveland who had served as president from 1885 to 1889. Even so, Renfrow did not seek the appointment, but was sought out for it by Cleveland.

Renfrow had supported the candidacy of his friend, T. M. Richardson, for governor of Oklahoma Territory and signed a petition urging his appointment. This was carried to Washington by Leslie P. Ross, a lawyer and prominent Democratic politician, and presented to President Cleveland by either Ross or Senator James K. Jones of Arkansas, the chairman of the Committee on Territories. Cleveland rejected all of the applicants and asked for a man who was not political or, as one source indicated, at least did not want to be governor. At that point Renfrow's name was introduced. Cleveland wanted to telegraph him immediately but was persuaded to wait while Ross returned to Renfrow and sounded him out. Back at Norman, Ross asked Renfrow if he would accept the appointment if it were offered. Renfrow, thinking that Ross was jesting, replied jokingly that he would not only accept but that he was in fact governor at that time. Ross wired Cleveland who offered Renfrow the appointment, and on May 6, 1893, he accepted the position as governor of Oklahoma Territory.[5]

Only one final matter needed to be settled, and that was Renfrow's confirmation; on August 18, 1893, his name was submitted to the United States Senate by President Cleveland. Although the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* of Guthrie, a Republican newspaper edited by Frank H. Greer, maintained that there was a row in the Senate over Renfrow's confirmation, it was minor. On August 22, 1893, Renfrow was confirmed as governor.[6]

Though Renfrow had pledged in his inaugural speech to appoint people

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[4] *Norman Transcript*, May 12, 1893, p. 1; Oscar A. Kinchen, "Oklahoma's First College, Old High Gate at Norman," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (September, 1936), p. 312.

[5] *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), May 27, 1893, p. 1; *Miami Record-Herald*, February 3, 1922, p. 3.

[6] United States Congress, 53rd Congress, 1st Session, *Congressional Record*, Vol. XXV, Pt. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), pp. 462, 791; *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), August 19, 1893, p. 1.

Roy V. Hoffman and Frank H. Greer, prominent Guthrie newspaper editors, frequently clashed over political issues during the Renfrow administration. Hoffman served briefly as personal secretary to Renfrow

strictly on merit, he still could not keep politics out of his administration. Not only did he dismiss some Republican appointees, but the Republican newspapers, led by the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, did not hesitate in criticizing the new governor. Renfrow drew the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital's* fire in the first month of his administration. The main reason for this seemed to be not so much the fact that Renfrow was a Democrat, but that he appointed Roy V. Hoffman, the publisher of the *Guthrie Daily Leader*, Guthrie's Democratic newspaper, as his personal secretary. Almost immediately the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* quipped, "Our boy Roy now advises the throne. If you want a job don't make the mistake of ignoring Roy."[7] Hoffman's role grew so quickly in Greer's eyes that about two weeks later the *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital* called Hoffman "Governor Roy" and accused him of appointing government officials himself.[8]

Whatever the accusations concerning the relationship of Hoffman and Renfrow, in less than a year the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* came to the conclusion that they were coconspirators in a plot. In fact, Greer even suggested that Renfrow owned half of Hoffman's *Guthrie Daily Leader*, par-

[7] *Ibid.*, June 5, 1893, p. 2.
[8] *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital*, June 24, 1893, p. 4.

ticularly after the newspaper received the printing contracts for the new counties in the Cherokee Outlet. In an article titled "The Way Governor Renfrow and his Paper bilk Counties," the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* accused Renfrow and Hoffman of forcing the new county commissioners to order a number of supplies from Hoffman before they would receive their commissions.[9]

Even this period of coconspirator journalism did not last long. The *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* started begrudgingly to leave this position in May, 1894, when it reported that Renfrow had protested Hoffman's pending appointment as assistant United States attorney. However, Greer believed this to be only a ruse because of the exposure of their schemes. "Simply, the fact appears that the governor has protested against Hoffman," the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* declared, "and as to the motives and schemes behind it there is a wonderful field for speculation."[10] But there seems to have been a definite break between Renfrow and Hoffman. In October, 1894, Hoffman resigned as Renfrow's personal secretary to accept an appointment as assistant United States attorney; thereafter the differences between the two men were reflected on the pages of the *Guthrie Daily Leader*. The *Daily Oklahoma State Capital's* attacks on Renfrow mellowed the next year, 1895, particularly after it was made the official newspaper of the territory and Greer was made the official printer of the territory by a legislative act. Renfrow had weathered the initial political storm with the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, but his newspaper confrontations were not finished. It seemed to one journalist that Renfrow "complains that the newspapers of Oklahoma, regardless of politics, treat him unfairly."[11]

Renfrow's first purely political move, and one that drew great opposition from the Republican press, had occurred in early June, 1893, when he called for resignations from Attorney General Charles Brown, Treasurer Samuel Murphy and Superintendent of Education and ex officio Auditor Joseph H. Parker. The *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* complained bitterly about Renfrow's actions, but was just as quick to deplore Brown's reaction to Renfrow's request. After Brown received the governor's letter, he announced that Renfrow had every right to call for the resignation of top Republican officials. That same day he submitted his resignation and Clinton A. Galbraith was appointed attorney general.[12]

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[9] *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, April 11, 1894, p. 1.

[10] *Ibid.*, May 28, 1894, p. 1.

[11] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Session Laws of 1895 passed at the Third Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (no place, no publisher, 1895), pp. 51–52; *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, September 15, 1893, p 1.

[12] *Ibid.*, June 12, 1893, p. 2.

Old Central, on the Oklahoma State University campus, opened during the 1894 conflict between Renfrow and the Board of Regents of the institution

On June 10, 1893, Murphy was reported as saying he would resign effective June 30. He also stated that he was leaving due to political incompatability with the governor and not for any wrongdoing on his own part. Apparently Republican pressure was brought to bear to keep him in office, for he did not resign in June. It was not until January 17, 1894, that the *Guthrie Daily Leader* triumphantly announced Murphy's resignation and the appointment of Martin L. Turner, the cashier of Guthrie's Capitol National Bank, to fill his place. The *Guthrie Daily Leader* noted that Murphy left at the right time, for he would have been forced out in a few weeks and had only been kept in office through the actions "of certain Republican 'workers.'" Now the *Guthrie Daily Leader* looked for other "heads to drop" in quick order, among them being three members of the Pharmacy Board, five examiners of the Dental Board, two members of the Board of Education, five regents of the Agricultural and Mechanical Col-

lege of Oklahoma Territory—today Oklahoma State University—and Joseph H. Parker, the superintendent of education.[13]

Parker presented the greatest problem to Renfrow. Not only did he announce that he would never resign, but he also resisted every attempt Renfrow made to dislodge him. On August 26, 1893, Renfrow levied charges of malfeasance against Parker and urged his impeachment, but this failed to dislodge Parker. Although impeachment proceedings never materialized, the malfeasance charges made it easier to appoint a new superintendent. On February 22, 1894, Renfrow appointed Evan D. Cameron, but Parker still refused to leave and continued to act as superintendent; finally a court order was required to remove him from office.[14]

At the same time that Renfrow was quarreling with Murphy and Parker, he was also attempting to discharge the entire board of regents of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Oklahoma Territory. Renfrow felt that the board of regents was too Republican in composition; thus he wished to replace them. In order to do this, he used the charge that the board had been extravagant with territorial funds. The *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* was quick to find ulterior motives. Prior to this, on July 22, 1893, in the midst of the nation's economic depression of 1893, the newspaper reported that there was a scare that, if the First National Bank of Oklahoma City closed its doors, Renfrow's Norman State Bank would do the same. However, Renfrow reassured the people that the First National Bank owned only one-sixth of his bank and that nothing would happen to it if the First National Bank failed. The next month, the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* made the most of this incident when it noted that a director of the Norman State Bank was appointed treasurer of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Oklahoma Territory. Thus, the newspaper said it was easy to see why the governor fired the board of regents. Moving further, the newspaper implied that Renfrow was counting on the college's money to shore up his bank. Renfrow's own actions do not clear him of these charges, as he later admitted that the college's funds were divided between the Norman State Bank and the First National Bank.[15]

In 1895, an investigation into the activities of the board of regents of the

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[13] *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital*, June 10, 1893, p. 1, June 17, 1893, p. 1; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, January 17, 1894, p. 3.

[14] *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, August 26, 1893, p. 2; Dora A. Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933), pp. 257–258.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 261–262; *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, July 22, 1893, p. 1, August 10, 1893, p. 2, August 14, 1893, pp. 2, 4; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Third Legislative Assembly, 1895* (Guthrie: Daily Leader Press, 1895), p. 775.

Agricultural and Mechanical College of Oklahoma Territory was made by a committee from the legislature. In its report, the committee noted that the former president of the college, Henry E. Alvord, had resigned and made charges against the board. However, since Alvord had left the territory, he could not be called to testify before the committee. But it gathered enough information to conclude that the charges had merit and stated that while "there were some honest men connected with this institution, . . . they have been in the minority a greater portion of the time."[16] Amazingly, the committee that substantiated the Democratic charges had been selected by a legislature controlled by Republicans.

Governor Renfrow made few, if any, replies to the charges directed against him by the newspapers. Instead, he quietly went about his work issuing proclamations, checking Oklahoma Territory's exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois, organizing new areas of the territory and campaigning for statehood through his public letters and reports. Throughout his term in office, Renfrow continually urged that Oklahoma and Indian territories be combined and admitted as a state.

Renfrow's attempts to consolidate the twin territories began with his first annual report to Secretary of the Interior Hoke Smith. In this he urged that the Five Civilized Indian Nations be included in any state to be organized; this was repeated in every report thereafter. In these reports Renfrow implied that his main concern was that the Five Civilized Indian Nations be brought into close contact with the white man's civilization and that the lands of the Indians be divided among the tribal members for private ownership. However, Renfrow gave a more practical reason for single statehood. He felt that the Indian lands should be included because they were choice and valuable. Considering the size of what was then Oklahoma Territory, and the amount of taxable property available within its borders, together with its tax structure, the revenue raised "would not pay one-third of the current expenses of the territorial government."[17] In spite of Renfrow's intentions and actions, as well as the apparent agreement of some leaders of the Five Civilized Tribes as expressed in various resolutions, there were some Indians who did not want statehood with Oklahoma Territory. These Indians sent representatives to the statehood hearings held in Washington in 1894, contributing to the defeat of statehood at that time.[18]

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 666.

[17] Public letter, January 22, 1894, *Guthrie Daily Leader*, January 24, 1894, p. 3.

[18] United States Senate, 53rd Congress, 2nd Session, *Statements before a Subcommittee . . . of the Committee of Territories of the United States Senate, in Relation to the Admission of Oklahoma Territory as a State in the Union* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), pp. 18–20ff.

Renfrow's annual reports to the federal government were largely propaganda devices, a point of view borne out by Renfrow himself. Publicly he gave altruistic reasons for wanting Indian Territory combined with Oklahoma Territory, but his private thinking followed other channels. In his official reports Renfrow continually implied that Oklahoma Territory had a healthy moral climate. In 1893, "the worthy moral element" was fast coming to the front.[19] In 1894, the territory had made "considerable advance in its social and religious phases."[20] This advance continued in the reports for 1895 and 1896. But this was not what Renfrow said privately. On March 16, 1894, John A. Narron of Smithville, North Carolina, Renfrow's birthplace, wrote asking if he could come to Oklahoma Territory and obtain a position with the government. Renfrow replied on April 11, 1894, that he could not urge Narron to come. First, he said, it required strong will power to succeed in Oklahoma Territory because there were thousands of temptations "that you would have to see to realize" and, in addition, he could not guarantee a position "as the 'Home Rule' policy is adhered to strictly in all things here."[21]

No matter what Renfrow might privately say about Oklahoma Territory, he had public business to which he needed to attend. The most important event to occur in Renfrow's administration took place on September 16, 1893, when the Cherokee Outlet was opened to settlement, an occurrence with which Renfrow assisted. In July, 1893, he announced that anyone who settled on the lands before they were opened to the public would be disqualified from homesteading. Regardless of how Renfrow handled Cherokee Outlet matters, there were still complaints from Republicans. The Republican press accused him of corruption in preparing the Cherokee Outlet for the opening. Among other things, he was blamed for forcing the commissioners of the newly organized territorial counties to contract with Hoffman before their commissions were delivered. Loudest in denouncing Renfrow was the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital.* But the *Guthrie Daily Leader* was ever ready to defend him, stating that he had nothing to do with the blunders attending the opening of the Cherokee Outlet.[22]

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[19] B. H. Johnson, "Reports of the Governors of Oklahoma Territory, 1891–1899," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIV, No. 4 (Winter 1966–1967), pp. 365–379; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory to the Secretary of the Interior, 1893* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 9.

[20] *Ibid., 1894*, p. 11.

[21] William C. Renfrow to John A. Narron, April 11, 1894, Library Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[22] Joe B. Milam, "The Opening of the Cherokee Outlet," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (June, 1931), p. 281; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, September 21, 1893, p. 3.

Soon the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* reported that Secretary of the Interior Smith had called Renfrow to Washington; Greer speculated that it was to investigate charges of corruption in the Cherokee Outlet. Several months later, in December, 1893, the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* gleefully noted that Renfrow might need to resign. This report was reinforced in March, 1894, when a Renfrow removal rumor from Washington reached Oklahoma Territory and the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* openly debated likely choices for the next governor. But Renfrow weathered this storm as before and, in June, 1894, the *Day County Tribune* said that none of the charges made against the governor by the Republican newspapers were ever substantiated. This proved, the *Day County Tribune* continued, that the charges were concocted only to ridicule Renfrow.[23]

During his term as governor of Oklahoma Territory, Renfrow was quick to encourage settlement. In July, 1893, he urged Secretary of the Interior Smith to open to settlement the Kickapoo Indian lands at the same time as the Cherokee Outlet, but in spite of his proddings, they were not opened until May, 1895. And when, in January, 1895, Acting Indian Agent Frank D. Baldwin of the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache tribes directed all squatters to leave the disputed area along the Washita River boundary of the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Reservation mistakingly included in the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation by an executive order, it was Renfrow who wrote the Secretary of the Interior on their behalf. The governor had been advised of the squatters' plight by a petition dated January 30, 1895.[24]

In other areas of political leadership, Renfrow also developed his administrative skills. His success in part was due to his experience in business, in which he achieved a high level of performance. He continually seemed to be improving his grasp of political matters during his administration. Two legislatures, one in 1895 and the other in 1897, met during Renfrow's term in office; one of these was Republican controlled and the other was dominated by a Democrat-Populist coalition, but Renfrow's leadership ability appeared to grow with each. In the 1895 Republican controlled legislature Renfrow provided less guidance than for the 1897 legislature. He did ask for certain laws, nevertheless, and some of them were enacted in both legislatures, although there is no apparent evidence that he forced through bills in either 1895 or 1897.

Perhaps Renfrow might have provided some guidance to legislative affairs in 1895. That year Thomas J. Palmer was sent to the territorial

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[23] *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, October 31, 1893, p. 3, December 12, 1893, p. 1, March 27, 1894, p. 1; *Day County Tribune* quoted in *Guthrie Daily Leader*, June 16, 1894, p. 2.

[24] Berlin B. Chapman, "Settlers on the Neutral Strip," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (March, 1940), p. 62.

Governor Renfrow and the members of the territorial Council in 1897. The entire Council consisted of either Populists or Democrats who ran together on a fusionist in 1896

legislature to lobby for a bill providing for the relief of certain needy persons. Palmer had difficulty in getting the bill submitted to the Council; upon inquiring, he found that a report had been circulated that Renfrow would veto the bill. Palmer then rushed to Renfrow, who denied the veto rumor and offered to express his support openly to Councillor James P. Gandy of Alva. After Gandy talked to Renfrow, he returned to the Council and introduced the bill which passed the Council the same day, although it died later in the House of Representatives. This indicates a degree of legislative leadership on Renfrow's part.[25]

Renfrow likely used the veto threat to make some of his wishes felt with the legislature, for in 1895 he vetoed about one-half dozen measures, all by the pocket method. By 1897, either the legislature was being less agreeable with the governor, which is most unlikely as it was Democrat-Populist controlled, or Renfrow was growing stronger in his position, for he vetoed fifteen bills and resolutions; five were vetoed with messages and ten were given the pocket veto treatment. On only one of these vetoes was an over-

[25] Jack Cross, ed., "Thomas J. Palmer, Frontier Publicist," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1950–1951), pp. 462–464.

ride attempted. This was a bill which prescribed a method for removing territorial officials from office. The attempt in the House of Representatives failed to obtain the required majority to overcome the veto.[26]

Renfrow was also concerned with the question of revenue for the territory, and in this area he brought to bear the weight of his business experience. Indeed, in his mind revenue problems came even before the welfare of settlers. In December, 1893, Renfrow started to lease out the school lands set aside in the land surveys of the Cherokee Outlet. Even though his circular letter stated that the lands would be leased by open bids, deals could be made. Renfrow came to Woodward in late 1893 to meet with the cattlemen in the western part of the Cherokee Outlet. At this meeting Renfrow agreed that the cowmen could lease every acre of school land in most of the western one-third of the Cherokee Outlet for a price of $33.00 per section per year, although in his circular letter he had announced a minimum price of $25.00 per quarter section per year; thus, the cattle producers received a bargain rate. Renfrow also agreed that the cowmen were to have the land at this price for as long as they wanted it; he promised he would do everything in his power to protect them against the encroachment of settlers. Renfrow may have bypassed the open-bid procedure and locked out settlers with this negotiation, but he made what was apparently a good arrangement for the land by getting it all rented immediately.[27]

By 1895, many of the school land leases had expired and Renfrow was making suggestions for their renewal. While he believed that the schools should receive the maximum value for the land, he also believed that it would be unfair to deprive the lessee of the value of the improvements he made on the land; thus he urged a program to rectify this, including the leasing to one man of as many sections in the western part of the Cherokee Outlet as he desired and some form of compensation to the lessee for improvements.[28]

Turning his attention to other sources of revenue, Renfrow had much to recommend. He was continually concerned with ways to save Oklahoma Territory's money and raise funds for its programs. In 1894 and

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[26] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, 1897* (Guthrie: Daily Leader Press, 1897), pp. 1315–1317: Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, 1897* (Guthrie: Daily Leader Press, 1897), p. 1102.

[27] [Dan W. Peery], "History of Oklahoma's School Endowment," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (December, 1935), p. 387; John W. White Interview, Grant Foreman, ed., "Indian-Pioneer History" (113 vols., unpublished manuscript), Vol. XCIV, pp. 59–60, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[28] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Third Legislative Assembly, 1895*, p. 23; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, 1897*, p. 37–38.

1895 he attacked the cost of sending the insane out of the territory and paying for their maintenance; therefore, he urged they be cared for within Oklahoma Territory. In 1895, a contract was awarded to the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company in Norman and Renfrow then concerned himself with the expense of maintaining the territory's criminals outside of Oklahoma Territory. But he believed that this problem could not be remedied as easily as the cost of the insane and resigned himself to this expense, although he did ask the legislature to give him the power to parole. Oklahoma Territory needed a solid economic footing, Renfrow maintained. In 1894, he noted that outside capital had not come into Oklahoma Territory to any large extent, but he was hopeful that it would. He thought that the territory's natural resources were its greatest source of potential wealth and that a rapid increase in taxable property would reduce the tax burden for all.[29]

By 1896, the Populists and Democrats were supporting the same candidates. That year, out of thirteen seats in the Council and twenty-six in the House of Representatives, the Republicans captured only three, all in the House of Representatives. As anticipated in this situation when the legislature met in 1897, Renfrow called for some Populist measures, including tax relief and a law against free passes from the railroads for government officials. He then seems to have left matters mainly to the legislature, using veto power only as a form of control. The legislature provided some tax relief, but it mostly consisted of excusing the town of Perry from its 1894 tax bill, removing penalties for nonpayment of the 1896 tax and making the delinquency date for tax payments just once a year instead of each time an installment was due. The only other Populist inspired measure was a usury law setting twelve percent as the maximum interest rate.[30]

Besides intergovernmental relations and the land openings, Renfrow was also involved in the relationship between the territorial government and the blacks. By 1895, there was a realization by white society in Oklahoma Territory and the United States of the need for civil rights legislation; a number of solutions were proposed in Oklahoma Territory. In 1895, civil rights were considered in the Oklahoma Territory legislature, which had

[29] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior, 1894*, p. 6; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Third Legislative Assembly, 1895*, pp. 25–26; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior, 1895*, p. 11, *1894*, p. 3, *1896*, p. 3, *1895*, p. 7.

[30] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, January 11, 1897, p. 1; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, 1897*, pp. 33, 48; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Session Laws of 1897 passed at the Fourth Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie: Leader Company, 1897), pp. 81–82, 263–264, 250–251, 186–187.

considerable enthusiasm for the civil rights bill of that year. On February 7, 1895, the bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by W. H. Mason. The next day it was referred to the committee on criminal jurisprudence, which did not report it back until February 28, when it recommended that the bill be sent to the committee of the whole. Nothing more was done about it until March 8, the last day of the session. On that day it was read the third time, was passed by the House of Representatives and sent to the Council, the upper body of the legislature, which approved it and sent it to the governor, who gave it a pocket veto.

Over the years the suggestion has been made from time to time that Renfrow vetoed the civil rights bill because it did not mention segregation, which was not likely the reason. Indeed, the bill even provided for the repeal of the section of the Oklahoma Territory statutes of 1893 that authorized separate schools. There can only be speculation as to Renfrow's motives: because he killed the bill through the pocket veto method, he had no need to give his reasons. But the press was not so silent. The *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* declared that the governor dared not sign the bill because he was afraid the people of his home county would mob him. The newspaper emphasized that Renfrow followed the instincts of a Southern Democrat, living as he did in Democratic Cleveland County, the statement continued, where blacks were not allowed to live. Thus, the bill, approved by the legislature "in the interest of liberty and justice," the article concluded, was allowed to die.[31]

The *Guthrie Daily Leader* waited only until the next day to reply. It pointed out that there was a long delay between the introduction of the bill and its debate on the floor, so long in fact, that the black leaders issued a manifesto declaring that the Republicans were being false to them and were afraid to debate the bill. It was passed on the last day of the session in the House of Representatives only to gain black votes, the explanation continued, and with the expectation that the Council would kill it. But the Council also had eyes on black votes and passed it.[32]

The Republican *Pond Creek News* declared that the bill was designed primarily as a vote getter. Even while it was being considered, some of "the prominent members of the Republican party said . . . that it was in such shape that the governor would have to veto it, then the colored people would blame him for the whole affair." All in all, the *Pond Creek News* decided that "Governor Renfrow did the proper thing in refusing to sign the bill." And the *Edmond Sun-Democrat* added that much valuable time had been wasted on the measure. Renfrow never likely spoke out on why

[31] *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, March 14, 1895, p. 2.

[32] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, March 15, 1895, p. 2.

he vetoed the civil rights bill, but in 1897 he stated that he was "opposed to class legislation and discrimination by law against any persons or class of persons," and then asked for a law defining the rights of people doing business with corporations within Oklahoma Territory.[33]

Although the civil rights bill was probably a sham, major steps were taken during Renfrow's administration, nonetheless, concerning education for the blacks. In his first biennial message to the legislature, delivered in January, 1895, Renfrow urged the establishment of separate schools for blacks at all educational levels. This sentiment was reflected the same year in the report of the Oklahoma Territory superintendent of education who noted that the "weight of public opinion in Oklahoma is in favor of separate schools."[34] Even though a bill for this purpose was introduced in the territorial legislature in 1895, nothing came of it. With the adjournment of the legislature, the Normal—teacher training—School for Oklahoma Territory—today Central Oklahoma State University—at Edmond, established by an act of the 1890 legislature, decided to take matters into its own hands. On April 18, 1895, the board of regents for the Edmond college took steps to build an annex for black students and staff it with instructors. Unfortunately few results came from this, and in 1897 the new president of the college, Edmund Dandridge Murdaugh, noted that the previous president of the Normal School for Oklahoma Territory, with the approbation of the board of regents, had refused admission to black students.[35]

When the territorial legislature met in 1897, Renfrow again joined with others in urging the education of blacks. The first step came on January 26, 1897, when Charles N. Brown, a member of the territorial Council from Clifton, tried to revive part of the old civil rights bill by introducing a new piece of legislation to repeal a statute of 1893 providing for separate schools. On February 10, the bill was reported back from committee with a proposed amendment, to which the Council quickly agreed, which stated that separate educational facilities for blacks would be maintained if even a single resident objected to having mixed races in the schools. With this amendment the bill received further attention, but apparently Brown was

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[33] *Pond Creek News* quoted in *Edmond Sun-Democrat*, March 29, 1895, p. 2; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, 1897*, p. 47.

[34] *Ibid., 1895*, pp. 31, 50.

[35] *Edmond Sun-Democrat*, April 12, 1895, p. 2, April 19, 1895, p. 2; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, 1897*, p. 248.

Northwestern Normal School at Alva, established by Governor Renfrow in 1897

not satisfied with it, for on February 25 he moved that consideration of it be postponed indefinitely; his motion prevailed.[36]

At the same time, the town of Alva was trying to get a teachers' college for its white students. One of the pioneers of the community, William F. Hatfield, accused the people of Edmond, Stillwater and Norman, where various college level institutions were located, of being against a school for Alva. The Edmond men in the Council, according to Hatfield, then introduced a "bill for the Negro Normal at Lansing, saying that would be enough schools for Oklahoma."[37] This bill was actually introduced by Henry S. Johnston of Perry on February 4, 1897. It was reported out of committee, with passage urged, on February 19, but it never came up again and it died on the calender when the session ended. Meanwhile, Alva got its teacher training college—today Northwestern Oklahoma State Uni-

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[36] *Ibid.*, p. 693.

[37] William F. Hatfield Interview, Foreman, ed., "Indian-Pioneer History," Vol. XXVIII, p. 274.

The Colored Agricultural and Normal University of Oklahoma Territory, today Langston University. Creating this institution was one of Renfrow's last acts as governor

versity—when Governor Renfrow signed a bill creating the institution on March 12, 1897.[38]

The probable reason for nonaction on the Council bill to establish a black teacher training college was that the House of Representatives passed a similar bill on February 26, 1897. It had been introduced on February 2, 1897, by William J. Gault of Oklahoma County, but the bill must have been developing for a time. On January 22, 1897, the *El Reno News* reported that J. C. Tousley, the speaker of the House of Representatives and a member from Canadian County, had telegraphed Randolph B. Forrest, an El Reno lawyer prominent in local judicial and legal circles, asking if El Reno wanted the black teachers' college. The *El Reno News* editor did not desire it. He argued that the community's black population was too

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[38] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, 1897*, pp. 643–644, 817, 1392, 1297.

small and that taking the offer "might materially injure the city's chances of securing more desirable favors in the future."[39] Eventually Langston was decided upon as the site for the black college. Edward P. McCabe, a black frontier land promoter and politician, then donated forty acres for it and vigorously began pushing the measure. Finally, on March 9, the bill, after being amended, was passed by the Council and the next day the House of Representatives agreed to the amendment. The bill was then sent to Governor Renfrow who signed it into law on March 11, 1897. Construction began on the Colored Agricultural and Normal University—today Langston University—in April, 1898.[40]

The approval by Renfrow of the bill creating the Colored Agricultural and Normal University at Langston was one of his last actions as governor of Oklahoma Territory. On March 4, 1897, a new president, William McKinley, a Republican, had been inaugurated; he soon took action to replace Renfrow. On May 24, 1897, Renfrow delivered his final speech as governor of Oklahoma Territory and watched as Cassius M. Barnes, another Republican, was inaugurated.

The direction that Renfrow's life then took had been planned for some time. In his annual governor's report for 1894 he stated that the northeastern part of Indian Territory was as valuable in lead and zinc as the area around Joplin, Missouri. But it was to Joplin that he turned his attention. Nearly a year before he left office, he closed a mining deal in Joplin, Missouri, and when he was free from his duties as governor, he moved there. By December, 1898, his holdings were so valuable that an Oklahoma Territory newspaper published a report alleging him to be the richest man in Oklahoma Territory. Apparently the newspaper must have been making a comparison, for Renfrow himself was still living in Joplin at the time. By July, 1899, his company, the Renfrow Mining and Royalty Company, controlled three thousand acres of land around Joplin.[41]

However, Renfrow was not to remain away from Oklahoma for many years. When the lead and zinc fields were opened in Oklahoma in 1907, the Renfrow Mining and Royalty Company moved in, and Renfrow settled in

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[39] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, 1897*, pp. 853, 642; *El Reno News*, January 22, 1897, p. 1.

[40] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), March 12, 1897, p. 6; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, 1897*, pp. 1113–1114, 1051; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Fourth Legislative Assembly, 1897*, pp. 1013, 1079.

[41] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior, 1894*, p. 10; *El Reno News*, August 7, 1896, p. 4, December 16, 1898, p. 6, July 28, 1899, p. 6.

Miami, Oklahoma. He was soon a large holder in the lead and zinc fields near Miami.[42]

Around 1920, Renfrow became interested in the oil industry in Oklahoma. He engaged actively in oil lease and land promotion and development. By 1922, he was a large shareholder of the Mirindo Oil Company which had sizable holdings in the recently opened Mexia field in east-central Texas. But his interest in oil was not to be of long duration. In January, 1922, he heard of the illness of his brother, A. B. Renfrow, in Russellville, Arkansas, and he rushed to be with him. On the afternoon of January 31, 1922, Renfrow was resting in the lobby of the Massey Hotel in Bentonville, Arkansas, when his head was seen to droop; he had died. Burial was in Russellville.[43]

William Cary Renfrow was primarily a businessman; he was only secondarily a politician. From this viewpoint his political role must be weighed. As a businessman, Renfrow proved that he was highly adaptable. With only a public school education, terminated early by the Civil War, he developed from the son of a moderately prosperous planter to one of the wealthiest men in Oklahoma. Throughout his life he successfully engaged in such diverse business fields as merchandising, livery, banking, land speculation, mining and oil.

Nearly every major business or political change in Renfrow's life was accompanied by a geographical change as well. When the Civil War ended he soon moved west and settled in Arkansas, where he was a successful merchant. When Oklahoma Territory was opened he transferred there and became a livery operator, banker and land speculator. While living in Norman, he played a prominent role in the social and political life of the community, as well as in its economic development. Almost as a reward for these endeavors, he served as governor of Oklahoma Territory from 1893 to 1897, a position he did not seek; during these years he lived in Guthrie. After his term as governor, he again changed his career and his location by moving to Joplin, Missouri, and entering mining. His eventual return to Oklahoma, however, did not see a change in economic roles, but toward the end of his life he shifted from lead and zinc to oil. Thus when Renfrow entered a new career, he usually began from bedrock by changing his residence as well.

In each of the business careers that Renfrow pursued he started out with little background and made each a success. An assessment of his actions as governor of Oklahoma Territory leads also to the conclusion that

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[42] *Miami Record-Herald*, February 3, 1922, p. 3.
[43] *Ibid.*

he was likely successful politically. He started out completely unfamiliar with the role of a political executive but grew into it. As he struggled with his new position, he had to bear the attacks of the Republican press in Guthrie as well. He finally overcame this opposition midway through his service as governor when the legislature appointed the Republican newspaper firm as the official territorial printer.

The political policies of Renfrow's administration were uninspiring. He accomplished some of his aims, such as establishing the insane asylum at Norman and authorizing a college for blacks at Langston, but he also failed in others, such as requiring all banks to make annual reports to the governor. Renfrow's actions on behalf of the blacks were limited, but they were circumscribed more by the feelings of the times than by a desire on his part to restrict blacks. He let a civil rights bill die, but most competent critics at the time maintained that it was written in such a way as to invite defeat. Two years later, in 1897, the majority of voters in Oklahoma Territory openly wanted the separate schools that the civil rights bill would have abolished. The attempt of the Normal School for Oklahoma Territory to admit blacks came to naught and El Reno flatly rejected the idea of a black college within its boundaries. Thus, Renfrow's executive actions were attuned to his times.

Renfrow was an honest governor. In addition, he attempted to serve the people of Oklahoma Territory to the best of his ability. He wanted a financially sound government friendly towards business. He may at present be accused while governor of being too much in favor of business, but this was still an era when business dominated all branches of municipal, state and federal government. However, he espoused some of the Populist programs in 1897, unlike the conservative Democrats of the South. And, in addition, instead of being a politician attempting to please business interests only, he was a businessman learning the role of political executive. In this sense he may have made a better administrator than office holders without business development experience, once he learned the methods and problems of political leadership.

CASSIUS McDONALD BARNES
Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1897–1901

*By Nudie E. Williams**

Cassius McDonald Barnes

The whistle of a train in the distance was barely audible from the station platform in Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory. In the noon heat of this day in late May, the men glanced nervously at their watches and smiled at ladies in silk dresses. Meanwhile, the streets were slowly filling with children darting here and there in their Sunday best. Other adults joined the waiting gathering to greet an old friend aboard the approaching train. The mood of these happy citizens concealed the terrible ordeals which a number of them had endured only a short time earlier.

It was but late March when some had been the victims of a tornado which ripped through Chandler, and in early May others had suffered from a torrential rain which flooded most of Guthrie. These twin disasters had taken a frightful toll of lives and destroyed thousands of dollars worth of property. During this period of stress, Cassius McDonald Barnes, one of Guthrie's prominent civic leaders and an active aspirant for the gubernatorial appointment in Oklahoma Territory in 1897, had taken time from his political activities to initiate a campaign to raise funds to aid his less fortunate neighbors. Thus, the people of Oklahoma Territory, and particularly of Guthrie, had developed a special interest in Barnes, recently named as their governor by the newly-elected President William McKinley.

Promptly at 12:30 p.m. on May 24, 1897, Barnes stepped down from the long-awaited train and was ushered to a carriage by the capital city's welcoming committee. Then a mile-long processional escorted the entire group

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down Oklahoma Avenue, turning north on Broad Street, and finally moved east to "government acre." There, standing before a cheering crowd, Associate Justice John C. Tarsney of El Reno administered the oath of office to Barnes.[1]

The new governor was born on August 25, 1845, the oldest of the five children of Henry and Samantha Barnes. The family moved to the vicinity of Albion, Calhoun County, Michigan, from Livingston County, New York, when Barnes was only four years old, because the rich, fertile soil provided a good farming opportunity. Consequently, Barnes grew up on the family farm; meanwhile, his early formal education was acquired in the Calhoun County common school system. Later, his training was supplemented by spasmodic attendance at the Albion Wesleyan Seminary, located in Albion, Michigan.

The practical education of Barnes began at the age of nine when he learned telegraphy. This skill was acquired while working part-time in the Kalamazoo, Michigan, office of the Western Union Telegraph Company. Several years later he went to work for Western Union as a full-time operator in the St. Louis, Missouri, office of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Company; he was also employed briefly by the Pacific Railroad Company. By 1857, he was an employee of the Western Union office at Leavenworth, Kansas, the western terminal of the telegraph line; he worked at this job until the outbreak of the Civil War.

In 1861, when the war began, young Barnes, only fifteen years of age, joined the Battle Creek, Michigan, Engineer Regiment, but later transferred to the Military Telegraph Corps as an operator. Because of his clerical ability, he was assigned to Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon as his private secretary during United States military operations in Missouri. When Lyon was killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek on August 10, 1861, Barnes was transferred to a Military Telegraph Corps unit under the command of Brigadier General William T. Sherman in time to witness the bloody battles of Corinth and Memphis. Finally, at the close of the war, young Barnes was reassigned to Little Rock, Arkansas, and later to Fort Smith, Arkansas, as a telegrapher to assist in phasing out military operations.

After the war, Barnes remained in Arkansas and launched a business career in Little Rock. In addition to becoming a prosperous businessman, he was also a successful suitor, for he married on June 4, 1868, Miss Mary Elizabeth Bartlett of North Adams, Massachusetts, the daughter of Judge

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[1] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), March 1, 1953, section T and C, p. 12; *Edmond Sun-Democrat*, April 23, 1897, p. 1, May 28, 1897, p. 2.

and Mrs. Liberty Bartlett of Little Rock. The young couple soon became active in Little Rock's society and the Republican Party.

In 1872, Barnes accepted a political appointment on the staff of the governor of Arkansas as the state assistant adjutant general. Somewhat later he was named the assistant collector of internal revenue at Fort Smith. He completed his apprenticeship in local and state politics by winning three straight elections for the position of city clerk in Little Rock. The combination of an excellent record in office and the influence of the Bartlett name produced several federal positions for Barnes. The first was as the chief deputy United States marshal for the eastern district of Arkansas from 1876 to 1879 and in the same capacity for the western district of Arkansas from 1879 to 1889.

When the Unassigned Lands were ready for settlement in 1889 in what would soon become Oklahoma Territory, the long and creditable association of Barnes with Arkansas politics was ended when President Benjamin Harrison, a Republican, appointed him receiver for the United States Land Office in Guthrie. Under his management, the land office was operated honestly and efficiently. However, when President Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, became chief executive in 1893, Barnes was not reappointed; nevertheless, the splendid record that he had compiled was public knowledge and was greatly appreciated throughout Oklahoma Territory.[2]

Thus the career of Barnes suffered only a temporary decline; in the meantime, he began to read law and was admitted to the bar of Oklahoma Territory in 1893. Besides engaging in a growing law practice and various business interests, he became a charter member of the Guthrie Board of Trade and the Guthrie Building and Loan Association. Church work also ranked high in his personal life. He was always a very religious man and an active member in the Guthrie Episcopalian Church. As the lay reader of the congregation, he accepted additional responsibilities for the general welfare and finances of the church.

As busy as Barnes was, he found the time to join and provide leadership in fraternal organizations. He had served as the state commander of the Grand Army of the Republic in Arkansas, the major organization of Union Army veterans, and he took great pride in being elected the first commander of the Grand Army of the Republic in Oklahoma Territory. In addition to being a Master Mason in Oklahoma Territory, he also main-

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[2] John B. Meserve, "The Governors of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (September, 1942), p. 222; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1901), pp. 13–15; C. C. Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma" (unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1926), p. 30; *Edmond Sun-Democrat*, April 9, 1897, p. 2; *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, August 17, 1893, p. 2.

tained current memberships in the Knights of Templar and the Knights of Pythias fraternal orders. Barnes was in constant demand as an after-dinner speaker and a social mixer. This personal popularity and social appeal aided immensely in his political rise in Oklahoma Territory. He was always known as "Cash," which may have referred to his successful business interests and not to his given name of Cassius. These endeavors had tested his executive abilities and were proof of his sound business judgments. In whatever capacity he was asked to serve, he always worked with a pleasant disposition and a cooperative attitude.

Meanwhile, Barnes worked vigorously for the success of the Republican Party in Oklahoma Territory. Thus when Barnes made a bid for election from Guthrie in the fall of 1894 to the territorial House of Representatives, he won; almost immediately he was elected the speaker of the House of Representatives. He established an unprecedented record in this position, for all of his decisions in contested cases were substantiated by the vote of the House of Representatives. Although he was one of the few Republicans reelected in 1896 to the territorial House of Representatives, he was elected as its temporary speaker because of his reputation for impartiality and his ability to clear the legislative calendar of business.[3]

In the 1896 political campaign, Oklahoma Territory Republicans had split over the national silver issue and the policies of the local party. When the Republicans met to choose delegates to the national convention, they could not agree on party policies or positions. Both groups endorsed a free homes bill and a statehood bill while disagreeing over a resolution endorsing the free coinage of silver. The national Republican Party official platform was against free silver. Hence factionalism was inevitable. Dennis T. Flynn, the most influential Republican in Oklahoma Territory, led the faction favoring the silver resolution in the territorial convention; Barnes, meanwhile, led the fight against the silver resolution at the territorial convention.

The two factions were consistently at odds over policies for the national convention delegation. Flynn, the Oklahoma Territory delegate to Congress since 1892, had moved to Oklahoma from Kansas during the land run in 1889. In Washington, Flynn had solicited the aid of Representative Thomas B. Reed of Maine, the speaker of the House of Representatives, to get legislation through Congress favorable to Oklahoma Territory; Flynn, in return, was obligated to support Reed's 1896 presidential aspira-

[3] Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood* (4 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1957), Vol. I, p. 465; Franklin C. Smith, "Pioneer Beginnings at Emmanuel, Shawnee," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1946), p. 7; *Stillwater Gazette*, April 8, 1897, p. 2; John H. N. Tindall, ed., *Makers of Oklahoma* (Guthrie: State Capital Company, 1905), p. 12; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, p. 14.

tions. Thus when Barnes asked for a resolution in the territorial Republican convention to send a delegation committed to the national Republican candidate, William McKinley, and the official Republican platform, the quarreling started anew. As a result, Flynn fought for a resolution in the territorial Republican convention allowing an uncommitted delegation to go to the national convention; he also used his influence to get the free silver and uncommitted resolutions approved by the convention.

The feud was further heightened by historical differences. Barnes, an early Arkansas Republican, knew the disadvantages of being both a national minority party and lacking in local support; thus, the Arkansas Republican philosophy was to agree with the policies of the national party, to work to sustain party unity and thus to enjoy a commanding position in the distribution of federal patronage in a national presidential election victory. The approach of Barnes was to align local interests to coincide with the national issues. On the other hand, Flynn a native Kansan, was influenced by the Kansas Republican Party and its philosophy of a strong, aggressive and constructive political organization with emphasis on local interests and leaders who would sacrifice national party alignment for these interests.[4]

Both Republican factions suffered political setbacks in 1896. Flynn was defeated by James Y. Callahan in the race for the post of Oklahoma Territory delegate in Congress. Callahan was the fusionist candidate. The fusionists were unique as a political entity; they were more of a political faction than a political party and were composed of Democrats and Populists. The union of these parties was totally objectionable to the people of the South; only in the northern United States had there been any significant fusion results. The fusion ticket, nevertheless, had risen to the political summit in Oklahoma; the result had removed Flynn from Congress as the Oklahoma Territory delegate.[5]

Barnes was also defeated in 1896 for his bid to be elected as a delegate to the Republican national convention. His defeat was minimal because he was already a member of the Republican national committee. When the committee convened to select a site for the 1896 convention, Mark Hanna, the chairman of the committee and the campaign manager for McKinley, personally favored St. Louis, Missouri, for the convention. In soliciting support for his choice, Hanna promised Barnes: "you vote for St. Louis and if McKinley is elected president you will be governor of Oklahoma."[6] With

[4] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (4 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1929), Vol. II, pp. 575–576.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 576–577.

[6] *Daily Oklahoman*, March 26, 1922, section C, p. 8.

this added incentive, Barnes voted for St. Louis and returned to Oklahoma Territory to wage a bitter political fight against the free silver issue.

The steadfastness of Barnes' campaigning contributed to the national Republican victory, which had a different affect on the two Republican factions in Oklahoma Territory. For Barnes, who had supported McKinley and the national Republican Party, it meant control of the federal patronage in the territory. But bitter rivalry continued between the Republican factions in the territory when it was rumored that Flynn was a possible candidate for governor; the two contentious groups were never able to reconcile their philosophical differences. Finally, on April 1, 1897, after consultation with Republican leaders, President McKinley notified both candidates that Barnes was the nominee for governor of Oklahoma Territory. The appointment became affective on April 21, 1897, with the approval of the United States Senate.[7]

Then on May 24, 1897, after numerous speeches, the inaugural ceremonies ended with the oath of office being administered to Barnes. In the evening, the public paid its respects to Barnes at a reception; at the executive ball, an overflow crowd danced in the McKennon Opera House, where the banquet room was filled with tables of fine food awaiting the hungry guests. The social activities that began the administration of Barnes remained popular throughout his term. During these years Guthrie became the center of territorial society, and Mrs. Barnes, a New Englander by birth, was the perfect hostess for the social whirl. One of the traditions that she established was open house at the governor's home on New Year's Day. On this occasion each year the young men of Guthrie donned their best hats and suits to go calling on the young ladies; each visitor was welcomed and offered refreshments at every opened door. In addition to the New Year's Day open house, Governor Barnes, a good host and an able politician, often invited the members of the press to banquets and lunches in his home; thus he enjoyed a warm and friendly working relationship with newspaper correspondents.[8]

The first official action of Barnes as governor was to reward Fred L. Wenner by appointing him as his private secretary; Wenner was the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* correspondent whose news reporting had focused national attention on Barnes' political efforts in Oklahoma

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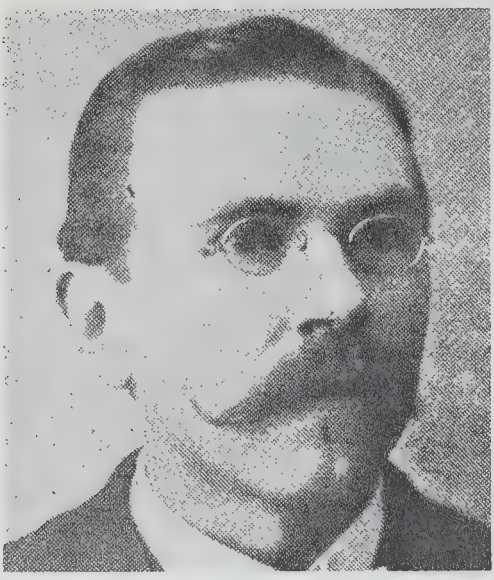
[7] *Stillwater Gazette*, April 8, 1897, p. 2; Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. II, pp. 577–578; *El Reno News*, April 30, 1897, p. 1; *Blackwell Times-Record*, May 13, 1897, p. 4.

[8] *Edmond Sun-Democrat*, May 28, 1897, p. 2; *El Reno News*, April 2, 1897, p. 1.



Fred Wenner, a nationally known newspaper correspondent, became the private secretary of Governor Barnes

Territory during the recent presidential election. The first year policy of the Barnes administration followed the national guidelines for political patronage. McKinley had suggested to the new governor that the question of removal of Democratic officeholders should not be considered before early 1898—slightly less than a year after Barnes took office. This was done to help restore political stability and consult on the candidates being considered for appointments. Furthermore, Barnes as governor wanted to rebuild the Republican Party in Oklahoma Territory. To do this he could not appoint only his factional Republican supporters to office; any effort to protect Republican interests and unite the party in Oklahoma Territory would hinge on the fair distribution of patronage. He left no doubt as to his own position on patronage: "I have made no promises or pledges as to territorial appointments and will not do so until after my return home," he said while in Washington on the eve of becoming governor, "and that Republicans all over the territory will be consulted in regard to those matters before appointments are made."[9]

The question of patronage, in spite of Barnes' efforts and assurances of fairness, caused immediate controversy over postmaster and marshal appointments. Tom Gainer, seeking the postmaster appointment at El Reno, published a letter in the *El Reno News* charging that the governor had promised him the position; his claim was based on a personal letter dated before Barnes was appointed governor. Another irate office seeker accused the governor of forcing his withdrawal as a candidate for a United States marshal appointment. Later, the candidate dropped the charges and admitted that Barnes had explained that national political leaders favored another candidate for the position. Most political observers believed the attempts were designed to force the governor to give opposition Republi-

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[9] Cassius M. Barnes to Charles H. Filson, April 13, 1897, *El Reno News*, April 23, 1897, p. 1.

cans a larger share of the patronage and a greater voice in his administration.[10]

Barnes promoted the welfare of Oklahoma Territory despite the political feuds. His annual report to the secretary of the interior in 1897 reflected his faith in the future of Oklahoma Territory. He noted the abundance of natural resources, the growing population and the increasing taxable income that would enable the territory to reduce its debt. The needs of the territory were numerous, but education headed the governor's priority list. In the sparsely populated western area of Oklahoma Territory, the youth were without higher educational facilities; he immediately encouraged construction of the recently authorized teacher training college at Alva, today Northwestern Oklahoma State University. Subsequently, the institution became the fastest growing college-level school in the entire territory. Similarly, black citizens had long petitioned the territorial government for their own college facilities; Barnes supported these efforts with an authorization for building funds for the Colored Agricultural and Normal University recently established at Langston, present-day Langston University.

Other areas of special concern with Barnes were the care of the insane, the disabled and the aged. To insure the continued well-being of the insane, he renewed the contract with the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company, thus continuing Governor Renfrow's policy. Nor did the care of the aged and disabled escape Barnes' attention. The increasing number of disabled veterans in Oklahoma Territory was also alarming. Consequently, he cooperated with the Grand Army of the Republic in organizing petitions to Congress requesting assistance for this need. He suggested the old Council Grove Reservation, a little used tract of land near Fort Reno, several times to the secretary of the interior and the president as a possible gift to Oklahoma Territory for a soldier home. Both efforts produced very little in terms of relief for Civil War veterans.[11]

Another of the immediate issues was the use of school land funds to finance the common school systems. Congress had authorized sections sixteen and thirty-six in each township set aside for this benefit with each new land opening. There was disagreement, however, between the counties and the territory over the use of the revenue. The territory favored a plan whereby the money would be distributed from a common fund to each

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[10] *Ibid.*, July 23, 1897, p. 4, August 6, 1897, p. 1, August 13, 1897, p. 1.

[11] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory for the Year 1897* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), pp. 3–6, 9–10, 14–15; *Stillwater Gazette*, May 5, 1898, p. 2.

Located in Norman, the Oklahoma Sanitarium for the Insane attracted the special interest of Governor Barnes

county according to its needs; each county wanted to use the funds from each assigned section of land within its boundaries for its own local systems. However, higher education was financed by money authorized through executive action so that section thirteen of each township provided support for the colleges and universities; similarly, section thirty-three was authorized by executive order for funding public building programs.

Although Barnes was optimistic about the future of Oklahoma Territory, he was also concerned about the results of territorial legislation. He felt that the legislative sessions were not long enough to allow adequate preparation of clear and concise laws. The biennial sessions had a sixty-day limitation that produced too many statutes that depended on interpretation to define their authorization and jurisdiction. This flaw in the legislative process nearly destroyed the administration of Barnes in 1899.[12]

Meanwhile, the fusionists failed in another attempt to dominate the

[12] Dora A. Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933), pp. 266–267; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory for the Year 1898* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), pp. 23–25; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory for the Year 1897*, p. 37.

elective offices of Oklahoma Territory because of the inability of the Democrats and Populists to control their dissident factions. The fusion faction and the dissidents selected their own candidates to face the Republicans in 1898. Led by Flynn, the Republicans returned a commanding majority to both houses of the legislature, and Flynn won by an overwhelming vote another term in Congress representing Oklahoma Territory.[13]

While politics dominated the headlines and captured public attention, other issues pointed out the problems and progress of the territory. In 1898, Barnes pointed with pride to the outstanding population growth rate of the territory. He also noted that tax increases were less than in any other western state or territory, an exceptional fact since the bulk of land in many counties was not taxable because the titles remained under federal control due to the provisions of the Homestead Act of 1862 and its five year residency requirement. However, the increasing indebtedness was due to expanding needs of the territory and the limited sources of taxable land. Housing convicted criminals in the territory was one of the critical needs, along with the education of those with limiting physical defects; Barnes responded to these needs with an expansion in contractual social services. Oklahoma Territory criminals were housed in the Kansas State Penitentiary at Lansing by contract, but Oklahoma Territory was responsible for the transportation of the prisoners to Kansas and agreed to pay a fee of thirty-five cents per day for each inmate's upkeep. Other social service programs included a contractual arrangement in Guthrie for the education and care of the territorial deaf and mute. Besides the special care institutions, public schools textbooks were provided to the school systems by contract and hard bargaining. Efforts to provide a well-planned social service program while keeping costs to a minimum was a remarkable feature of the Barnes administration.[14]

The nation faced an international crisis in 1898 with the coming of the Spanish-American War. Long before the declaration of war, Oklahomans were eager and available for volunteer duty. Just after the war began, Oklahoma Territory was authorized one troop of cavalry that became famous as part of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders. The citizens of the territory were offended when they were omitted in the second call for volunteers; Governor Barnes traveled to Washington to petition for permission to raise a battalion of volunteers. Authorization was granted,

[13] Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. II, pp. 578–579.

[14] Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, Vol. I, p. 466; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory for the Year 1898*, pp. 6, 18–20, 62; *Contracts Made by the Governor of Oklahoma Territory* (Guthrie: State Capital Printing Company, 1899), pp. 3–5, 7–10, 13–14.

the force was raised and then assigned to the First Regiment of Territorial Volunteers. Barnes' own son served with distinction throughout the war, and at its close Oklahoma Territory gave all of its volunteers a hero's welcome.[15]

The Spanish-American War ended in December, 1898, shortly before the legislature convened in Guthrie. Each territorial official and board submitted a report to the legislature. "Oklahoma has during the past two years," Barnes told the legislature, "participated in and is now enjoying her full share of the generally prosperous condition of the nation," which he believed was due to "a restored confidence in a sound financial policy."[16] Barnes continued committed to strong welfare programs for the territory, but expressed concern for keeping costs to a minimum. He stated his position clearly in his veto message of a bill that provided for appropriations for additional officers and clerks for the legislature. In fact, most of the previous administrations had accepted these positions as a matter of legislative patronage. Barnes disallowed the bill because of a federal law prohibiting the creation of subordinate offices by a legislative assembly. He further criticized the legislature for the lack of urgency in getting the work of the session done; the legislature had passed only one bill after twenty-four days of proceedings. Expenditures soon became a major issue when the legislature questioned Barnes' authority to promote social service programs and negotiate contracts.

The legislature questioned Governor Barnes regarding the mounting expenses of the territory, the control of the land lease monies and the method of distributing common school funds. When members of the legislature made serious accusations of alleged extravagance and mismanagement in handling school funds, a joint investigation committee made up of Council and House of Representative members was appointed to inquire into these allegations under the provisions of a Council concurrent resolution.[17]

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[15] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory for the Year 1898*, pp. 65–66; *El Reno News*, December 30, 1898, p. 2; Meserve, "The Governors of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 3, p. 223.

[16] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fifth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, 1899* (Guthrie: State Capital Printing Company, 1899), p. 21.

[17] Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 267–268; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory for the Year 1899* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), pp. 6–7; Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma," p. 32; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Fifth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, 1899* (Guthrie: State Capital Printing Company, 1899), pp. 100–107, 88; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fifth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, 1899*, p. 765.

The Deaf and Mute Institute in Guthrie, a point of conflict between the territorial legislature and Governor Barnes

On March 9, 1899, the joint investigation committee made its report in an open session of the legislature. There were sixteen areas of investigation, but the lack of time and evidence prevented a complete report. The committee began with the charge that the governor had exceeded his authority to make contracts in excess of appropriations provided by territorial law. The report cited that the teacher training college at Alva was authorized $5,000 for construction, but based on actual estimated needs, the governor had contracted buildings in excess of $80,000; the Guthrie deaf and mute institution contract was authorized for only one year while Barnes had signed a multiyear pact for service covering five years to capitalize on lower yearly rates. The committee based its accusations on territorial laws that were vaguely worded, and the limitation of authority was gleaned from the context of this legislation. The entire administration of Barnes was implicated as being corrupt and the suggestion was that the governor himself aided and abetted wrongdoing and abuse of office. However, when the adjutant general of the territory was found guilty of the

misuse of funds, he was promptly dismissed from office by Barnes and every effort was made to prevent such practices. Later, the attorney general of the territory was accused of using his office to further his private law practice: the charge was that he could not represent the school land lease board in a private capacity and collect the ten percent service fee. A dissenting member of the joint investigation committee, however, defended the attorney general's rights to collect a service fee and to act as a private lawyer without a conflict of interest.

Although Barnes was able to defend his administration and his actions as governor from charges by the joint investigation committee, he was in no position to fight the open criticism of William Jenkins, the secretary of Oklahoma Territory. Jenkins had used his influence to force legislation to reduce the governor's control over the school land lease funds. Even though a board had been established to manage these funds, the friction increased between the secretary and the governor because both sought to influence the school board by their personal philosophy; thus when the most serious charge against the governor involved the school land lease funds, there developed a political rivalry. The governor was accused by the joint investigation committee of depositing the monies in his personal account and of using the interest for his private purposes. However, the joint investigation committee failed to mention in its majority report that the governor made no transfers or withdrawals from any of the school land lease funds for his personal use. Neither had the committee proven that he received higher than normal rates of interest on these monies. In spite of all of the criticism of the governor, the 1899 legislative session passed eighty-two bills; twenty-four of these were vetoed by the governor, but only one was passed over his veto.[18]

While the normal business of the legislature went on, Governor Barnes continued to fight political hostility. The *Daily Oklahoman* published a report that eight charges had been officially filed against him by Flynn Republicans Selwynn Douglas, Henry Overholser and E. E. Brown, all of Oklahoma City, and that President McKinley and Secretary of the Interior Ethan A. Hitchcock were presently studying the charges. Hitchcock authorized a special inspector to come to Oklahoma Territory to investigate the charges. In the meantime, other opposition Republicans in the territory

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[18] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Fifth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, 1899*, pp. 285–362; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the Council Proceedings of the Fifth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, 1899*, pp. 1132–1137; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 278–279; Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. II, p. 579.

used their influence to secure the dismissal of the governor. O. A. Mitscher, the national Republican committeeman from the territory and a close personal friend of President McKinley, had written to the White House asking that Barnes be replaced. The seriousness of the accusations could not be ignored, and Governor Barnes was summoned to Washington to answer the charges against him.

After Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock interviewed both Barnes and his accusers, he ruled that Barnes would remain in office. Hitchcock wanted the incident closed and the Republican factions ended for the general welfare of the national party and its future in Oklahoma Territory. The *El Reno News*, a strong Republican newspaper, expressed the sentiment of the supporters of Barnes when it stated that the charges had been conspired by his political enemies seeking personal revenge. Thus Barnes returned to Guthrie exonerated of all charges and the question of impeachment behind him.[19]

The burning issue that affected all Oklahomans, regardless of party, was the desperate need for a free homes act from Congress. Barnes had repeatedly petitioned the president and the secretary of the interior in all of his annual reports for such an act. Since the original Homestead Act of 1862, under which settlers received free lands after fulfilling a five year resident requirement, each Oklahoma land opening had a $1.25 to $1.50 per acre fee in addition to residential and land improvement obligations. Temporary relief was granted to settlers suffering from droughts and facing bankruptcy in the depression of 1893 that allowed them an extended payment schedule. Finally, on June 17, 1900, Congress passed a Free Homes Bill. As a result, all unoccupied lands opened were free with the exception of land office fees and unpaid balances on lands settled before 1900. This timely legislation saved Oklahoma Territory settlers $15,000,000 and stimulated the rapid growth of the area.

Politically, the Free Homes Act made Flynn an overwhelming choice for reelection in 1900 as the Oklahoma Territory delegate in Congress. The fusion faction controlled the upper house of the territorial legislature, but the Republicans held a comfortable majority in the lower house; this set the stage for a long and bitter debate over the statehood question. Barnes had always supported the position that Oklahoma and Indian territories should constitute a single state; in keeping with this point of view, he vetoed in 1899 a legislative resolution calling for a constitutional convention

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[19] *Daily Oklahoman*, June 18, 1899, p. 1; *Edmond Sun-Democrat*, July 14, 1899, p. 2; *Daily Oklahoman*, June 13, 1899, p. 1; *Edmond Sun-Democrat*, June 16, 1899, p. 2; *Kingfisher Free Press*, February 1, 1900, p. 2; *Daily Oklahoman*, February 3, 1900, p. 2; *El Reno News*, February 1, 1900, p. 1.

and a petition to Congress for separate statehood for Oklahoma Territory. The pro-statehood faction for Oklahoma Territory favored a two state plan for what is today the state of Oklahoma and saw the Curtis Act of Congress of 1898, bringing federal law to Indian Territory, as a firm step for Indian Territory toward statehood. Meanwhile, Barnes promoted a single state plan for what is today Oklahoma; he would never endorse a twin state plan for the two territories.[20]

The bitterest fight in the controversy was focused in a bill of the legislature which provided for the selection, location and construction of five territorial institutions, namely a penitentiary, an asylum for the deaf, mute and blind, another for the insane and two industrial schools. Subsequently, those who supported or opposed the measure did so with purely local interests in mind. The selection process for the institutions was designed to solicit the support of legislators who had either benefited from past legislation or who would derive some advantages from other pending bills. The most important of the other bills that held the interests of legislators from the western areas of the territory were those providing for a teacher training school in Greer County and a university preparatory school in Kay County.

Legislative support decisively favored separate states formed out of Indian and Oklahoma territories rather than a single state out of the twin territories. Hence, the avid supporters of the bill providing for the selection, location and construction of the five territorial institutions favored the admission of Oklahoma Territory regardless of the status of Indian Territory for statehood. The general opinion of the bill supporters was that if the people of Oklahoma Territory would locate, construct and finance these institutions themselves, this would convince Congress that the territory was ready for statehood.

The struggle in the legislature became desperate. Yet, the bill providing for the five territorial institutions passed the legislature by a wide margin and reached the office of Governor Barnes on the fifty-seventh day of the legislative session. Barnes refused to approve the bill and it died without his signature in a pocket veto. He signed, however, the bills for a teacher

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[20] *Stillwater Gazette*, January 27, 1898, p. 2; *El Reno News*, February 4, 1898, p. 2; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory for the Year 1897*, pp. 40–41; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory for the Year 1898*, p. 76; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory for the Year 1899*, p. 103; Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. II, p. 579; *Purcell Register*, January 6, 1889, p. 1; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 265–266.

Governor Barnes, a resident of Guthrie, retired to this home after leaving office

training school in Greer County and a preparatory school in Kay County.[21]

The fight over the bill providing for the five territorial institutions revived the feuds between the Republican factions. Although Flynn and many other leading Republicans had supported the measure, the position of Governor Barnes on the issue widened the breach between the two Republican factions. Old political wounds were reopened and anti-Barnes Republicans screamed for his removal. The political feud reached its climax when the factional interests went to Washington to petition against Barnes' reappointment in 1901. The infighting threatened to destroy the Republicans in Oklahoma Territory. Thus the most influential factors in President McKinley's decision not to reappoint Barnes were the negative endorsement by Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock and the appeal for political harmony in Oklahoma Territory politics. Therefore, Barnes was

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[21] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory for the Year 1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), pp. 112–113; Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. II, pp. 579–580; Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, Vol. I, pp. 467–468.

sacrificed for party unity. William Jenkins, the secretary of the territory, was appointed to succeed him as a compromise candidate for Republican Party harmony in Oklahoma Territory on April 15, 1901.[22]

Barnes remained active in Guthrie as one of its leading and most popular citizens. He served as president of the Logan County Bank and continued his political career as mayor of Guthrie from 1903 to 1905, and was re-elected in 1907 for a two year period. With the Democratic Party in the ascendancy, he lost some of his political appeal as a Republican leader. He refused to accept political appointments that he felt were offered because of old friendships; however, he held several minor elective offices before retiring from public life. Then he returned to the practice of law in Guthrie. His wife died on May 27, 1908, but two years later he married Rebecca Borney in Chicago and moved to Leavenworth, Kansas. There he worked at his old occupation as a telegraph operator until failing health forced him to relocate in New Mexico, where he lived until he died on February 18, 1925. His body was returned to Oklahoma for burial in Summit View Cemetery at Guthrie.[23]

Born into a sturdy farm environment, Barnes became self-reliant, physically strong, acquired a fairly adequate common school education and with a better than average intellect developed a practical personal philosophy early in life. As a youngster, he began earning his livelihood as a telegraph operator and soon possessed deep religious beliefs, a sincere concern for his fellow man and a strong belief in his convictions.

While governor of Oklahoma Territory, he placed the needs of its people first and the discipline of the Republican Party second. He fought almost single-handed for improvements in educational facilities at all levels for both blacks and whites. His concern for the welfare of the less fortunate caused bitter opposition because his priorities provided more for the people and less for the politicians. Because of his dedication to social service needs, his commitment would not allow him to sacrifice his convictions to party politics; thus he was removed from office to keep political peace. He was one of that rare breed of officeholders of his point in time who placed honesty, principle, service and dignity above all other considerations.

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22 *El Reno News*, July 14, 1899, p. 4, February 15, 1900, p. 4; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 284–286.

23 Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma," p. 35; *Daily Oklahoman*, February 21, 1925, p. 1.

WILLIAM MILLER JENKINS
Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1901

*By Delmer W. Porter**

William Miller Jenkins

His conversation ended, President Theodore Roosevelt moved abruptly toward his private office in the White House. He was immediately stopped by William Miller Jenkins, the governor of Oklahoma Territory, who asked to be heard. Roosevelt had just removed Jenkins from office over charges of misconduct. In a tense atmosphere Jenkins told the president that he could produce good men who would completely exonerate him of the charges. Ignoring this plea, Roosevelt looked at the man he had just removed from office and told him that if others came forward and condoned his actions he would lose faith in such men. He then turned and went into his office and closed the door. Jenkins left the White House undoubtedly heartbroken over the severe blow dealt his political career.[1]

Jenkins was born in Alliance, Ohio, on April 25, 1856. After graduating from high school, he attended Mount Union College, which was also located in Alliance. For a while he taught school in Stark County, where Alliance was located, and he also began to study law. In 1878, Jenkins married Delphina White of Dublin, Indiana; this marriage resulted in six children: Delbert, William, Mary, Hugh, Jessie and Ray. Jenkins soon moved to Harlan, Iowa, and continued his law studies in the office of Platt Wicks. In 1882, he was admitted to the bar at Harlan and soon engaged in the practice of law in Defiance, Iowa. Leaving Iowa, Jenkins and

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* The author is a Master of Arts candidate in history at Oklahoma State University.

[1] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), April 17, 1932, p. 6–C.

his family moved to Arkansas City, Kansas, where he again set up a law practice.[2]

While living in Kansas, Jenkins became involved in local Republican politics. Through this activity he was appointed a delegate to the Republican national convention held in Chicago, Illinois, in 1888. It was at this convention that Jenkins first gained attention as the "Original McKinley Man."[3] When the roll was called, Jenkins ignored the other candidates and voted for William McKinley of Ohio as the Republican presidential nominee, the first vote ever cast for him in a national political convention. Although McKinley was not selected as the party choice, the loyalty shown by Jenkins at this convention and again at the Republican national convention in Minneapolis in 1892 was to be remembered by McKinley as he rose to power.[4]

Jenkins' action at Chicago in 1888 came as a surprise to many. Actually, he was being loyal to an old friend. Jenkins reportedly first met McKinley when Jenkins was nine years old. McKinley was returning to his home in Canton, Ohio, a neighboring town of Alliance, after the Civil War. As he passed through Alliance he happened upon a group of boys, two of whom had obviously been in a fight. Noticing that the smaller of the pair had a bloody nose, McKinley began scolding the larger youth. He was soon interrupted by the smaller boy, who said, "Never mind, mister, I'll lick him tomorrow."[5] McKinley then laughed, patted the young man on the back and replied, "I'll bet you will, my boy. One who has the sand of you can lick a whole lot of people."[6] From that time, Jenkins became an ardent supporter of McKinley.[7]

In 1891, Jenkins was appointed an Indian allotting agent by President Benjamin Harrison. In this position, he allotted lands to Indians on the Siletz Reservation in Oregon and to the Pawnees in Oklahoma Territory. He worked in this capacity until 1893, when the job was completed. Jenkins and his family then made the land run into Oklahoma Territory with the opening of the Cherokee Outlet in 1893. Settling in Kay County, in a dugout home, he resided there until his appointment as the secretary of Okla-

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[2] John B. Meserve, "The Governors of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (March, 1942), p. 224; *Stillwater Gazette*, April 25, 1901, p. 1; *Daily Oklahoman*, October 20, 1941, p. 3; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1901), pp. 17–18.

[3] Unidentified Newspaper Clipping, Fred S. Barde Collection, Library Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

homa Territory on June 11, 1897. He then moved to Guthrie, the territorial capital.[8]

Jenkins' appointment as secretary of Oklahoma Territory was due to his friendship with McKinley, who became the president of the United States in 1897. McKinley had wanted to make Jenkins governor, but since the secretary's salary was higher than that of governor, McKinley decided that this would be a better way to reward his friend. As secretary, Jenkins had among his responsibilities the duty of disbursing officer of the territory. In this capacity he paid the salaries of all territorial officers, which included members of the legislature. He also arranged for a place for the legislature to meet and provided its members with the materials they needed to conduct their business. His job likewise included that of acting governor during the absences of Governor Cassius M. Barnes. He was also a member of the Oklahoma Territory School Land Board. In this capacity he succeeded in changing the control of the school land funds from the governor alone to the three school land board members as well.[9]

Jenkins' greatest asset as secretary appears to have been his non-involvement with the two Republican factions in the territory. One of these factions was led by Governor Barnes and the other was controlled by Dennis T. Flynn, the congressional delegate for the territory. As the time for Barnes' reappointment as governor approached, the Republicans opposed to his administration went to Washington in an attempt to block his reappointment. In Washington, the Republicans opposed to Barnes found support in Secretary of the Interior Ethan Allen Hitchcock, who they had convinced that Barnes should no longer serve as governor. Hitchcock then presented a suggestion to President McKinley, who had just been reelected, that Barnes must not be reappointed governor. While the efforts to stop Barnes continued, names of possible successors appeared, and among these was Jenkins. He was not the first choice of those against Barnes, but Jenkins' non-partisanship made him an acceptable compromise candidate. This position, along with McKinley's friendship, tipped the scales in Jenkins' favor and on April 15, 1901, he was appointed governor of Oklahoma Territory, having served four years as secretary of the territory.[10]

The man appointed to replace Jenkins as secretary of Oklahoma Terri-

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[8] Rex F. Harlow and Victor E. Harlow, *Makers of Government in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1930), p. 152; *Stillwater Gazette*, April 25, 1901, p. 1.

[9] *Daily Oklahoman*, October 20, 1941, p. 3; W. W. Jenkins, *Political Death by Assassin's Bullet* (Denver: Dingerson Press, 1970), p. 156; Dora A. Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933), pp. 278–279.

[10] *Daily Oklahoman*, March 1, 1953, p. 19 T and C, April 13, 1901, p. 1; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 284–287.

Governor Jenkins, left, being sworn in at Guthrie on May 13, 1901. John H. Burford, right, Chief Justice of Oklahoma Territory, is administering the oath of office

tory was William C. Grimes of Kingfisher. Grimes had been a member of the group that had gone to Washington to oppose the reappointment of Governor Barnes. While in Washington, Grimes actively supported Jenkins for governor and in turn Jenkins gave his support to Grimes for secretary of Oklahoma Territory.[11]

On May 12, 1901, Jenkins was inaugurated in Guthrie. He was administered the oath of office by Oklahoma Territory's Chief Justice John H. Burford. After being sworn in, Governor Jenkins addressed the more than two thousand people who had come to witness his inauguration. "I shall make no promises," said Jenkins, "or say anything which you might remember or I might forget."[12] In this statement Jenkins was likely attempting to placate the rival factions within the Republican Party by making no promises that would benefit one faction over the other. This statement also suggests that Jenkins had no definite plan of action to follow as governor. This view is supported by remarks made by Jenkins upon his return to Oklahoma Territory after being appointed governor. When asked what policy he would pursue as governor, Jenkins replied that there would be "no haste."[13] It appears that Jenkins felt confident of his ability to heal the

[11] *Southwest World* (Guthrie), May 4, 1901, p. 4; *Daily Oklahoman*, May 14, 1901, p. 1.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.*, April 26, 1901, p. 4.

break within the Republican Party; however, in the end Jenkins was to become a victim of those who fought for political power.[14]

As governor of Oklahoma Territory, Jenkins served only a short time, from May 13 to November 30, 1901. As there was no session of the legislature held during his administration, Jenkins did not commit himself to party legislation. Nevertheless, during his tenure as governor he witnessed the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche and Wichita-Caddo Indian lands along the Red River on August 6, 1901. These areas, unlike previous lands opened for settlement, were chosen by lottery instead of a land run. Although the lottery and the lands opened were under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, Jenkins played an active role. He was consulted about the establishment of the new counties of Kiowa, Comanche and Caddo, and in the naming of their county seats which were Hobart, Lawton and Anadarko. Jenkins also took an active part in the appointment of the officials for the new counties and in the dedication of the Wichita Forest Reserve. Jenkins and members of the school land board, which included J. J. Houston, Charles Filson and John T. Holt, also went to Washington to select school lands to be awarded to Oklahoma Territory. These lands amounted to about seventy thousand acres out of the areas to be opened. Under the administration of Jenkins, the leasing rules for school lands were revised, allowing the territory to receive more money for the lands it leased. This was accomplished by appraising the lands and then allowing the prospective renters to bid on what they would pay above the appraised value. As governor, Jenkins also favored single statehood for Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory. In his report to the secretary of the interior in 1901, Jenkins, in looking at the past legislation of Congress, said that "it has been the intention and thought of Congress since Oklahoma was first organized out of the old Indian Territory that the entire original Indian Territory should eventually become one state."[15]

Jenkins also encountered problems as governor of Oklahoma Territory. At one time the Associated Press announced that he had asked Governor William Stanley of Kansas to pardon the outlaw Emmett Dalton who had been sentenced to life imprisonment for his participation in the Coffeyville, Kansas, bank robbery in 1893. This drew much criticism from those who felt that outlaws had obstructed the development of the territory. Some felt it improper that the governor should request a pardon for an outlaw

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[14] *Ibid.*, May 14, 1901, p. 1; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, May 13, 1901, p. 1.

[15] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma for the Year 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), p. 128; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, p. 295; Jenkins, *Political Death by Assassin's Bullet*, pp. 157–159; *Daily Oklahoman*, March 1, 1953, p. 19 T and C, June 14, 1901, p. 1.

when the territory was asking for admission to the Union. Actually, Jenkins believed in pardoning deserving convicts, for he pardoned at least ten men from prison in less than three months after he assumed office. In June, 1901, Jenkins again alienated a segment of the people of Oklahoma Territory by refusing to attend the commencement of the black school at Guthrie. This was considered an insult since all former Republican governors had attended the commencements. Jenkins also drew criticism for his dismissal of a committee established by Governor Barnes to locate a southwestern teacher training college. Members of the committee questioned the right of Jenkins to nullify their appointments, and in an opinion given by Judge J. C. Strang, the attorney general of Oklahoma Territory, Jenkins was upheld in his decision to remove the members of the committee and replace them with a committee of his own choice. These problems, however, were small compared with those Jenkins would soon face.[16]

On September 6, 1901, President McKinley was shot by Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist, and died on September 14. With McKinley's death, Jenkins was faced with the loss of his most powerful and influential supporter. Soon after McKinley's death, Jenkins' enemies openly began to attack him. In early October, Judge J. J. Merrick, a longtime member of the legislature from Lincoln County, and a man who was refused a seat on the Oklahoma Territory Supreme Court by Jenkins, presented charges to Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock. Among the accusations was the allegation that Jenkins was attempting to use the office of Oklahoma Territory treasurer for his own gain. The charge alleged that Jenkins offered Joseph McNeal, a prominent Guthrie banker, the office of treasurer "provided McNeal would do certain things."[17] Some doubt has since been cast on this charge, for meantime it was found that McNeal had demanded that he be appointed treasurer and was enraged when he was not selected. To serve as treasurer for Oklahoma Territory, Jenkins appointed Cassius Rambo of Pawnee. Rambo was a director of the Pawnee bank and originally from Shelby County, Ohio, a fact that helped him gain the appointment. Although Merrick presented the charges against Jenkins in Washington, it was alleged that McNeal was the person who actually inspired the investigation of Jenkins.[18]

Other charges presented against Jenkins included his failure to stop scandalous conduct by members of some of the territorial school boards.

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16 Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 296–297; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, August 13, 1901, p. 1; *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), August 25, 1901, p. 1.

17 *Daily Oklahoman*, October 11, 1901, p. 5.

18 *Ibid.*, October 11, 1901, p. 5, April 17, 1932, p. 6–C, March 1, 1953, p. 19 T and C; *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, September 3, 1901, p. 1.

Specifically named was James E. Ament, the president of what is today Northwestern Oklahoma State University at Alva, accused of duplicating his accounts so that some bills were paid twice. The charge that was to have the greatest effect, however, was that the governor secretly owned stock in the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company of Norman. The Oklahoma Sanitarium Company had been contracted to take care of Oklahoma Territory's insane. Shortly after the contract was renewed on May 31, 1901, Dr. John Threadgill, the director of the institution, notified Jenkins that he wished to surrender the contract. James Cottingham of Guthrie and James Robb of Kingfisher then applied for the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company contract and purchased Threadgill's majority interest of stock. When the contract was awarded them, Jenkins asked that $10,000 worth of stock be set aside for friends who had an interest in the company. Apparently the reason for this request was to insure that interested and suitable people be involved with the sanitarium. The stock was then placed in banker McNeal's hands until suitable persons could be found to purchase it. In the charges that were made it was alleged that Jenkins had reserved the stock for his own personal use. On October 10, 1901, it was revealed that the Department of the Interior was investigating Jenkins' conduct concerning the charges.[19]

In a letter to Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock, Jenkins denied that he owned stock either directly or indirectly in the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company. However, he acknowledged that he had asked that $10,000 of the stock be reserved for others in order to insure that the sanitarium would be in good hands. Feeling this explanation sufficient, Jenkins and Chief Justice Burford left for a bear hunt in Indian Territory. When Jenkins returned from this trip on November 11, 1901, he found that he had been deserted by almost every Oklahoma Territory Republican, the only exceptions being Horace Speed, a federal attorney, and Thompson B. Ferguson, the editor of the Watonga *Republican*. Also during his absence an employee of the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company, Arthur Keith, and a discharged patient, Frank Preston, charged that patients were being starved to death and many who were cured or never insane were being kept so that the management could make money. E. E. Brown of the Guthrie *Observer* also defended the charges that people in the sanitarium were being denied sufficient food and clothing, and according to him one mother was even refused permission to see her son. In addition, it was whispered about that some of the territory's officials owned stock in the sanitarium. Included among these

[19] *Ibid.*, October 11, 1901, p. 5, November 29, 1901, p. 1; Jenkins, *Political Death by Assassin's Bullet*, p. 157; *Daily Oklahoman*, April 17, 1932, p. 6–C, October 11, 1901, p. 5; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, December 12, 1905, pp. 2–3.

were Jenkins, Grimes and Flynn. When questioned by Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock, Flynn said that he had some of the stock in his possession.[20]

Realizing his position, Jenkins left for Kansas on November 14 enroute to Washington. While in Kansas looking for support, Jenkins was able to enlist the aid of Charles Curtis, the future vice president of the United States, who was a member of the United States House of Representatives from Kansas. Leaving Kansas he went to Washington, where on November 18 he met with Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock. At this meeting Jenkins attempted to explain the charges that had been filed against him; however, Hitchcock refused to discuss the matter and would give no indication as to whether the governorship might be offered to someone else.[21]

In a conversation on November 28, President Roosevelt told Curtis that he had "examined the charges against Governor Jenkins carefully."[22] His conclusion was that he felt Jenkins was not a dishonest man, but because of his indiscreet handling of the sanitarium contract he would be "unable to continue him in office."[23] After hearing of this conversation, Jenkins still had hopes of clearing himself and felt that the president had merely misinterpreted the explanation of the affair that he had received from Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock.[24]

On November 30, 1901, President Roosevelt removed Jenkins as governor of Oklahoma Territory, allowing him to say very little in his own behalf. In a memorandum on the removal, Roosevelt stated that Jenkins had asked for the stock for a friend, in order to repay a political debt. In a later statement Jenkins said that the stock had been set aside to insure that the sanitarium was in good hands. It seems that Roosevelt decided that it was to settle a political debt. In his memorandum, Roosevelt also cited Jenkins as having "an entire lack of appreciation of the duties of his office as to unfit him for their further discharge."[25] To replace Jenkins as governor, Roosevelt appointed Thompson B. Ferguson. Until Ferguson could assume the office, Secretary of Oklahoma Territory Grimes acted as governor.[26]

In 1903, the legislature of Oklahoma Territory investigated the charges against Jenkins; the inquiry itself was conducted by Governor Ferguson. In his testimony, Jenkins again reaffirmed that he had never owned stock

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[20] *Guthrie Observer*, November 14, 1901, p. 5; *Daily Oklahoman*, October 30, 1901, p. 1, April 17, 1932, p. 6–C, November 29, 1901, p. 1.

[21] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1932, p. 6–C, November 19, 1901, p. 1.

[22] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1932, p. 6–C.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Stillwater Gazette*, December 5, 1901, p. 1; *Daily Oklahoman*, December 1, 1901, p. 1.

[26] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1932, p. 6–C.

in the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company and said that he had planned originally to turn the stock over to C. S. Jobes, the state bank examiner of Kansas, a man he had grown up with and who was interested in investing money in Oklahoma Territory. Jenkins also testified that Flynn had wanted some of the stock and, with McNeal's insistence that Flynn should get stock, Jenkins agreed upon $2,000 worth. After this arrangement was made, Jenkins said that McNeal tried to apply pressure to be appointed treasurer of Oklahoma Territory, asking him "how this matter would look in print," when referring to the fact that Flynn owned stock in the sanitarium.[27] When the exhaustive investigation was finally finished, Jenkins was completely exonerated by the territorial legislature of the charges that had been presented.[28]

After removal from office, Jenkins remained for a while in Guthrie, spending as much time as possible on his farm in Kay County, which he still maintained. Later, when the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad was building a line eastward from Newkirk into the Osage Indian country, Jenkins acted as the railroad's townsite man and located the townsites of Uncas and Kaw City. In establishing Kaw City in 1902, Jenkins purchased one-quarter section of land from George M. Murff and laid it out into town lots. After working with the railroad in this manner and earning respect as a town builder, Jenkins moved to northern Utah. There he lived near an old friend, Harry Thompson, who had been a United States marshal at Guthrie. In 1908, Jenkins moved to Sapulpa, Oklahoma, where he spent his remaining years. During this time, however, he was not idle. In 1920, he was elected Creek County clerk and in 1925 he was appointed United States commissioner for the area, with jurisdiction over federal matters. He served in this capacity until 1929, when he retired. On October 19, 1941, he died at the age of eighty-five years, and was buried in the Southern Heights Cemetery in Sapulpa.[29]

Jenkins' rapid rise in Oklahoma Territory politics was due to his ambition and friendship with President McKinley. Jenkins soon became the envy of the older territorial politicians. As secretary of the territory, he performed his duties well, and above all he was able to stay noncommittal to either the Barnes or Flynn factions in the Republican Party. These qualities greatly enhanced his career in territorial politics while McKinley was alive, and assured his appointment as governor of Oklahoma Territory.

As governor, Jenkins made significant contributions by gaining addi-

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[27] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, December 12, 1905, pp. 2, 3, 6.
[28] *Ibid.*; *Daily Oklahoman*, October 20, 1941, p. 3.
[29] *Ibid.*, March 1, 1953, p. 19 T and C.

tional school lands for the territory and in the role he played in the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche and Wichita-Caddo Indian lands. Unfortunately, he indiscreetly became involved in the business of the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company in attempting to provide the best care for the insane of Oklahoma Territory. Had he fully understood the two factions within the Republican Party of Oklahoma Territory, he would have been more adept at working with them and he probably would not have been removed as governor. With the assassination of President McKinley, Jenkins found himself without the support he needed. His noncommittal attitude to either of the Republican factions that had earlier enhanced his career likely aided in bringing about his removal. While he may have lacked adequate judgment and foresight, those who removed him from office did so with insufficient evidence of malfeasance.

WILLIAM C. GRIMES
Acting Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1901

*By Kenny L. Brown**

William C. Grimes

On December 2, 1901, William C. Grimes, the secretary of Oklahoma Territory, received a telegram from Secretary of the Interior Ethan A. Hitchcock instructing him to act as governor until a new appointee could take office. This belated message arrived two days after Governor William Jenkins had been relieved of his office for involvement in a controversy concerning the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company at Norman. Grimes served as acting governor until December 9, 1901, his brief administration lasting only ten days. Nevertheless, he was much more than a momentary figure who filled the vacated governor's office for a short period; he was, in fact, a major person in the development of territorial politics in Oklahoma.[1]

Born near Lexington, Ohio, on November 6, 1857, Grimes spent the early years of his life on farms in Ohio. In February, 1878, at the age of twenty he left his parents and moved to Hastings, Nebraska, where he became a printer and soon was employed by the *Hastings Gazette*. The same year he momentarily returned to Harveysburg, Ohio, and married Mary Cleaver, his boyhood sweetheart. The couple then journeyed back to Hastings where Grimes worked for the *Gazette* in various capacities. In 1881, Grimes bought an interest in the *Harvard Nebraska Journal* which he promptly moved to Sterling, Nebraska, renaming the newspaper the *Sun*. While publishing the *Sun*, he also established a mercantile business which

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* The author is a Master of Arts candidate in history at Oklahoma State University.

[1] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), December 3, 1901, p. 1.

specialized in agricultural implements. This enterprise thrived and became so remunerative that he sold his share in the newspaper to concentrate solely on it.[2]

In 1885, Grimes began his political and public service career when he was elected sheriff of Johnson County, Nebraska, on the Republican ticket. Although the youngest sheriff in the state, he was cited for bravery and efficiency in the performance of his duties. In 1887, the youthful law officer was reelected but did not serve his full term, for he resigned in May, 1889. He had made the land run into what was to become Oklahoma Territory a few days earlier on April 22, 1889, and desired to become a resident of the new area. This unique land run into the Unassigned Lands of what was then central Indian Territory, was the first of a series which settled much of present-day Oklahoma. Realizing the opportunities of the new land, Grimes lined up with the thousands of participants at the eastern Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation boundary and raced to his claim on the red rich bottom land just northeast of Kingfisher. There he developed a farm and became a partner in real estate with J. W. McLoud.[3]

With the swift establishment of homes and businesses also came the creation of a political life for this region that would soon become Oklahoma Territory. Grimes entered into politics, showing an intense interest in determining the governmental structure of the new area. Even before the land run, Grimes had been involved in a political gathering which established a government for Kingfisher. Many of the home-seekers who clustered at the eastern boundary of the Cheyenne and Arapaho lands planned to dash to the nearby site which had been set aside for the town of Kingfisher. Congress had made no provisions for the establishment of village governments for this area and the future citizens of the proposed town were concerned. A meeting to deal with the problem was called the night before the run. Indicating an awareness of this event, Grimes later wrote, "On this memorable night, discussion as to some form of organization to govern a city that was to be made on the following day, seemed to be the all-absorbing topic. This, to me, was very interesting, as then I could see and realize the beginning and formation by men and women, the government to be."[4] Grimes participated in the meeting which ensued and which decided on a provisional government for the town. This temporary governing body and other similar town governments of the area had no legal standing

[2] *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1901), pp. 637–638.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 638; William Grimes, "A toast to the Old Timer," *Echoes of '89* (Kingfisher: Kingfisher Times and Free Press, 1939), p. 11; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, p. 638.

[4] Grimes, "A Toast to the Old Timer," *Echoes of '89*, p. 11.

before any court, but were designed to provide some restrictive force and influence for order.[5]

Soon the citizens of the impromptu territory became dissatisfied with the general martial law and provisional town governments imposed upon them. This led to the first major political gathering in Oklahoma Territory—the Anti-Provisional Government Convention which met at Frisco beginning on July 12, 1889. Grimes, showing a continuing and increasing interest in the politics of his new home, was not only a representative at this meeting but also was elected chairman of the first executive committee. The convention successfully adopted suggestions and sent them to Congress. Subsequently, on May 2, 1890, Congress passed the Oklahoma Territory Organic Act which was very similar to the ideas that came out of the Anti-Provisional Government Convention. The new territory was thus formally organized.

Grimes also became a significant contributor to partisan politics soon after he settled at Kingfisher. For instance, he attended the first Republican convention at Oklahoma City in January, 1890. The delegates to this meeting selected a candidate whom they hoped would be appointed governor by President Benjamin Harrison, a Republican. Each president customarily chose a member of his own party to fill such territorial positions; the Republicans of Oklahoma Territory felt their endorsement might be considered by Harrison. Although the president did not follow the convention's suggestion, J. V. Admire of Kingfisher was nominated and Grimes led the movement to choose him. In August, 1890, Grimes also attended the second Republican convention, held this time at Guthrie, which selected Milton Reynolds as the nominee for territorial delegate to Congress. Reynolds won the general election but died the day after his victory, not knowing the outcome.

By August, 1890, Grimes had become a leader of his party and had a large number of acquaintances, with several key figures among them. This undoubtedly aided him when he was considered for the United States marshal's position which became available with the resignation of Warren S. Lurty. He was a Virginian who had been appointed United States marshal for Oklahoma Territory but found it an undesirable place. When Lurty resigned, a telegraph campaign between Oklahoma Territory and Washington, D.C., began. The president immediately considered Grimes because he was a strong Republican, a prime consideration for such appointments. In addition, he obtained the backing of many of the territorial newspapers and the support of the entire legislature-elect. Grimes' back-

[5] *Ibid.*

Serving as United States marshal in Oklahoma Territory from 1890 to 1893, Grimes is shown with his staff, left to right, first row: Chris Madsen, chief deputy; Miss Hitchcock, stenographer; William Grimes, United States marshal; Miss Hitchcock. Second row: Heck Thomas, jailor; I. S. Proctor of El Reno; Tillman Lilly; Warren Cleaver, chief clerk

ground as sheriff in Nebraska also proved to be beneficial, and he received the appointment.[6]

When word reached Kingfisher that Grimes had obtained the appointment, the citizens became very excited. The *Kingfisher New World* reported, "The effect was electrical and the news ran like wild fire up and down the streets of Kingfisher and the people with hardly any distinction on account of party congratulated each other on the grand victory for Kingfisher."[7] This excitement was warranted as the marshal's position was prestigious and powerful. Like all other officials of the territory, the marshal was able to use as much patronage as he wished. Grimes took advantage of this opportunity when he appointed J. C. Robb as his chief deputy. Robb was a good friend from Kingfisher and had married Sally Belle Cleaver, the second cousin of Grimes' wife. Nepotism and other types of favoritism went with the job and were accepted customs.[8]

Although the post had its assets, the new marshal faced a monumental

[6] *The Kingfisher Free Press Souvenir* (Kingfisher: Kingfisher Free Press, 1895), p. 10.
[7] *Kingfisher New World*, August 16, 1890, p. 1.
[8] *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, pp. 139–140.

task of enforcing laws over a large area that included the Indian reservations then located in the western half of present-day Oklahoma. Grimes began this chore by establishing a strong and effective force of deputies that ranged from fifty to one hundred men. This group included the noted "three guardsmen" of the territory—Heck Thomas, Chris Madsen and Bill Tilghman. During Grimes' three year term as marshal he and his deputies made from 1,200 to 1,500 arrests and faced such notorious outlaw groups as the Daltons, Cooks, Starrs and Poes.[9]

The difficulty of enforcing the law was further complicated because the office of United States marshal for Oklahoma Territory was new and unorganized. As Lurty had not structured the marshal's operations, Grimes was forced to develop the office. He had forms printed, built an efficient technique of bookkeeping, researched laws and statutes and contracted for jails and courtrooms; thus he laid the foundation for a system of law and order in Oklahoma Territory.[10]

Grimes' duties as marshal, difficult as they were, did not occupy all of his time. As an office holder, his strength in the Republican party was substantial, and he increased his political power effectively during his term in office. In 1891, he was elected a member of the territorial Republican central committee and the following year was elected chairman of that body, which he served for ten years as head. Also, in December, 1891, Grimes became involved in the movement to obtain the Oklahoma Territory governor's appointment for Abraham J. Seay, a territorial judge from Kingfisher. The executive office had been vacated by George W. Steele, Oklahoma Territory's first governor, who had decided to return to Indiana, his home state. President Benjamin Harrison was considering Seay, Angelo C. Scott and Acting Governor Robert Martin for the position. However, President Harrison felt that the appointment of any of these three might lead to factional strife among the Republicans in Oklahoma Territory; therefore he considered selecting a man from outside of the territory. Grimes, acting on Seay's behalf, approached Scott and asked him to join in a telegram to Harrison stating that no factionalism existed. Scott initially refused but later wrote a letter to the president saying that the appointment of a man within the territory would not cause problems. After receiving such reassurance, Harrison chose Seay for the gubernatorial office.[11]

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[9] Dennis T. Flynn, "William Grimes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (June, 1931), pp. 221–222; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, p. 638.

[10] Chris Madsen, "United States Deputy Marshals," in *Oklahoma Yesterday-Today-Tomorrow* (ed. by Lerona R. Morris, Guthrie Cooperative Publishing Company, 1930), p. 482.

[11] *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, p. 638; Flynn, "William Grimes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, p. 222; *Oklahoma City Evening Gazette*, December 30, 1891, p. 1.

While still marshal, Grimes became associated with Dennis T. Flynn, the strongest Republican in the territorial period. This friendship added immeasurably to Grimes' political influence. Flynn had come to Oklahoma Territory from Kiowa, Kansas, where had been an attorney, postmaster and publisher. He served as Guthrie's postmaster from 1889 to 1892 and was the first member of the Republican national committee from Oklahoma. In 1890, Flynn unsuccessfully had tried to obtain the Republican nomination for delegate to Congress, but in 1892 he won both the nomination and the election. Except for a two year term which was lost to the Democrat-Populist coalition in 1896, Flynn served as delegate from 1892 to 1902. His most prestigious accomplishment was the adoption of his Free Homes Bill by the Congress in 1900. This plan nullified all fees charged by the United States government against the settlers of Oklahoma Territory. The federal government had bought the surplus lands of the Indians in order to open the territory to white settlement; this cost was in turn passed on to the settlers. However, the Free Homes Bill, which was authored by Flynn, repealed these charges, saved the Oklahoma settlers an estimated $15,000,000, and gained enormous political support for Flynn.[12]

Grimes and Flynn met in these early years in Guthrie. Their acquaintance developed into a working relationship as early as 1894 when Flynn was running for reelection as delegate to Congress. The energetic and efficient Grimes headed Flynn's successful campaign, showing a political talent that led to the formation of an alliance which dominated the Republican party in Oklahoma Territory for a number of years. The combination of the personalities and actions of these two men blended well and proved very valuable politically. Several years after the political machine had been established, the *Guthrie Southwest World* commented, "Flynn is magnetic and makes his constituents feel good by slapping them on the back and calling each one by name and inquiring after the wife and children. Grimes is attractive rather than magnetic and gets close to his party friends by sitting down on the sidewalk listening carefully to each man's story and telling him a way out of his troubles."[13]

Although Grimes had gained prestige politically, he was forced to give up his marshal's position in 1893. Democrat Grover Cleveland had returned to the presidency, ousted many Republicans, including Grimes, and replaced them with members of his own party. When Grimes was dismissed,

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[12] United States Senate, 92nd Congress, 1st Session, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1971* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 954; George O. Carney, "Oklahoma's Territorial Delegates and Progressivism, 1901–1907," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LII, No. 1 (Spring, 1974), p. 39.

[13] *The Kingfisher Free Press Souvenir*, p. 10; *Guthrie Southwest World*, May 4, 1901, p. 4.

he returned to Kingfisher where he became prominent in developing the city and surrounding area. By 1900, he had increased his farm adjacent to Kingfisher to 250 acres and owned 800 additional acres in the county. His chief livelihood was a furniture store with an undertaker's business as a sideline. Grimes directed other energies in building residential areas and business districts which included what was commonly called the Grimes Block. He aided also in the founding of Kingfisher College, the Kingfisher Bank, and the Guthrie and Kingfisher Railroad.[14]

Grimes remained active as well in politics. He served perennially as chairman of the Republican territorial central committee, thus increasing his prestige remarkably by the turn of the century. His ability to deal realistically and effectively with politics is well illustrated by his relations with the members of the territorial House of Representatives. For instance, the Oklahoma Territory legislature of 1899 faced the controversial problem of selecting sites for public institutions. Several Republican members of the House of Representatives wished to accomplish this goal in the upcoming term. However, Grimes felt that the legislature would function more smoothly if it avoided this issue. On February 1, 1899, he entered a Republican caucus with sixteen Republican representatives. Several of these men already had decided to attempt to locate the public institutions, but Grimes used strong persuasion and the caucus voted to oppose any such effort in the forthcoming session.[15]

Wielding so much political power, Grimes' influence grew tremendously. On May 10, 1900, he was elected national committeeman by the Republican territorial convention because his image as party leader was so well established that it was generally conceded that he deserved the post. Then in January, 1901, Grimes was boomed as a candidate for appointment as governor. Later the emphasis switched and rumors spread that Grimes would obtain the office of secretary of Oklahoma Territory. This seemed likely because the political machine of Flynn and Grimes had launched an attack against Governor Cassius M. Barnes, the head of the opposing Republican faction. The conflict between these two groups had begun early in Barnes' administration which had started in 1897. Some observers felt that Flynn would thwart the reappointment of Barnes when his term expired. They further predicted that Flynn and Grimes were supporting Secretary of the Territory William Jenkins to replace Governor Barnes. If Jenkins were appointed, this would leave the secretary's position vacant,

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[14] *The Kingfisher Free Press Souvenir*, p. 10; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma*, p. 638.

[15] Flynn, "William Grimes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, p. 222; *Daily Oklahoman*, February 2, 1899, p. 1.

Dennis T. Flynn, delegate to Congress from Oklahoma Territory and leader of the Flynn-Grimes faction of the Republican Party

and Grimes would then be appointed to the financially rewarding office. However, Flynn issued a statement indicating that such a plan was false, that Grimes was not a candidate for secretary and that it was an office he would not accept.[16]

Nevertheless, the prediction of Flynn's critics soon proved accurate. On April 13, 1901, Grimes, Flynn, United States Attorney Horace Speed and other notable territorial Republicans arrived in Washington to oppose the renomination of Governor Barnes. This delegation was successful, for President William McKinley did not reappoint Barnes; instead he chose Jenkins for governor on April 15, 1901. Because Jenkins became the governor, his former position of secretary was left vacant, and President McKinley chose Grimes to fill the office.[17]

The Republican newspapers of Oklahoma Territory generally favored the selection of Grimes. They pointed out that he was a shrewd businessman, was well liked by members of his party and had more extensive acquaintances than any other man in the territory. Also, with Grimes as secretary, it was possible that the factionalism would end since many members of the Barnes' faction had respected Grimes and did not object to his appointment. They probably approved because Grimes had done more political work for less reward than anyone in Oklahoma Territory. Other newspapers were less friendly, indicating that Grimes had gained the appointment due to his shady alliance with Flynn or that Grimes had used his own influence as national committeeman to obtain the position. This assessment was accurate; however, the use of influence to gain office was

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[16] *Kingfisher Free Press*, May 17, 1900, p. 4; *Kingfisher Times*, January 24, 1901, p. 4, April 11, 1901, p. 4.

[17] *Daily Oklahoman*, April 13, 1901, p. 1, April 16, 1901, p. 1, April 28, 1901, p. 1.

an accepted fact at this time of Republican Stalwartism and had not yet obtained the negative connotations that it received in later years.[18]

Whatever the reasons for Grimes' appointment, he was inaugurated with the other newly appointed officials in an elaborate ceremony at Guthrie on May 12, 1901. After the oaths of office were taken, Governor Jenkins spoke; then Grimes addressed the crowd, expressing an opinion which typified his unostentatious attitude. Favoring simplicity, he objected to elaborate ceremonies used to induct men into office. If there was to be any public display of approval, Grimes explained that it should come after public officials had proven themselves. Indicating his policy toward the secretary's office, he promised, "to at all times try and govern myself in public affairs, that at the end, I may have gained your full and complete confidence."[19]

After the inauguration festivities, Grimes took charge of an office that was second in power, but plentiful in financial reward and very burdensome with duties. The Oklahoma Territory Organic Act of 1890 had established the basic obligations of the office. Under article three of this act, the secretary was instructed to record all acts and proceedings of both the governor and the legislature of the territory. He also was ordered to send copies of those proceedings and acts to the president, the secretary of the interior and each house of Congress. Finally, he was to serve as acting governor due to the death, removal, or resignation of the full-time governor. Other lesser duties required by the federal government included the disbursal of federal paychecks to officials of the territory and the responsibility of caring for all property of the national government used for legislative purposes in the territory. The secretary was to receive $1,800 annually for performing the functions of the office.[20]

The territorial legislature provided additional responsibilities for the secretary. For instance, Grimes issued charters for corporations, commissions for notaries public and warrants for fugitives from justice. He also acted as ex officio insurance commissioner and served on the board for leasing school lands. By law, the secretary received fees for his services in chartering corporations, commissioning insurance companies and issuing notaries public. These fees and the $1,800 provided by the federal government made the territorial secretary's post the most lucrative in the govern-

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[18] *Blackwell Times-Record*, May 2, 1901; *Kingfisher Free Press*, May 2, 1901, p. 4; *Guthrie Southwest World*, May 4, 1901, p. 4; *Stillwater Advance*, May 2, 1901, p. 6; *Blackwell Times-Record*, May 2, 1901, p. 4; *Daily Oklahoman*, April 28, 1901, p. 4.

[19] *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), May 14, 1901, p. 2.

[20] W. F. Wilson, *Wilson's Revised and Annotated Statutes of Oklahoma* (Guthrie: State Capital Company, 1903), p. 71; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, February 24, 1903, p. 4; Wilson, *Wilson's Revised and Annotated Statutes of Oklahoma*, p. 79.

ment. When Grimes took office in 1901, his predicted annual income was estimated to be from $7,000 to $8,000.[21]

Yet, the secretary had other duties which were outside of those stipulated by the government. Most time consuming for the office were the letters received from persons wanting favors or inquiring on a wide range of topics. For instance, in 1902, the Indian agent for the Kiowa agency wrote Grimes asking that a Wichita Indian girl be admitted to Oklahoma Territory's school for the deaf. Less official but more unusual was a letter that Grimes received from citizens on the Isle of Pines, a small island east of Cuba. American landowners on this island wanted to be annexed by the United States rather than Cuba. They wrote to Grimes to find out the proper procedure to form a territory in the United States. The vast number of such inquiries on a variety of subjects went to Grimes' office annually, over 10,000 in 1902 alone. This volume of incoming correspondence caused a troublesome burden for the office which was undoubtedly the busiest in the territorial government and which required an able and efficient administrator. Grimes filled the position well.[22]

Although the duties of his office were numerous and difficult enough, Grimes also had to face many political problems and criticisms. Democrats claimed that Grimes and Flynn would control the territory because they could easily control Governor Jenkins. This association with Jenkins proved unfortunate, for evidence was presented which indicated that Jenkins was involved in certain irregularities concerning an Oklahoma Territory contract with the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company at Norman. According to the charges, Jenkins signed an agreement saying that the asylum would take care of the insane persons within the territory. After awarding this contract, he reportedly received stock in the company. Grimes immediately came to the defense of Jenkins, stating that it was absurd to think that the government would pocket money in such a way.[23]

Evidently President Theodore Roosevelt did not think the charges were so unreasonable. Roosevelt had become president on September 14, 1901, when McKinley died from wounds inflicted by an assassin. It was necessary for the new president to appoint his own officials and present the nominations to Congress. He hesitated to reappoint Jenkins when he heard that

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21 *Guthrie Daily Leader*, February 24, 1903, p. 4; *Daily Oklahoman*, February 4, 1903, p. 2; *Kingfisher Free Press*, May 2, 1901, p. 4.

22 James F. Randlett to William Grimes, September 15, 1902, Kiowa Agency Correspondence, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, November 28, 1905, p. 7; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, February 24, 1903, p. 4.

23 *Daily Oklahoman*, October 30, 1901, p. 1; *Kingfisher Free Press*, November 14, 1901, p. 4.

the governor might have had improper motives when he gave the contract to the asylum. After Jenkins heard that charges were being filed, he journeyed to Washington, and related his actions to Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock and President Roosevelt. Jenkins' explanation proved fatal. He said that he had accepted $10,000 in stock that would be sold to personal friends to insure that the company would be controlled by responsible people. Roosevelt, believing that these actions were unethical, reacted negatively to Jenkins' explanation, and dismissed the governor from office on November 30, 1901. The president then filled the office with Thompson B. Ferguson, a newspaper publisher from Watonga. However, Ferguson was not inaugurated until December 9, 1901, and Grimes became acting governor during this period of ten days.[24]

Grimes performed very few official functions as acting governor, and he did very little outside of his regular duties as secretary. For example, on December 3 and December 7 he issued corporation charters and several notary commissions. More in the role of governor, Grimes reportedly was kept busy listening to office seekers who wished to be included in the territorial administration of Ferguson. He otherwise remained inactive.[25]

Although Grimes' term was generally uneventful, the political turmoil over his alleged involvement in the sanitarium scandal became important during his ten-day administration. Even before Jenkins was removed, Grimes had been linked with the controversy. Opponents of the Flynn political machine had asserted that Grimes, Flynn and several of their friends also owned stock in the sanitarium. Rumors soon reached Oklahoma Territory indicating that Grimes would be investigated by the Department of the Interior. He reacted to this by issuing a statement denying any involvement; it said that he had not directly or indirectly owned stock nor had he participated in contracting with the sanitarium company. This explanation did not prove satisfactory. President Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock instructed the newly appointed Governor Ferguson to return to Oklahoma Territory and investigate Grimes' participation in the affair. If Grimes had been involved, he would be as guilty as Governor Jenkins and should be dismissed.[26]

At first Ferguson did not want to undertake the investigation. He believed that it would be inappropriate to probe the scandal before he was inaugurated as governor. However, he agreed that it was necessary and returned to Oklahoma Territory from Washington. In his personal inquiry,

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[24] *Daily Oklahoman*, December 1, 1901, p. 1; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, December 9, 1901, p. 1.

[25] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, December 4, 1901, p. 1, December 7, 1901, p. 1.

[26] *Ibid.*, November 30, 1901, p. 6; *Daily Oklahoman*, December 7, 1901, p. 1; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, December 16, 1905, p. 1.

Bird S. McGuire, delegate to Congress from Oklahoma Territory from 1902–1907, and leader of the faction that brought down Grimes and Flynn

Ferguson interviewed several key witnesses but found no concrete evidence to implicate Grimes. The most damaging testimony came from J. W. McNeal, president of the Guthrie National Bank. According to McNeal, Grimes had bought stock in the company for Dennis Flynn, who was out of the territory. However, Ferguson had previously been informed by Flynn that such a transaction had occurred and that Grimes had simply acted as Flynn's purchasing agent. Ferguson consequently decided that Grimes had done no wrong.[27]

After Ferguson took office on December 9, he sent his report to President Roosevelt. The president then agreed to reappoint Grimes as secretary of Oklahoma Territory; Congress approved his nomination on January 13,

[27] *Ibid.*

1902. However, Grimes had not heard the last of the accusations about the scandal. The Republican Party was full of aspiring opponents who were ready to take advantage of any weaknesses of Grimes and Flynn. Allegations that both men had owned stock in the Norman sanitarium remained a stigma to their faction of the party and provided a weapon for use against them. Ironically, this same scandal that had taken Grimes to the highest position he had held would eventually aid in his downfall.[28]

Early in 1902, Grimes was further weakened when Flynn decided not to seek reelection as the Oklahoma Territory representative in Congress. Some Republicans were upset because he chose not to run. For example, on June 11, 1902, when Grimes was visiting Washington, D.C., Governor Ferguson wrote him complaining about Flynn's decision to retire as delegate. He pointed out that a new and inexperienced representative would be less effective in the fight for statehood. Also the Republican Party would be disorganized since none of the candidates in the field had enough support to easily capture the nomination. Finally, Ferguson explained that, due to this chaotic situation, the enemies of the established Republican organization were covertly planning to elect a new national committeeman. Realizing Grimes' ability to deal with such crises, Ferguson asked him to return quickly to Oklahoma Territory and help fight the opposition. Grimes soon returned home and led a last-minute attempt to draft Flynn at the territorial convention. However, Bird S. McGuire, a zealous Republican from Pawnee, captured the nomination for delegate on June 25. The once undefeatable Flynn thus became a lame duck.[29]

After McGuire won the general election in November, 1902, he began consolidating his power. Members of the territorial legislature boosted his strength by investigating the sanitarium scandal that had led to the dismissal of former Governor Jenkins. A joint committee was established on January 29, 1903, to undertake the inquiry. This group of legislators was particularly interested in any indications that Secretary of the Territory Grimes might have been involved. Therefore the possibility of his dismissal again arose.[30]

The testimony of the hearings revealed that, during the time of the scandal, Grimes possibly could have owned stock in the asylum at Norman. This was based on the statement by Fred C. Dolcater, who had been cashier at the Capitol National Bank of Guthrie during the period. Dolcater said

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[28] *Daily Oklahoman*, December 16, 1905, p. 6, January 14, 1902, p. 1.

[29] Thompson B. Ferguson to William C. Grimes, June 11, 1902, Thompson B. Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma; *Daily Oklahoman*, June 26, 1902, p. 1.

[30] *Ibid.*, January 30, 1903, p. 1.

that he had seen banking papers which showed that Grimes had bought stock. Two other important persons gave similar testimony based only on hearsay evidence. Grimes, as a witness in the investigation, denied ownership in the asylum but admitted he had purchased some stock for Flynn. According to Grimes, Flynn had been interested in the stock after he had heard that Governor Jenkins had some available. However, Flynn was unable to purchase his share because he was called out of town; as a result, Grimes bought the shares of stock and held them for Flynn. After hearing this testimony, the joint committee reached no conclusions concerning Grimes' participation. However, one of the official findings of the investigating committee stated that Flynn had owned shares in the company. Consequently, the influence of the Flynn-Grimes political combination was severely limited.[31]

After the joint committee made its report public in March, 1903, the Democratic press bombarded the Flynn-Grimes political machine with biting criticism. The *Daily Oklahoman* proclaimed, "The sins of Shylock and the averice of Fagain [*sic*] are eclipsed by this modern aggregation of festive freaks who speculate in the misfortunes of human beings to line their pockets with yellow dust."[32] The *Daily Oklahoman* also emphasized that the Republicans were splitting due to the investigation. The newspaper indicated that John P. Hickam, the Republican chairman of the joint committee and an ally of McGuire, was trying to discredit Grimes and cause his dismissal. Hickam supposedly had contacted the Department of the Interior; however, it is certain that the *Enid Events*, the chief spokesman for McGuire, used the scandal and the report to weaken Grimes' political stature. Indeed, the Enid newspaper continuously attacked him concerning ing the sanitarium until he decided to refuse reappointment in December, 1905.[33]

The McGuire faction of the Republican Party also hampered Grimes in other ways, the most vivid example being the reduction of the fees that he was receiving as secretary of Oklahoma Territory. Legislator Hickam again led in this attack on Grimes. On January 27, 1903, the Oklahoma Territory Council, the upper house of the legislature, passed a resolution introduced by Hickam which required that Secretary Grimes present a list of his fees and salary for the year ending December 21, 1902. In compliance with the resolution, Grimes reported his fees and salary on February 3, 1903. The information presented showed that he had received approximately

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[31] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, December 13, 1905, pp. 1 and 2, December 19, 1905, p. 2, December 11, 1905, p. 6, December 18, 1905, p. 2, December 11, 1905, p. 1.

[32] *Daily Oklahoman*, March 22, 1903, p. 4.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 10; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, December 27, 1905, p. 6.

$11,393.30 for his services during 1902, a sizable income for this period. The *Daily Oklahoman* claimed that Grimes received more income than any of the president's cabinet officers.[34]

Undoubtedly reacting to these large earnings, on March 5, 1903, the legislature of Oklahoma Territory passed the Hickam Bill. This legislation limited the secretary of Oklahoma Territory to the $1,800 provided by the federal government and $1,200 in fees from the territory. This was less than one-third of Grimes' previous earnings, and the excess funds were to be put into the territorial treasury. The secretary was further required to submit quarterly statements detailing the amount of fees received. The McGuire-Hickam faction had effectively weakened Grimes' financial status and had made him accountable to the legislature.[35]

Another issue on which McGuire's group questioned Grimes was party loyalty. In 1903, the *Enid Events*, McGuire's staunch political ally, asserted that Grimes had awarded an appointive position to a Democrat, Fred S. Barde, a *Kansas City Star* correspondent stationed at Guthrie. This was highly irregular during these days of Stalwart Republicanism, and the *Enid Events* said that Grimes must have given the appointment to Barde as a reward for his numerous journalistic attacks on McGuire. Also, Grimes allegedly had given a printing contract to the Democratic *Guthrie Daily Leader* because this paper had attacked McGuire's leadership. The *Enid Events* concluded that Grimes was a divisive factor in his party.[36]

As Grimes' term neared an end in late 1905, the press exerted intense pressure on him. The Republican newspapers that supported McGuire repeated charges that Grimes was splitting the party by siding with Democrats. The *Guthrie Daily Leader*, hoping to keep the Republicans in factional turmoil, published the entire transcript of the legislature's investigation of the sanitarium. Possibly as a result of this pressure, Grimes decided not to seek reappointment. Evidently the McGuire people had won. The *Beaver Journal* described Grimes' attitude toward McGuire's ascendency when it said, "he not only sulked in his tent but he put on the blanket and left the reservation. . . . Grimes undoubtedly read his doom and concluded the graceful way to get out was to resign."[37]

Although some newspapers predicted that Grimes would remain active

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[34] *Daily Oklahoman*, January 28, 1903, p. 1, February 4, 1903, pp. 2 and 4.

[35] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, March 6, 1903, p. 3; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Session Laws of 1903 Passed at the Seventh Regular Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie: State Capital Company, 1903), pp. 164–165.

[36] *Enid Events*, August 20, 1903, p. 2.

[37] *Oklahoma State Register* (Guthrie), May 11, 1905, p. 4, and June 1, 1905, p. 4; *Guthrie Daily Leader*, December 11–20, 1905; *Daily Oklahoman*, December 12, 1905, p. 2; *Beaver Journal*, December 14, 1905, p. 4.

in Republican politics and lead the old Flynn segment of the party to a revival of power, he was relatively inactive after he left office when his term expired on January 15, 1906. When the attention of most people in Oklahoma Territory began to focus on statehood, Grimes took an increasing interest in an entirely different area—Oregon. He had made a trip to Portland in the summer of 1905, where he spent several days as a delegate to the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress. Undoubtedly he found the area to his liking, for he moved to Marshfield, Oregon, immediately after Oklahoma statehood in 1907. Building the town's banking and business interests, he lived there for ten years. Then he moved to Alhambra, California, and finally to Santa Monica, where friends from Oklahoma would often visit with him while they were on West Coast vacations. He died in that city on April 8, 1931, and was buried there.[38]

The political and public service career of Grimes was one of the most illustrious in Oklahoma Territory. Unlike most of the territorial governors who exerted influence only during their administration, Grimes strongly affected events from the early days of territorial political life until his retirement from office in 1906. Any story of the Republican Party in Oklahoma Territory would not be complete unless it included Grimes. He became a leader of the Flynn wing of the party, perhaps the strongest throughout the territorial period, and was a part of the factionalism that resulted. Neither a calculating opportunist nor flamboyant politician, he chose rather to enhance his position through hard work and strong organization. Grimes' importance was not limited to partisan politics, moreover, for he promoted the development of one of the leading towns in the territory, established an efficient law enforcement system and served as a public official for a number of years. As a result, he is a choice example of one of the capable men who used their abilities to mold Oklahoma Territory not only for themselves but also for the benefit of others.

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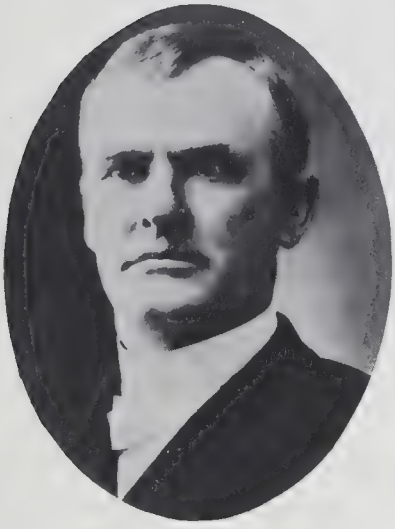
[38] *Daily Oklahoman*, December 12, 1905, p. 2; *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, December 13, 1905, p. 4; Thompson B. Ferguson to William C. Grimes, July 24 and August 7, 1905, Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma; Flynn, "William Grimes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, p. 222.

THOMPSON BENTON FERGUSON
Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1901–1906

*By Jerry L. Gill**



Thompson Benton Ferguson

Thompson Benton Ferguson was tired but happy as he rode home to Watonga in Oklahoma Territory on a cool November evening in 1901, for he was reflecting on the success of his newspaper business in Blaine County. He had just finished printing the latest issue of his newly acquired newspaper in Hitchcock, and tomorrow he would be back in his office working on the *Watonga Republican*, a highly successful weekly that he had established in 1892. After nine years of unremitting toil, Ferguson had built the *Watonga Republican* into one of the most successful and influential newspapers in the territory. When he reached home, however, a well-deserved rest did not await him, but instead a challenge —perhaps the most unexpected and difficult challenge of his life. Stepping into his home, he was surprised to find his packed travel bags and a railroad ticket to Washington, D.C. With growing amazement he read the telegram from President Theodore Roosevelt, asking him to come to Washington to accept the appointment as governor of Oklahoma Territory. The next day, with printer's ink still fresh on his hands, Ferguson departed for Washington and a different destiny.[1]

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[1] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), February 15, 1921, p. 2; Mrs. Tom B. Ferguson [Elva], *They Carried the Torch* (Kansas City, Missouri: Burton Publishing Company, 1937), pp. 11, 110, 113; Leslie A. McRill, "An Early Day Crusader For Law and Order in Oklahoma: Thompson Benton Ferguson," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1958), pp. 79–87; C. C. Parkhurst, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma" (unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1926), p. 4.

Although Ferguson's appointment was a surprise to many, his preparation and early background qualified him for the position. He was born into a pioneer family of Scottish ancestory in Polk County, Iowa, near Des Moines on March 17, 1857. Three years later he moved with his family to Chautauqua County in Kansas. His mother died shortly after their arrival, and his father enlisted in the Federal Army at the outbreak of the Civil War. Stamped in his mind at an early age was love for the Union, the Republican Party and hero worship of John Brown and Abraham Lincoln.

Ferguson obtained his early education in grammar schools in southern Kansas and later attended Emporia State Normal College. He worked his way through this institution by teaching at grammar schools near Emporia. After graduating in 1884, he studied education at Fort Scott Normal College for awhile and then completed his teacher preparation with four months of training at the normal school of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Ferguson then taught school in Chautauqua County for several years, but by 1890 two other loves, religion and newspaper work, had begun to dominate his life. While teaching, Ferguson had studied religion under the direction of a Methodist minister and served as a supply pastor at several small Methodist churches in Chautauqua County, including Peru, Sedan, Hartznill and Cedarville.

Meanwhile, Ferguson found time to write an occasional article for the *Leavenworth Times* and the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* despite teaching during the week and preaching on weekends. His growing love for newspaper work coincided with his love for Eva Shartel, whom he married in June, 1885; when in 1890 he had the opportunity to take over his father-in-law's newspaper in Sedan, Kansas, Ferguson quit teaching. At about the same time, he also abandoned his ministerial career because he disagreed with some of the Methodist doctrine and felt that to continue to preach would be compromising his beliefs and would be hypocritical.

Ferguson was an original "Eighty-Niner," having claimed land southeast of Edmond during the opening land rush of Oklahoma Territory, but he quickly relinquished his claim and returned to Kansas. However, his pioneer spirit again lured him to Oklahoma Territory, this time to stay. Immediately following the opening for settlement of the former Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian lands in 1892, he brought his family and the determination to build a new future and a newspaper in Watonga. His dauntless courage and unbounded energy built the *Watonga Republican* into one of the leading weekly newspapers in Oklahoma Territory. His sense of moral and civic duty was clearly evident in the columns of his newspaper, as he crusaded for law-and-order, prohibition and good government, in Watonga and across Oklahoma Territory.[2]

Home of Governor Ferguson in Watonga

Soon after Ferguson's arrival in Watonga he became a leader in the newly organized Blaine County Republican Party and was elected to serve on the powerful Republican territorial committee. In 1897, he was appointed postmaster in Watonga by President William McKinley as a reward for his party work. In 1900, Ferguson managed Dennis T. Flynn's successful reelection campaign for territorial delegate to Congress, and thereby helped secure his election as chairman of the Republican territorial committee. In spite of Ferguson's success in party politics, he confided to a friend that he had "never had an inclination to hold a public office" but rather "like[d] the newspaper field, where one is at liberty to do as he can and say what he pleases."[3]

Ironically, a sequence of unforeseen events, beginning with President McKinley's assassination in 1901, culminated in Ferguson becoming the highest office holder in Oklahoma Territory.[4] Territorial Governor Wil-

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[2] Fred S. Barde Collection, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Thompson B. Ferguson File, *ibid.*; *Edmond Enterprise*, March 20, 1902; *Daily Oklahoman*, February 15, 1921, pp. 1, 2; *Watonga Republican*, February 17, 1921, pp. 1, 4; John B. Meserve, "The Governors of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (Fall, 1942), p. 225; Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (4 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1929), Vol. II, p. 583.

[3] T. B. Ferguson to D. T. Flynn, June 24, 1902, Thompson B. Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma.

liam M. Jenkins, who owed his appointment to McKinley, had become embroiled in a controversy involving the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company of Norman, a private business authorized by the legislature to care for residents of Oklahoma Territory who had been judged insane. Political winds blew charges of corruption and malfeasance against Jenkins to Washington and to the newly inaugurated President Roosevelt. The Oklahoma Sanitarium Company had reorganized during Jenkins' administration and his detractors claimed that he reserved stock in the company for personal friends. Roosevelt demanded an explanation from Jenkins, was dissatisfied with his reply and removed him from office.[5]

Rumors of the replacement for the deposed governor floated around the territory, shifting with every new political current. Then, on November 19, 1901, Roosevelt called United States District Attorney Horace Speed of Guthrie to Washington to offer him the governorship, which he declined. Roosevelt next conferred in Washington with Speed, congressional delegate Flynn, territorial secretary William Grimes and other prominent territorial Republicans to select an acceptable candidate. He demanded a loyal Republican and an experienced and hard-working party man, untouched by political scandal, who could control factionalism within the party. Oklahoma Territory Republicans demanded that an Oklahoman be selected; Ferguson was the compromise.[6]

Ferguson accepted the appointment with serious misgivings, for he understood, almost better than anyone in the territory, the perils and pitfalls of politics that awaited unwary governors. During the political demise of Governor Jenkins, Ferguson had expressed his views on the hardships and dangers of being governor. He compared Oklahoma Territory to a wild bronco and concluded that if "Oklahoma is a broncho her governors are 'broncho busters.'"[7] Ferguson contended that it "requires just as much bravery as it did to sail into Manila Bay, or to face the deadly Spanish mausers at San Juan Hill."[8] Ferguson conceded that "there is more

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[4] *Edmond Enterprise*, March 20, 1902; Barde Collection, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society; T. B. Ferguson to T. Roosevelt, November 21, 1905, T. B. Ferguson to D. T. Flynn, October [?], 1903, Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library; Dora A. Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933), p. 317.

[5] *Daily Oklahoman*, December 1, 1901, p. 1; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 299–306; Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. I, pp. 582–583.

[6] *Watonga Republican*, November 21, 1901, p. 1, November 28, 1901, p. 1; *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), November 28, 1901, p. 1, November 30, 1901, p. 1; *Daily Oklahoman*, November 16, 1901, p. 4, November 22, 1901, p. 4; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 306, 307.

[7] *Watonga Republican*, November 28, 1901, p. 1.

[8] Ferguson, *They Carried the Torch*, p. 112.

quietude . . . in private life, and probably more pleasure than there is in being governor of a territory."[9]

Barely was the ink dry on his editorials before Ferguson was asked to leap onto the Oklahoma Territory bronco. The reason for his acceptance despite his reservations is best explained in his philosophy of public service and in his sense of political commitment. He felt that "if there are wrongs in the government . . . it is in the power of the people to right them," and reasoned that everyone "should be a politician . . . in the sense of the loyal citizen who desires to attain the very best results in government and politics."[10] Ferguson probably assumed the duties of the governor with a greater desire to give the people an honest and efficient government than any other governor before him, and he had the courage and resolve to back his convictions. This mental toughness and inner resilience were mirrored in his physical features and demeanor. He was a little above medium height with a lithe, athletic build. His stern and at times almost severe facial features were highlighted by piercing and intense eyes, sandy-colored eyebrows, high cheekbones and a square, cleft chin. His high forehead receded into the stiff red hair that was his distinguishing characteristic.

One political antagonist, disgruntled over Ferguson's appointment, wrote that "Roosevelt, like Diogenes of old was looking around for an honest man, and he mistook Tom Ferguson's red head for a halo."[11] From this disparaging remark was coined the nickname "Honest Tom" which stuck with Ferguson throughout the rest of his political career. His personality and bearing made a strong impression on all who met him. One editor, when meeting Ferguson for the first time, described him as "hale and hearty, straight, as an arrow" and exclaimed that he "always talks straight from the shoulder and when he does anything you are at once aware that there is force and decision behind it."[12]

Ferguson's inaugural set the tone for his administration. The newly appointed governor made it known to civic leaders in Guthrie that he did not want an elaborate, expensive inaugural. At 3:00 p.m. on December 9, 1901, he received the oath of office from Territorial Chief Justice John H. Burford in the district court room at Guthrie with only a handful of friends and citizens looking on. Following the ceremony, he proceeded

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9 *Watonga Republican*, November 21, 1901, p. 1.

10 *Norman Transcript*, August 24, Newspaper Scrapbook, Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

11 *Watonga Republican*, February 17, 1921, p. 4.

12 *Enid Events*, August 16, Newspaper Scrapbook, Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

directly to his executive office to begin his duties.[13] Ferguson's disregard for public ceremony and social ostentation earned him the criticism of some Guthrie citizens, and one newspaperman "remarked that it was an insult to appoint a country editor from the short grass country to preside over the social life at the capital" and feared that the new governor "knew no better than to eat pie with his knife."[14] Ferguson did little to assuage the apprehensions of Guthrie socialites. The governor's wife recalled that "it took a great deal of diplomacy on my part to get him into his dress suit and have him in attendance at the social affairs which the governor and his wife were under obligations to favor with their presence."[15] Ferguson often conveniently developed headaches just before social affairs but "recovered with remarkable ease when the necessity for his attendance had passed."[16] Also, it was not uncommon for him to make public appearances and even speeches wearing a blue workshirt commonly worn by farmers.

But more serious duties than society functions faced the new governor. The political situation in Oklahoma Territory in 1902 was highly volatile, for it was an election year. In addition to individual electioneering, a power struggle for control of the Republican Party and patronage within the territory was developing. Territorial delegate Flynn and his political allies, including territorial secretary Grimes, controlled the party organization through the powerful Republican territorial committee and the political patronage they wielded. But since Flynn had declined to run for reelection in 1902, an organized effort was made by anti-Flynn elements to wrest control of the party from his forces.

It was against this backdrop that the new governor made his first political appointments, knowing that each faction was jealously watching and carefully noting his actions. An outcry was raised by both factions when Ferguson selected many personal friends and non-factionists.[17] Asserting his independence, Ferguson retorted that he had been "endorsing Blaine county men for office for a long time with indifferent success. Now, that I am in a position to take care of them, I see no reason why I should not do so."[18] It was this same issue of patronage that was later to cause him serious problems with other politicians. Ferguson criticized the spoils system, believing that "to reward someone because he may control a certain

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[13] *Daily Oklahoman*, December 10, 1901, p. 1; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, p. 307; Ferguson, *They Carried the Torch*, pp. 113–114.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[16] *Watonga Republican*, February 17, 1921, p. 1.

[17] *Weekly Oklahoma State Capital* (Guthrie), January 25, 1902, p. 12; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, p. 312.

[18] Ferguson, *They Carried the Torch*, p. 116.

element in the party, although he may be incompetent, both morally and intellectually, make bad politics" and that there "can be but one consistent rule to follow in the distribution of patronage, and that is to make integrity and ability the first requirements."[19]

Overshadowing the controversy concerning Ferguson's early appointments was the fury of the 1902 election. A storm of political activity broke upon the Republican Party and Governor Ferguson as office aspirants sought political advantages in county, territorial and congressional races. Ferguson was not as concerned over who won the party contests as he was over their effect on party unity and strength in the general elections in the fall. He indicated no personal preference for any candidate, maintaining strict neutrality. He confided to Flynn, "I am tired of the whole muddle. . . . It seems to me that there is not a commonwealth in the United States so completely filled with envious, designing, 2 x 4 politicians as is the Territory of Oklahoma."[20]

In spite of persuasion, diplomacy, misrepresentation and even lies applied against him, Ferguson refused to be pushed from his neutral position. His problems with the Flynn element were the most acute. Ferguson had managed Flynn's reelection campaign in 1900, and in turn had received support for governor from Flynn. Therefore Ferguson wanted to avoid any show of favoritism to the Flynn faction, and he explained to Flynn that he admonished a Flynn supporter in Lawton to "keep quiet that you and I are friends." But neither did the governor want to appear antagonistic to his old political ally; he reassured Flynn of his friendship and complained that "there has been an impression among certain Republicans at Lawton that all was not right between us."[21] Bird S. McGuire of Pawnee, since 1897 assistant United States attorney for Oklahoma Territory, emerged as the leading Republican candidate for territorial delegate, which placed Ferguson in an uncomfortable situation, as he and McGuire had been close friends during their college days at Emporia. Ferguson complained to Flynn that "some of your closest friends have said some very unreasonable things about the territorial administration because I was believed to be for McGuire."[22]

Ferguson was concerned that no clear-cut party leader had emerged. Flynn's followers, anti-Flynn forces and supporters of the former terri-

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[19] *Norman Transcript*, August 24, Newspaper Scrapbook, Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

[20] T. B. Ferguson to D. T. Flynn, June 2, 1902, Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] T. B. Ferguson to D. T. Flynn, June 23, 1902, *ibid.*

torial governor Cassius M. Barnes were all struggling for control of the Republican Party, and Ferguson feared that a major fight in the territorial convention might tear the party apart. An all out fight in the Republican territorial convention was averted, due to the governor's neutral stand in regard to candidates and factions, and because of his strong leadership for party unity. McGuire won the Republican Party nomination, the party structure remained basically intact and the party was victorious in the general election by a narrow margin. McGuire defeated his Democratic opponent by only 500 votes out of over 94,000 votes cast; the Republicans barely won control of both houses of the territorial legislature, capturing fourteen of the twenty-six seats in the House of Representatives and seven of the thirteen seats in the Council. Ferguson's efforts at party unity were instrumental in forging this narrow Republican victory.[23]

Having campaigned hard for the Republican Party, Ferguson turned his attention to necessary legislative programs and other needs of Oklahoma Territory. In this capacity, he acted less as a partisan and more as an Oklahoman concerned for the future of his territory. One of his major contributions as governor of Oklahoma Territory was his strong leadership during both sessions of the territorial legislatures and the influence he exerted on legislation passed. He was a working governor and took very seriously his legislative duties. He very carefully scrutinized every piece of legislation that was sent to him and was not afraid to exercise his veto power. His messages, delivered personally to the legislative sessions which met in 1903 and 1905, clearly spelled out his philosophy of government and forcibly indicated areas where he felt legislation was needed. Probably no territorial governor worked harder to influence the passage of needed legislation.

One of the pillars of Governor Ferguson's legislative philosophy was the necessity of wise money management and sound financial planning. In his message to the territorial legislature in 1903, Ferguson pointed with pride to the balanced budget that had been maintained in 1902; to the next legislature he bragged that Oklahoma was free of bonded indebtedness. In spite of this remarkable financial stability, he admonished both legislatures to carefully consider all appropriations. He decried the "dangerous precedent" that had been established by earlier legislatures of waiting until the end of the session to hurriedly pass a general appropriations bill. In addition to suggesting that the appropriations bill be passed early, he urged that

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23 Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, p. 584; Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood* (4 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1957), Vol. II, p. 471.

"all private or individual appropriations . . . be considered separately."[24]

Governor Ferguson conceded that "with the growth of the Territory have come increased demands for larger appropriations" and reasoned that "it is not correct economy to withhold any necessary support" that would "curtail in anyway the progress which has so conspicuously marked our past history." But he counselled that the "one safeguard is to know that every appropriation asked for is necessary."[25] He was unalterably opposed to deficit spending and criticized the regents of the University Preparatory School at Tonkawa, today Northern Oklahoma College, for indebting themselves, when building their new school, for more than the $15,000 that had been allocated by the territorial legislature. During Ferguson's administration, deficit spending was eliminated as was all territorial bonded indebtedness. His financial philosophy and the sound money policies that he advocated set a good example for the two territorial legislatures that worked with him and contributed greatly to the financial stability of Oklahoma Territory during the four years that he served as governor.[26]

Governor Ferguson, being well educated himself, was a strong supporter of education of all levels in Oklahoma Territory and enthusiastically proclaimed that the "crowning glory of Oklahoma is her school work."[27] In the 1901–1902 legislative biennium, Oklahoma Territory spent more on education than for all other purposes combined. Ferguson continued to support education costs and viewed the record $1,459,623 expended for education in 1904 as a "high commentary upon the enterprise and progressive spirit of our citizens."[28] Nevertheless, he demanded strict accountability for all monies spent and called for high standards of administration and instruction, especially in higher education.

Ferguson seriously questioned the need for seven institutions of higher learning and lamented: "One good Normal, one good University, one good Agricultural College is all that is required." He emphasized that he would veto any bills authorizing the construction of additional buildings on the existing campuses because he was incensed by the "sentiment to promote the ambition of a few men who desire to build up great institutions in ad-

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[24] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie: State Capital Publishing Company, 1905), p. 21.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

[26] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma* (Guthrie: State Capital Publishing Company, 1903), pp. 23–24.

[27] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, p. 41.

[28] *Ibid.*

The University Preparatory School at Tonkawa, today Northern Oklahoma College, which Governor Ferguson opposed because of its cost

vance of the growth and development of the territory." The governor was also disturbed by the large number of high school students being taught in preparatory classes at the colleges. He demanded an end to this practice, emphasizing that it was not right to pay instructors professional salaries for teaching high school level courses.[29]

An important contribution to the quality of secondary education was the bill passed by the territorial legislature in 1905 allowing small rural school districts to consolidate. Other areas of education supported by Governor Ferguson were the territorial library and the Oklahoma Historical Society. In both territorial legislatures, he asked for and received increasingly larger appropriations for these educational adjuncts.[30]

[29] T. B. Ferguson to D. T. Flynn, January 24, 1903, Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

[30] *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1903* (Guthrie: State Capital Printing Company, 1903), pp. 57, 358–362; *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1905* (Guthrie: State Capital Printing Company, 1905), p. 59; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, pp. 29–30; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, pp. 26, 27, 39.

Ferguson's humanitarian concern for others was most evident in his proposals for social legislation. He urged increased financial support for the care of Oklahoma convicts being kept in the Kansas penitentiary, but he asked that juvenile offenders be detained separately at another institution. He believed that to "incarcerate young boys in the penitentiary is beyond question a criminal making process sanctioned by law."[31] His strong stand on the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders influenced the passage in 1903 of a bill allowing judges to give youths sixteen years old or younger a suspended sentence until a reformatory could be constructed to provide for them. Then in 1905 the legislature passed a bill authorizing the territory to contract with a private company to provide a reformatory for juveniles and allocated $5,000 for its maintenance.[32] Ferguson also asked the territorial legislature to accept the federal government's offer to turn over the buildings and grounds of the Fort Supply military reservation to the territory for use in caring for the insane. The legislature responded with three resolutions formally accepting the offer and providing for a warden to oversee the property until the facilities could be used.[33]

Governor Ferguson understood the economic importance of farming and ranching in Oklahoma Territory and carefully studied regulatory legislation in these areas. Major parts of his messages to the two territorial legislatures dealt with suggestions for improving existing laws or enacting new legislation affecting these industries. In 1905, he asked for and received stronger quarantine laws against the importation of diseased cattle into Oklahoma. He also asked the territorial legislature to increase the number of inspectors that operated under the authority of the live stock sanitary commission.[34]

In support of farm interests, the governor proposed and influenced the passage of a tougher and more comprehensive herd law in 1903 to protect farmers from herds of livestock allowed by their owners to range unfettered. These laws made it easier for farmers to seek remuneration and restitution through the courts for damages incurred. Also, Ferguson helped organize in 1902 the board of agriculture which had been authorized by the territorial legislature. He believed strongly in the need for the board and asked the

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[31] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, pp. 35, 36.

[32] *Ibid.*; *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1903*, pp. 196, 197; *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1905*, pp. 303, 304.

[33] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, p. 35; *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1903*, pp. 277, 280, 284.

[34] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, pp. 31, 38, 39; *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1905*, pp. 44–47.

legislature to appropriate money to compensate board members and to reimburse them for duties performed.[35]

Governor Ferguson's administration record is impressive because of the quality of legislation passed. Significantly, most of the legislation enacted was either suggested by him or strongly influenced by his actions. He was very adept at working with the representatives and councilmen of both legislatures, meeting while he was governor, and both sessions were relatively quiet and harmonious.

Perhaps Ferguson's greatest contribution was his unwavering devotion to the cause of immediate statehood for Oklahoma Territory. In nearly all of his official correspondence, he extolled his territory's virtues, documented her unique qualifications, and urged statehood. Ferguson's annual reports to Secretary of the Interior Ethan A. Hitchcock reveal his emotional commitment to statehood for Oklahoma Territory.

Ferguson asserted that Oklahoma was the "most progressive of any Western Commonwealth," and claimed that "a story that would sound like a fairy tale might be truthfully written of the progress and advancement of the Territory of Oklahoma, the 'Land of the Fair God.' "[36] The governor demanded immediate statehood, concluding that it would be "a matter of injustice to longer withhold it. . . . The flag of our Republic will not be complete until upon its field of blue is placed the rising star of Oklahoma."[37]

Governor Ferguson was willing to substantiate his claims and demands. He pointed out that "Oklahoma as a Territory is a phenomenon of the century, having a larger population, being possessed of more agricultural wealth, a better school system, more free colleges and other institutions of public instruction, more lines of railway and mileage with a smaller bonded debt and fewer acres of unclaimed land than any other Territory ever boasted when knocking for admission to the Union as a State."[38]

Oklahomans' desire for statehood was emotional, but it was also practical; the benefits were obvious and necessary. The most frustrating shackle of territorial status were the congressional restrictions against the territorial

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[35] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, pp. 32, 34, 35; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, pp. 21, 22; *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1903*, pp. 39–54.

[36] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior, 1902* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 391.

[37] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior, 1904* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 473–474.

[38] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior, 1902*, p. 392.

legislature appropriating funds for the construction of public buildings. Because of this severe restriction, the territory was seriously handicapped in its efforts to provide proper care and supervision in many of its social and rehabilitative services. The territorial legislature was forced to contract with Kansas to maintain territorial convicts in the Kansas state prison, which by 1905 was costing approximately $65,000 a year. The same year another $85,000 was necessary to maintain insane persons in the private facilities of the Oklahoma Sanitarium Company in Norman. Deaf mutes were cared for in a private institution in Guthrie also at considerable expense. The cost of erecting new buildings and providing adequate services for these would have been considerably less in the long run had the territory been permitted to build facilities for these purposes. In 1905, the territory had $365,000 in its public building fund but could not authorize its use.[39]

The reason for the delay in granting statehood for Oklahoma Territory was the growing consensus in Congress of denying it separate statehood; instead, Congress favored joint statehood for Oklahoma and Indian territories. Ferguson, like most Oklahoma Territory Republicans, favored separate statehood for his territory. He admitted that he was "personally, unchangeably opposed to statehood with the Indian Territory, so far as personal considerations go." He felt that consolidation with Indian Territory "would make Oklahoma a southern state" and "would fill her with southern people, a civilization many years behind our own." He was also concerned that the new state would be controlled by the Democratic Party.[40]

Despite his personal fears, Ferguson was even more concerned about the future and welfare of Oklahoma Territory. When it became apparent after 1903 that Congress would not grant Oklahoma Territory separate statehood, Ferguson began to weigh his personal disdain for political union with Indian Territory against continuing the bitter frustrations of territorial status for Oklahoma. His support for statehood, even if it meant merging with Indian Territory, was a pivotal decision that helped influence the Republican Party to seek single statehood.

When Congress convened in 1904, McGuire, the territory's delegate in Congress, was perplexed over what course should be taken in proposing statehood for Oklahoma Territory. In following the Republican party's instructions to advocate separate statehood, he had met signal failure. He then appealed to Ferguson for advice. The governor recommended that

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[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 463, 464; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, p. 38; T. B. Ferguson to A. J. Beveridge, January 14, 1905, Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

[40] T. B. Ferguson to B. S. McGuire, March 8, 1904, *ibid.*

Agricultural exhibits such as this were shown at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri, where Oklahoma Territory spent $35,000 on its display

if single statehood for the two territories "is inevitable there is no use for us to fight against it." He felt that "it would be easier to change the [Republican territorial] committee's mind on statehood than Congress'" and concluded that "we should submit to the inevitable and pass our platform in accordance with what is possible."[41]

Ferguson and other Republican Party regulars were able to influence their party's stand on statehood, and the Republican territorial convention in 1904 came out in favor of single statehood on its platform. The inevitable joining of Oklahoma and Indian territories was hastened by this decision. Even though Ferguson was unable to achieve his dream of separate statehood for Oklahoma Territory during his tenure as governor, he affected decisions and events that eventually secured statehood for all of present Oklahoma.

An adjunct of the statehood effort was Oklahoma Territory's exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition held at St. Louis, Missouri, in 1904. All states and territories carved from the original Louisiana Pur-

[41] *Ibid.*

chase of 1803 were invited by the fair committee to participate. Governor Ferguson saw in the exposition a means of "advertising the Territory and acquainting . . . the world with the grandeur, magnificence, great resources, and wonderful possibilities of Oklahoma."[42] The territorial legislature in 1901 had already appropriated $20,000 for an exhibit, but Ferguson exhorted the legislature in 1903 to spend $35,000 more. A large pavilion was erected at the exposition. It housed numerous agricultural, horticultural, mineral and educational exhibits which garnered 9 gold medals, 64 silver medals and 127 bronze medals. Ferguson extolled the virtues of the exhibits and boasted that "no other State or Territory derived more real benefits from the exposition than Oklahoma," and that "the fair gave the Territory a well-earned prestige all over the land."[43] Ferguson's active involvement in the exhibit was another indication of his unceasing efforts to publicize Oklahoma Territory's qualifications for statehood.[44]

The political winds that earlier had favored Ferguson shifted after the election of 1902. When Flynn refused to run for reelection as territorial delegate in 1902, Ferguson's political support in Washington began to wane. Having secured his selection in 1902, McGuire began building a political machine to dispose of the Flynn faction. He carefully organized a cohesive cadre of loyal followers and by 1904 was ready to openly challenge the Flynn group. The Republican territorial convention and the general election of 1904 were smashing victories for McGuire. The majority of the members selected to serve on the Republican territorial committee were McGuire supporters. Especially vocal in McGuire's support and leaders in his reelection campaign were Charles H. Filson, who was elected chairman of the Republican territorial committee, and Cassius M. Cade, who was elected Republican national committeeman. The pendulum of political power had swung to McGuire, and the only source of patronage in the territory that he could not control after the election of 1904 was that of the governor.

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[42] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, p. 34.

[43] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior, 1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 326.

[44] Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Seventh Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, pp. 33, 34; Oklahoma Territory Legislature, *Journal of the House Proceedings of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma*, pp. 25, 26; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior, 1902*, pp. 488–489; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior, 1904*, p. 474; United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior, 1905*, pp. 325, 326.

After Congress adjourned in the spring of 1905, McGuire visited Ferguson and tried to persuade the governor to travel to Washington with him to talk with President Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock. McGuire promised Ferguson that he would support him for reappointment if Ferguson would convince Roosevelt and Hitchcock that he agreed with McGuire's "endorsements and general party politics." Ferguson refused to do so because he felt that McGuire had surrounded himself with a class of politicians that he could not recommend "as being good citizens and qualified for the positions to which they aspired." Ferguson preferred leaving office "to being forced to recommend men for offices whom I know to be absolutely disqualified."[45]

Thus a concerted effort was begun in 1905 by McGuire supporters to block Ferguson's reappointment as governor. Even as early as January, 1904, Ferguson was warned to "move cautiously" by political friends who had learned of a plan to "fix [Ferguson] at Washington." John Dillon, Republican territorial committeeman from Blaine County, Cade and McGuire were implicated as instigators of the movement and were reported to have said that "they would have to scrap him [Ferguson] when the time comes to shake up things."[46]

The forthcoming attacks on Ferguson consisted of personal insinuations against him and claims of factionalism. Personal attacks were published in territorial newspapers and carried to Washington. It was not necessary to imply that the governor was guilty of any wrongdoing or even to indicate any lack of executive ability. The plan was to make Ferguson appear to be involved in a fight against McGuire and his friends, thereby proving that Ferguson could not maintain party harmony and unity. Ferguson correctly assessed the situation "in regard to the great battle going on in the newspapers," and complained to McGuire that "it was made to appear that an intense fight is being made on me by your friends. . . . There may be two purposes, one to line up mutual interests, and the other to make it appear that I am having to bear the brunt of the battle."[47]

Compounding Ferguson's predicament was the lack of support from the Flynn faction. The former congressional delegate complained that Ferguson was not adequately supporting Flynn candidates for government positions. Disgusted, Ferguson acidly told Flynn, "you are wholly mistaken. . . . You seem disposed to insinuate in things that reflect upon your

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[45] T. B. Ferguson to T. Roosevelt, November 21, 1905, Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

[46] T. B. Ferguson to B. S. McGuire, February 1, 1904, *ibid.*

[47] T. B. Ferguson to B. S. McGuire, May 10, 1905, *ibid.*

friends."[48] Later he blasted Flynn again, saying that "I am glad to find you and McGuire agree at least on one proposition . . . that the Governor, in his high-handed arbitrary and unjust exercises of Official authority, had turned both of you down [on patronage]." Ferguson reminded Flynn: "I could have had the support of the entire crowd that is fighting me today in the Territory, but to have secured that support, it meant that I must turn . . . against you and your friends." Ferguson's quandary and frustration were evident.[49]

As efforts to remove Governor Ferguson intensified, even baser tactics were resorted to. In September, 1905, Filson and Dillon, two of McGuire's strongest supporters, contrived to have affidavits sent to Washington accusing Ferguson of violating election laws in Blaine County before his appointment as governor. These malicious charges were politically motivated and unfounded. In fact, Ferguson was able to prove that many of the signers had been bribed, but the emotional impact of the affidavits on Roosevelt and Hitchcock, who were far removed from the actual circumstances surrounding the origin of the affidavits, was very damaging to Ferguson at this critical time.[50]

Another effort was initiated by McGuire forces to embarrass the governor; the ghost of the old Oklahoma Sanitarium Company scandal, which caused former governor Jenkins' removal, was resurrected. Newspaper editorials accused Ferguson with a coverup of the scandal which Roosevelt had asked Ferguson to investigate thoroughly. The editorials insinuated that the supposed coverup was to protect Flynn and Grimes, close political friends of Ferguson. But Ferguson's conduct was beyond reproach on this matter, as he had conducted an extensive investigation immediately after assuming office. Also, the territorial legislature in 1903 independently investigated the scandal and concurred with Ferguson's findings and actions. Ferguson was able to refute all these false charges leveled against him, but to no avail.[51]

Time had run out for the harassed governor. He maintained the support of most Republican Party regulars, enjoyed the confidence of most citizens and had the support of most Republican newspapers. However, Ferguson had roused the enmity of the McGuire faction and received only lukewarm support from the Republican Flynn followers. President Roosevelt fol-

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[48] T. B. Ferguson to D. T. Flynn, March 6, 1905, *ibid.*

[49] T. B. Ferguson to D. T. Flynn, October [?], 1905, *ibid.*

[50] T. B. Ferguson to D. T. Flynn, October 26, 1905, November 1, 1905, *ibid.*

[51] *Enid Events*, December 21, 1905; T. B. Ferguson to D. T. Flynn, October 28, 1904, Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library; *Daily Oklahoman*, December 16, 1905, p. 6; *Watonga Republican*, December 14, 1905, p. 1, December 21, 1905, p. 1, December 28, 1905, p. 1, January 4, 1906, p. 1.

lowed these developments closely as well as the rumors of misconduct against Ferguson. These most certainly had an unfavorable impact on Roosevelt; the final factor that seriously damaged Ferguson's chances for reappointment, however, was the close friendship of Roosevelt and Frank Frantz, a former Rough Rider commissioned army officer who had served under Roosevelt during the Spanish-American War. McGuire factionists were aware of this close relationship and advocated his appointment.[52] Ferguson asked Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock for a leave of absence to travel to Washington to explain the political charges against him, but before he could secure approval, President Roosevelt made his decision on the Oklahoma Territory governorship, and on November 9, 1905, announced his intention of appointing Frantz. The next day Ferguson wrote Hitchcock that he had "no regrets in this matter knowing that I have put forth every possible effort to serve the people of Oklahoma in an honorable manner."[53] Ferguson served out the rest of his term, until Frantz's inauguration on January 13, 1906.

After his service as governor, Ferguson returned to Watonga and to his newspaper. His uncompromising editorials once again boomed across the state, and he continued his strong leadership in his church, community, and state until his death. On two occasions after his governorship, he was persuaded to run for political office. In the first congressional election after statehood in 1907, he narrowly lost to his Democratic opponent, Elmer L. Fulton, in the second district by a vote of 26,006 to 25,028. In his last attempt to win an elective office, he lost a bid for the governorship in 1910 to Joe W. McNeal in the Republican primary.[54]

Ferguson died in an Oklahoma City hospital on February 14, 1921. The following day his body was placed in the rotunda of the state capital building, where it lay in state. Outside, the flag flew at half-mast; inside, a blanket of pink and white flowers covered the casket while national guardsmen stood at each side with fixed bayonets as hundreds of citizens filed by to pay their last respects. In the distance a military band played "Nearer My God To Thee." All state government offices were closed. The innumerable tributes paid Ferguson at his death by friends and former political enemies was the final vindication of his stormy career in Okla-

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[52] *Ibid.*, January 25, 1906, p. 1; Stephen Jones, "Captain Frank Frantz, The Rough Rider Governor of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1965–1966), pp. 374–393; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 318–319..

[53] T. B. Ferguson to E. A. Hitchcock, November 10, 1905, November 2, 1905, Ferguson Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library.

[54] *Daily Oklahoman*, February 15, 1921, p. 1; Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, Vol. II, pp. 512, 532.

homa territorial politics. Ferguson's casket was escourted by sixty soldiers to a train that carried his body back to Watonga where he was buried.[55]

Ferguson's administration was in many ways the most successful and progressive of all the territorial governors. His influence on the early history of Oklahoma was especially important, since he served during a pivotal period bridging the territorial era and statehood. He served four years and six weeks, longer than any other territorial governor, and more importantly, he was governor of Oklahoma Territory during its last two legislative sessions.

One of Ferguson's keenest disappointments was his failure to secure the benefits of separate statehood for Oklahoma Territory during his years as governor, but his administrative and political contributions did much to bring statehood for both Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory. His strong executive leadership influenced the passage of progressive legislation, indicative of a growing commonwealth, and his sound financial policies were especially important in building the economic stability of Oklahoma Territory and its qualifications for statehood.

Ferguson's greatest contribution was the political heritage he established. He symbolized, for many, the epitome of honesty and integrity expected of a public officeholder. Ferguson pursued politics as an exercise in civic duty and fundamental American democracy, and not as a means of personal enrichment or political aggrandizement. Because of his unwillingness to compromise high standards of official conduct, Ferguson alienated many politicians who later refused to support his reappointment as territorial governor. But in his politics of conscience and his unshakeable dedication to public service, Ferguson left a political legacy worthy of imitation and distinguished his administration as one of the most successful in the territorial period of Oklahoma history.

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[55] *Watonga Republican*, February 17, 1921, pp. 1, 4; *Daily Oklahoman*, February 15, 1921, pp. 1, 2, February 16, 1921, pp. 1, 5.

FRANK FRANTZ
Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1906–1907

*By Ken Anderson**

Frank Frantz

A Spanish bullet whipped through the tall grass of San Juan Hill and crashed into the chest of Captain Bucky O'Neill, the commander of Troop A, of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry Regiment. O'Neill's blood was still spurting onto the Cuban soil when his second in command, a young first lieutenant from Prescott, Arizona, seized the colors and, waving his sword, urged the men forward. "Where are you going?" shouted the regimental commander, galloping up through the smoke of the battlefield. "To the top of the hill," cried the lieutenant, and dodging the deadly fire he charged up the slope to its crest to plant his flag on the ruins of the Spanish fortifications. This act not only earned him a battlefield promotion to captain, but also brought him the lifelong friendship of the colonel of his regiment, Theodore Roosevelt, together with all the admiration and assistance such an association could bestow. Thus the same ball that ended O'Neill's life also launched the political career of Frank Frantz, the last governor of Oklahoma Territory.[1]

In addition to his war record, Frantz was destined to a special place in Oklahoma history if for no other reason than because he was the last governor before statehood as well as, at thirty-seven years of age, one of the youngest men to hold the office in Oklahoma Territory. Born at Roanoke, Illinois, on May 7, 1869, he was one of the ten children of Henry and Maria Frantz.

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[1] *Tulsa Tribune*, March 10, 1941, p. 7; *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), January 7, 1906, p. 5; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), p. 153.

His great-grandfather had immigrated to Pennsylvania from Switzerland and then moved to Roanoke County, Virginia, where he enlisted in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. In 1855, Henry left for Illinois where he married his childhood sweetheart, the daughter of one of his Virginia neighbors. Henry was active in the Democratic Party in Illinois, and in 1877, was elected to the United States Senate as a Greenbacker. In 1889, the family moved to Wellington, Kansas, where Henry died, leaving besides his widow, eight surviving children: William, Edmund, Orville, Walter, Montgomery, Lulu, Frank and Mrs. George Rarey. When the Cherokee Outlet was opened in 1893, the older boys moved on to Oklahoma.[2]

Frank was still attending Eureka College at Roanoke and Orville was making headlines at Harvard University, where he gained a national reputation as "Homerun" Frantz, the star of the Harvard nine. Walter, after a successful college career, turned professional baseball player, and became a star pitcher of the St. Louis Cardinals. Sports always played a big part in the life of the Frantz brothers and for a while they even fielded their own semi-professional baseball club in southern Kansas and northern Oklahoma Territory. Later, after his friendship with President Theodore Roosevelt developed, Frank and his brother Orville were frequent visitors at the White House. In addition to playing baseball, Frank was a boxer and Orville a wrestler. Always a physical-fitness enthusiast, Roosevelt insisted on matches with both of them. Orville was never able to pin him, but Frank knocked out Roosevelt three times.[3]

When the Frantz brothers first came to Oklahoma Territory, they opened a lumber and hardware business at Medford, and when Frank left college in 1894, he briefly worked with them before moving to Los Angeles, California. While in Los Angeles, he changed his party affiliation from Democratic to Republican, a step which would have both positive and negative repercussions on his career. He shortly moved to Prescott, Arizona Territory, where he worked as a clerk for a mining company. When word came by stagecoach of the outbreak of war with Spain and that a regiment of cowboy cavalry was being raised, he enlisted as a private in Troop A of the First Regiment, United States Volunteer Cavalry—the famed Rough Riders. Before the unit left Whipple Barracks, Arizona, for federal service at San Antonio, Texas, however, Territorial Governor Myron Hawley McCord promoted young Frantz to first lieutenant. From

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[2] *Daily Oklahoman*, January 7, 1906, p. 5; Frank Frantz Military Service Record, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[3] *Ibid.*; *Daily Oklahoman*, November 10, 1905, p. 2.

Texas, the Rough Riders sailed to Tampa, Florida, where they joined the rest of the expeditionary force destined for Cuba and where, for the first time, Frantz met Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt.[4]

It was not until that bloody day on San Juan Hill, however, that the two had any more than a passing acquaintance. For his actions, Roosevelt nominated Frantz for the Silver Star for gallantry under enemy fire, but it was 1935 before Congress belatedly bestowed the medal. At the war's end in 1898, Frantz returned to the far West, but in 1900 he moved to Enid and joined in the operation of the hardware store his brother Montgomery was running. On April 9, 1901, he married Matilda Evans of Oklahoma City. The couple had five children: Frank Jr., Louise, Matilda, Virginia and James, who died in infancy.[5]

In 1902 and 1904, two events occurred that would have great bearing on Frantz's future. When the question of a successor to Enid Postmaster John A. Buckles arose, Roosevelt on the urging of Dennis T. Flynn, the former Oklahoma Territory delegate in Congress and a leading Republican, tendered the job to his old friend. Frantz by now had become active in the Republican Party. He was a delegate to the party's 1902 Oklahoma City convention and wrote many of the resolutions that were passed. He also became a candidate for delegate to attend the Republican national convention; however, Bird McGuire was named to the post. In replying to President Roosevelt's personal letter asking him to accept the appointment as postmaster, Frantz declined, telling him that because he was making money in the hardware business he preferred to remain in it and that he had no training that would qualify him for the position. When he received Frantz's letter, Roosevelt immediately wrote his friend and asked him to come to Washington to discuss the job. Frantz did so, and after talking to the president, acquiesced, and took on the task. He introduced businesslike methods into the operation of the post office and generally gained a good reputation for the handling of his duties.[6]

Then in the fall of 1904, Roosevelt, disturbed over rumors of rampant graft in the Osage Nation, asked Frantz to move to Pawhuska and become the United States Indian agent for the Osages. Again, Frantz declined the president, telling him the pay was less than he was making as postmaster and moving to another city would mean breaking his social ties with Enid.

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[4] *Ibid.*, John Bartlett Meserve, "The Governors of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (September, 1942), pp. 226–227.

[5] Stephen Jones, "Captain Frank Frantz, The Rough Rider Governor of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, No. 4 (Winter 1965–1966), p. 374; *Tulsa Tribune*, March 10, 1941, p. 7; *Daily Oklahoman*, January 7, 1906, p. 5.

[6] *Ibid.*; Jones, "Captain Frank Frantz, The Rough Rider Governor of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, p. 374.

But as usual, Roosevelt was in no mood to be put off. He told Secretary of the Interior Ethan Allen Hitchcock to tell Frantz that it was his personal desire for Frantz to take the post as soon as possible. Hitchcock happened to be on his way to St. Louis, Missouri, and when he arrived he telephoned Frantz and asked him to come to St. Louis for a meeting. Frantz caught the first train, and over luncheon, the secretary candidly said to him: "I did not endorse you for the position. I endorsed an army officer for the place, but the president wants you to take the position. He says that there has been considerable graft going on at the Osage agency and he wants you to clean it up for him." Frantz hesitated no longer, "All right, if the president asked me to go to South Africa and there wasn't a cent in it. . . . I'd take the trip even if I lost money by doing it. I[']ll take the place."[7]

The job he was about to undertake would not only gain him valuable experience in land dealings when he became territorial governor, but would also seriously affect his political ambitions to become the first state governor of Oklahoma. This was a period of great turmoil for the Osages. Their land holdings were in the process of being dissolved so that instead of all of the land being owned jointly by the tribe as a whole, each family would receive an allotment of land as its own. There was great controversy over the tribal roll among the full-bloods, mixed-bloods of varying degress and the "squaw-men," or white men who claimed a share of land by reason of having married an Osage wife. Not only were the land allotments of considerable value in themselves, but the situation was further complicated by the fact that the Osage Nation had been enriched by the discovery of a vast oil pool beginning with the drilling of the first well in 1897. By the time Frantz became the Osage agent, 243 oil wells and 21 gas wells were in production. By 1905, just one company alone, the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company, was paying out more than $2,500,000 in royalties annually. Payment was decided upon, insofar as the Osages were concerned, by headright, or, the share each member of the tribe received when the communal mineral rights were divided equally regardless of sex, age or degree of Osage blood. Because there were less than 2,500 names entered on the tribal rolls, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis Ellington Leupp estimated that enrollment as an Osage was worth $25,000 to $30,000.

Adding to this nest of problems the Osage agent faced were the towns of Cleveland, Blackburn, Ralston and Ponca which had sprung up adjacent to the reservation when the Cherokee Outlet was opened. In each the liquor laws were ignored and there numerous saloons flourished, each more than willing to serve the Indians and relieve them of their money on royalty

[7] *Daily Oklahoman*, November 10, 1905, p. 2, January 7, 1906, p. 5.

day. The town of Ralston posed a particular problem, Frantz wrote: "Small rooms there are partitioned off in the rear of the buildings, fitted with dumb-waiters and various contrivances to prevent the Indian customer from seeing the person from which he is buying the liquor." Frantz continued, "Not [an] uncommon sight [is] to see 15 or 20 intoxicated Indians on the streets of Ralston at a time[.] [S]ome are almost naked having bartered their blankets for whiskey or were stolen from them while in a drunken condition. Some of the women have become so debauched as to make a practice of bartering their virtue something unheard of a few years back." Despite the conditions, Frantz was able to discharge his duties in a praiseworthy manner, although these days would rise again to haunt him during the wane of his gubernatorial administration.[8]

However, in the light of what was to come, just prior to his inauguration, Oklahoma Territory's leading Democratic newspaper, the *Daily Oklahoman*, wrote of his reputation as Osage agent: "His conduct of that office has been all that could have been desired, and he has the confidence of the Indians and the interior department to a greater degree than any agent who ever occupied the position." In conclusion, "Frantz was in the Osage nation to clean up graft and his administration has been clean throughout."[9]

Then, in November, 1905, Oklahoma Territory politicians were surprised when Roosevelt announced that Frantz would succeed Governor Thompson B. Ferguson when the latter's term expired in January. Roosevelt had appointed Ferguson to succeed William Jenkins, whom he had removed from office because of alleged misconduct. He had wanted to appoint Frantz then, but he considered the job that Frantz was doing in dealing with the Osage problems as being more important than the governorship. Now however, the Republican Party in Oklahoma Territory was split into two equally vociferous factions. Ferguson was supported by Flynn and also by Hitchcock. The other wing was lead by McGuire, now the Oklahoma Territory delegate to Congress, and Cassius Barnes. President Roosevelt knew that statehood was imminent and he wanted Oklahoma to remain Republican after it was admitted to the Union, but this would be impossible if the split were not healed. But the Flynn faction saw this as a direct slap at them and the Democratic newspapers of the territory chortled glee-

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[8] Frank F. Finney, "The Osage Indians and the Liquor Problem Before Statehood," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1957–1958), pp. 462–464; Gerald Forbes, "History of the Osage Blanket Lease," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (March, 1941), pp. 72–74; Berlin B. Chapman, "Dissolution of the Osage Reservation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 4 (December, 1942), pp. 376–378.

[9] *Daily Oklahoman*, January 7, 1906, p. 5, November 10, 1905, p. 2.

The Carnegie Library in Guthrie on January 13, 1906, showing the inaugural ceremony of Governor Frantz

fully over the number of Flynn and Ferguson heads that would roll when Frantz took office.[10]

Frantz was inaugurated on January 13, 1906, on the steps of Guthrie's Carnegie Library in one of the most colorful ceremonies Oklahoma Territory had ever seen. Frantz was escorted by two-score of his old Rough Rider comrades, troops of cavalry clattered down the brick streets and the crowd of 10,000 was entertained by bands from all the neighboring communities. More than a thousand of his Enid neighbors attended, riding a special train provided by his brother, Edmund. Billing themselves as representatives of

[10] *Ibid.*; Jones, "Captain Frank Frantz, The Rough Rider Governor of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, p. 376.

"the magic city of the Southwest," 500 Oklahoma Citians also chartered a special Santa Fe train to attend the affair. At one point in the parade, which stretched for thirty blocks, the Rough Riders broke ranks long enough to sign a petition to President Roosevelt asking him to appoint Mrs. Bob Huston, the widow of one of their members, postmistress of Guthrie. After the invocation by the Reverend K. C. Ventress, the pastor of the First Christian Church of Guthrie and a former classmate of Frantz at Eureka College, the oath of office was administered by Associate Oklahoma Territory Justice Frank Gillette.[11]

Frantz immediately presented a long address that was both laudatory and conciliatory in nature. He praised the tremendous commercial and agricultural growth that had taken place in Oklahoma Territory in the past sixteen years and extolled the virtues of its mineral and human potential. He pledged his aid to education and also told them that "the lesson of the present day is progress with honor. The spirit in the very air is for fair play. . . . I shall try to be the governor of all the people of the territory." After he finished, the doors of the Carnegie Library were opened for a reception and hundreds streamed through to shake his hand. That night there was a grand ball, after which the new governor made his first appointment, naming his brother Orville as his private secretary.[12]

Oklahoma Territory was indeed fast-growing and bustling. The annual value of agricultural products alone was in excess of $65,000,000. There were 73 flour mills, 10 cotton seed mills and 280 grain elevators with a storage capacity of 3,500,000 bushels of wheat. The farmers depended on the railroads to get their produce to market, and soon after he took office Frantz became convinced that the railroads were discriminating against Oklahomans by charging them excessive rates, both for freight and passenger service. He ordered an investigation, and as a result of the findings of his staff, two suits were filed against the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company and two additional actions were filed against the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway Company. In the suits against the Rock Island, injunctions were sought to prohibit the company from charging excessive grain rates in western and southern Oklahoma Territory and also to enjoin the company from making any charge within Oklahoma Territory in excess of the rates established by law in Kansas. The suits against the Frisco covered the same grounds. Oklahoma Territory won the first round, but then the railroads appealed the decision to the United States Supreme Court; an overall rate reduction of twelve percent did result from the legal battle.

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11 *Ibid.*; *Daily Oklahoman*, January 16, 1906, p. 1, January 9, 1906, p. 10.

12 *Ibid.*, January 16, 1906, pp. 1–2.

Next Frantz sued the Rock Island to make the company install better trackage, sidetracks and terminals, and to improve equipment and operating conditions; as a result, the company expended some $1,800,000 improving its operations in Oklahoma. Then Frantz moved against the Fort Smith and Western Railway Company as well as the Rock Island and the Santa Fe railroads, asking for a restraining order prohibiting the railroads from collecting a higher rate for the transportation of coal in Indian Territory than the legal rate in Arkansas. As a result, all the railroads in Indian Territory reduced the coal rate on shipments to Oklahoma Territory by 36.4 cents per ton. Complaints filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission on behalf of the grain growers brought lower rates which made their wheat and other crops increase in value some four cents per bushel. Other legal action to lower the rates on lumber, livestock and cotton seed, as well as grain and coal, and to force the roads to furnish more cars were also undertaken. In all, it was estimated by Frantz that the campaign against the railroads saved Oklahoma Territory producers and consumers some $3,000,000 per year.[13]

In a way, however, the railroad rate cases were a doubtful victory for Frantz because they gave his political enemies a perfect excuse to open their campaign against him. The Flynn faction of the Republican Party complained that Frantz had overstepped party lines when he appointed an old friend, Charles J. West of Enid, as a special prosecutor to handle the railroad cases. It so happened that West was a Democrat. Roosevelt ignored the charge, possibly because Frantz in effect had been given a great deal of leeway in running Oklahoma Territory. The Oklahoma Enabling Act or "Omnibus Statehood Bill" of June 14, 1906, which Congress passed to pave the way for statehood, specified that the legislature of Oklahoma Territory would not meet again. Thus, Frantz was entrusted with not only the duties and responsibilities of the executive branch, but some legislative tasks as well. This included not only the appropriation of money to carry out the day-to-day operations of Oklahoma Territory but overseeing every facet of political, economic and governmental life until a duly elected state government took charge.[14]

Not long after Governor Frantz took office, Secretary of the School Land Board Fred L. Wenner received a telegram from Pawnee County informing him that the Millikan Oil Company was preparing to drill on a tract

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[13] Jones, "Captain Frank Frantz, The Rough Rider Governor of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, p. 377; United States Department of the Interior, "Reports of the Governor of Oklahoma for 1907," *Administrative Reports for the Year Ending June 30, 1907* (2 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), Vol. II, pp. 685–686.

[14] *Ibid.*

of school land. There had been considerable drilling in the area in the past, but up until now the operators had not encroached on the 3,100,000 acres of land which had been set aside by Congress for financing common schools, for higher education and for public building purposes. This land had an estimated value of some $30,000,000 and brought into Oklahoma Territory's coffers $2,000 per day in lease payments. Wenner immediately informed the governor, who in turn asked his attorney general, W. O. Cromwell, for an opinion. Cromwell advised Frantz that no clear ruling had ever been made on whether Oklahoma Territory owned the mineral rights to the school land or only the surface rights. Frantz surmised that the sudden activity near Cleveland may have been triggered by the "Warren Amendment," a piece of legislation presented to Congress by Senator Francis E. Warren of Wyoming as a rider to the Oklahoma Statehood Enabling Bill, which would have stripped the territory of the title to the minerals under the surface. Frantz had been alerted to the proposed rider by Fred S. Barde, the Guthrie correspondent of the *Kansas City Star*, acting on a tip from his Washington counterpart who had realized the disastrous effect passage of the measure would have upon education.

Frantz decided to take matters into his own hands and he, Wenner and Cromwell produced an official, yet ostentatious looking document, trimmed in gold borders, bearing the Oklahoma Territory seal and covered with ribbons, proclaiming the mineral rights the property of Oklahoma Territory. He then had United States Marshal John Abernathy swear in Guthrie Mayor Ben F. Berkey as a special officer and dispatched him, together with a squad of men, to serve the proclamation on Millikan's crew and to destroy the offending drill rig.

Certain that this was sufficient notice to preclude any further encroachment for the moment, Frantz went to Washington where he first conferred with Senator Albert J. Beveridge, the chairman of the Senate committee on territories. Beveridge felt, as did Frantz, that the amendment would harm the schools of the future state of Oklahoma because the state would be powerless to prevent drilling or even quarrying on school land, and that potential revenues destined for the common schools would be greatly reduced. With the support of Beveridge, Hitchcock and President Roosevelt, Frantz prepared a lengthy brief and presented it orally before the Senate committee on territories, with the result that the Warren Amendment was removed from the Oklahoma Statehood Enabling Bill and an estimated $100,000,000 was saved for the common schools.[15]

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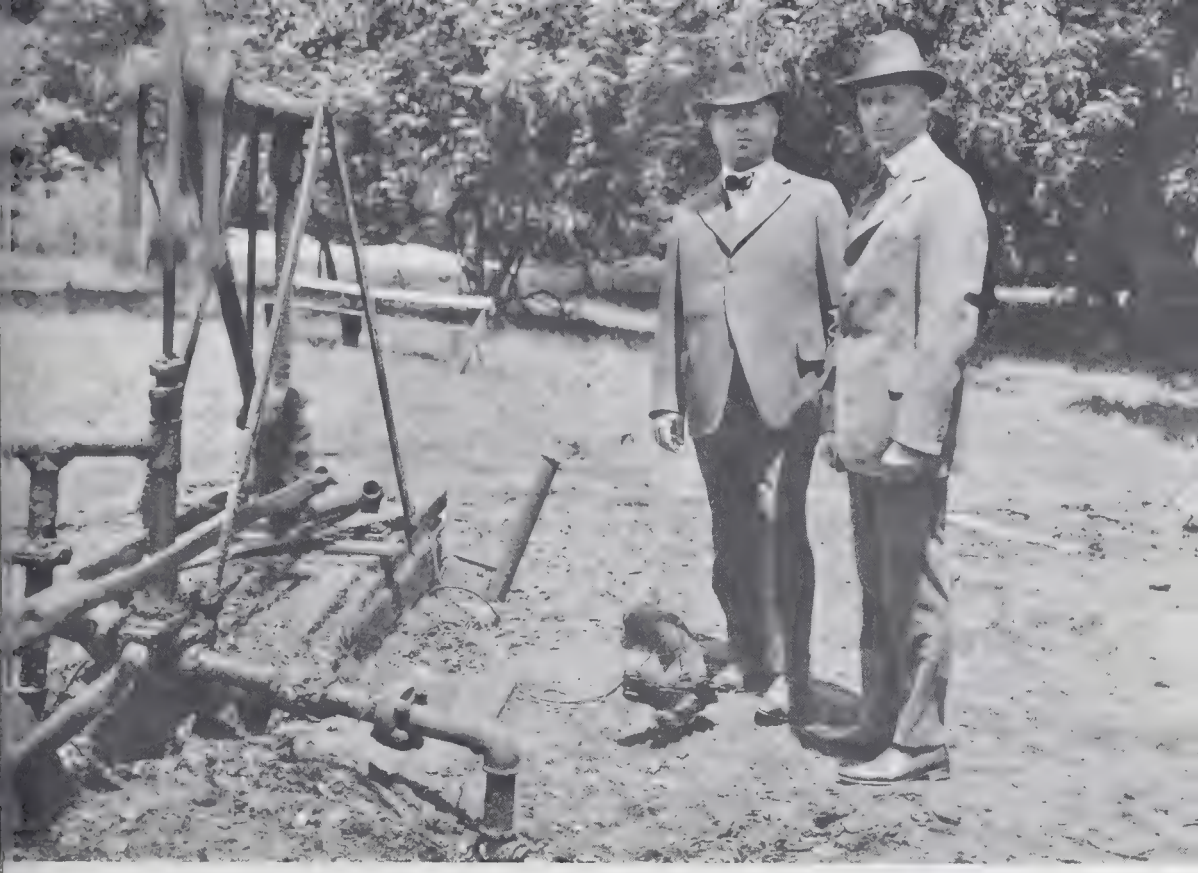
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 673–674; Jones, "Captain Frank Frantz, The Rough Rider Governor of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, p. 379; C. C. Parkhurst, "Terri-



A well of the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company. The enemies of Frantz accused him of the misuse of his office as Osage Indian agent by improperly leasing lands to this company

Despite its favorable outcome for the children of Oklahoma, the case touched off a furor in Washington. Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock released a statement to the national press taking full credit for the defeat of the measure. He not only failed to mention Frantz, but he painted Senator Warren in a very bad light, almost openly accusing him of skullduggery. Warren understandably complained to Roosevelt about the conduct of his secretary of the interior and the president wrote a scathing letter of reprimand to Hitchcock. Among other things, he accused Hitchcock of running a "bureau of publicity" within the department for the purpose of furnishing the newspapers with "facts" to the credit of the secretary and to the discredit of other government officials. The president also noted Hitchcock's past meddling in the affairs of other cabinet agencies and castigated him for his attack on Warren, which Roosevelt felt was unwarranted since similar legislation had been passed in the cases of Idaho,

torial Governors of Oklahoma" (unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1926), pp. 46–47; *Daily Oklahoman*, November 9, 1906, p. 4.

Wyoming and Arizona, and there was no basis for Hitchcock's allegation that Warren was a "looter . . . and a grafter." The president, in several passages, referred to the omission of Frantz's role in defeating the amendment.[16]

Hitchcock's failure to give credit to Frantz in defeating the amendment was due in part to his lack of success in having him removed from office. Frantz's enemies within his own party had brought formal charges against him for misconduct that supposedly occurred during his tenure as Osage agent. Among other things, they accused him of "breaking the ties of marriage" by visiting a house of prostitution with his brother, by appearing in public drunk, of accepting a bribe from the Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company for the illegal leasing of land and of soliciting loans from the Indians under his care, which he failed to repay. Hitchcock had been delighted when President Roosevelt had asked him to investigate the accusations against the rival of his friend, ex-governor Ferguson, and dispatched two agents to Oklahoma Territory with instructions to make the charges stick. He also dragged out the inquiry as long as possible in the hopes of lessening Frantz's chances as a state gubernatorial candidate. Roosevelt, however, had not lost faith in the integrity of his old Rough Rider comrade and made his own investigation, one which proved the only thing Frantz may have been guilty of was slowness in repaying his debts.[17]

All of this rivalry within the Republican Party added grist to the Democrat's mill and four days after Roosevelt's final letter on the subject, Oklahoma Territory's foremost Democratic newspaper, the *Daily Oklahoman*, was loudly proclaiming that the reports of exoneration were false, that Hitchcock had uncovered even more damaging evidence and that Frantz would be forced to resign the governorship, but would be offered another federal job. This was the same newspaper that a few months earlier had praised his stewardship of the Osages.[18]

Frantz, however, continued to act in the best interests of Oklahoma Territory. A portion of the Oklahoma Statehood Enabling Act had pro-

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[16] Jones, "Captain Frank Frantz, The Rough Rider Governor of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 380–381; Dora A. Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933), p. 320; *Daily Oklahoman*, March 10, 1941, p. 9; *Tulsa Tribune*, March 10, 1941, p. 7; Theodore Roosevelt to Ethan Allen Hitchcock, October 26, 1906, Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (8 vols., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), Vol. V, pp. 476–483.

[17] Roosevelt to Hitchcock, May 26, 1906, August 27, 1906, Roosevelt to Francis Ellington Leupp, September 18, 1906, October 2, 1906, Roosevelt to Hitchcock, October 26, 1906, Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Vol. V, pp. 283–284, 386, 415–417, 438, 471–472.

[18] *Daily Oklahoman*, October 30, 1906, p. 8.

vided that the new state would receive $5,000,000 in lieu of non-taxable Indian lands located in Indian Territory for schools in addition to two sections of land in every township in Oklahoma Territory. As all the school lands had not been obtained, Frantz and Wenner decided to acquire them in the panhandle of Oklahoma Territory. In order for the state to get title, the Department of the Interior ruled that each tract would have to be filed for at the government land office at Woodward. Frantz ordered Mayor Berkey and Guthrie Sheriff Charles Carpenter to raise enough men to go to the Panhandle and file on all the vacant land that they could. So effectively did they carry out Frantz's orders, that when the settlers arrived, instead of homesteads, all they found was state-owned land available for lease. Over the years it was estimated that lease payments on these lands added another $100,000,000 to the school funds.[19]

In addition to shepherding Oklahoma Territory through its final throes of government, Frantz performed another signal service for his adopted state when the "Big Pasture" Bill was passed by Congress. On December 16, 1906, the last opening of Oklahoma lands for settlement took place. Known as the "Big Pasture," the tract encompassed some 555,000 acres in Comanche and Kiowa counties. Frantz, remembering how his own family had come to Oklahoma Territory with the opening of the Cherokee Outlet, knew that a "run" was an ineffective method of distributing land, so he was determined that this opening would be conducted by bid rather than by a race or even a lottery. The land sold for a total of $5,000,000, which was set aside for the tribes that formerly owned the land. Residential and building lots went for prices ranging from $20.00 to $1,120 and quarter sections sold for bids of $1,200 to $7,000. Within seven months homes and towns had sprung up and newly-planted farms on the formerly vacant prairie were anticipating a 25,000 bale cotton crop.[20]

But Frantz's greatest battle came with the "Con-Con," as the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention for the new state was called. Dominated by Democrats, it was led by its president, William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, also known in those days as "Cocklebur" Murray. Convening on November 20, 1906, the convention was composed of 112 delegates—55 from Oklahoma Territory, 55 from Indian Territory and 2 from the Osage Nation. Intermingled with the task of writing a viable state constitution was the

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[19] United States Department of the Interior, "Reports of the Governor of Oklahoma for 1907," *Administrative Reports for the Year Ending June 30, 1907*, Vol. II, pp. 680–683; Jones, "Captain Frank Frantz, The Rough Rider Governor of Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 382–383; *Tulsa Tribune*, March 10, 1941, p. 7.

[20] United States Department of the Interior, "Reports of the Governor of Oklahoma for 1907," *Administrative Reports for the Year Ending June 30, 1907*, Vol. II, pp. 686–687; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, pp. 319–320.

fight for the coming elections of state officers and party control of the new state. The formulation of such a document would not be an easy task under any circumstances, but three burning issues served to hamper the proceedings even further and fill the state office races with vilification and hatred. Foremost was the race question. Would Oklahoma enter the Union as a "Jim Crow" state? Both sides alternately courted and defamed the blacks. The Republicans warned the Indians that the Democrats planned on giving them inferior racial status. The Democrats assured the black population that their gubernatorial candidate had given the editor of the *Muskogee Cimeter*, a black newspaper, a secret agreement that was locked in his safe until after the election, that blacks would receive equal treatment under the law. Frantz warned the population of Oklahoma Territory, who wanted statehood immediately, that President Roosevelt would not approve a discriminatory constitution and that their goal would be delayed until

Looking east on Oklahoma Avenue in Guthrie, near the end of the territorial period.

the document was rewritten to his satisfaction. All through the summer of 1907, the *Daily Oklahoman*, in each edition, warned against the folly of integration by printing a daily editorial on the evils of equality and by giving big play to news stories about crimes committed by blacks, no matter where they might have occurred.[21]

Another battle arose over the question of prohibition. Would the new state be wet or dry? This too carried over into the governor's race where Frantz was now carrying the Republican banner against Democratic hopeful Charles N. Haskell. Haskell openly accused Frantz of drunkenness

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[21] Phillip Mellinger, "Discrimination and Statehood in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1971), pp. 366–367; *Daily Oklahoman*, July and August, 1907, pp. 1 and 4; Irvin Hurst, *The 46th Star* (Oklahoma City: Semco Color Press, 1957), pp. 15, 24.

and of silently siding with the wets, because he had not openly opposed them. The people voted for prohibition, and at 11:50 on the night of November 16, 1907, the saloons closed and in Oklahoma City the New State Brewery poured 27,000 gallons of beer into the sewer.[22]

There was also the question of the gerrymandering of some of the congressional districts, but Roosevelt was by now weary of all the haggling, and convinced that Oklahoma would be lost to the Republican fold in any case, decided that a little gerrymandering would not hinder his acceptance of the constitution. So despite all the problems it faced, the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention produced a constitution, a handsome document in appearance, handwritten on parchment. It had taken the scribes so long to write, that when it was discovered some changes would have to be made, rather than do the whole thing over, the deletions were scratched out on the original and the corrections and additions penned in.[23]

The convention adjourned on March 15, 1907, thinking its work completed, and in less than two minutes after the motion to adjourn had passed, the hall was emptied. Everyone expected Frantz to issue an immediate call for an election to vote on the acceptance of the constitution, but he refused to do so on the grounds that the convention had not complied with the letter of the law. He insisted that its labors were not finished until the original of the document was deposited with him. Murray felt just the opposite and was jealously guarding it with his life, while tendering typewritten copies to the governor's office. Murray had taken the original back to his home in Tishomingo locked in an iron strongbox and where he claimed he slept with it under his pillow and ate with it hidden beneath his knees. At long last the impasse was broken, when Frantz received the original copy and issued a call for an election to be held on the proposed Oklahoma Constitution on September 17, 1907. The voters approved the document and Frantz took it on to Washington to present it to President Roosevelt.

The election also resulted in a Democratic victory insofar as the state offices were concerned. Frantz, the Republican candidate for state governor, relied on his favorite campaign tactic of pledging continuing support for education. But the infighting among the Republicans themselves had weakened his chances, and to many he was not outspoken enough on such issues

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22 Jimmie L. Franklin, "A Note on Prohibition in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1965), pp. 24–25; *Daily Oklahoman*, November 16, 1907, p. 3.

23 Theodore Roosevelt to Charles Joseph Bonaparte, September 6, 1907, Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Vol. V, p. 784; Hurst, *The 46th Star*, pp. 11, 28–29; Pauline P. Jackson, "The Sapulpa and Bristow County Seat Contest," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XL, No. 1 (Spring, 1962), pp. 63–64.

as prohibition. The *Daily Oklahoman* charged that Frantz had purposely left town on a hunting trip instead of staying in his office to oversee the canvassing of the election board, thus delaying the statehood proclamation, and that Charles Hunter, the territorial Republican chairman, had filed a suit against the canvassing board by prearrangement. On November 17, 1907, the reins of territorial government were passed to the newly-elected state officials. Frantz was so embittered by the acrimony generated during the election campaign that he refused to take any part in the statehood celebration, nor were any of the Oklahoma Territory officials invited to participate. Instead, Frantz left Guthrie as quickly as he could.[24]

He first went to Colorado, where he entered the oil business and remained until 1915, when he moved back to Tulsa as head of the land department of the Cosden Oil Company. Later, he became an independent oil operator with land holdings in Wyoming. In 1932, he briefly entered politics again when he ran against Wesley E. Disney for the seat from the first congressional district, but was defeated. Then in 1935 Congress bestowed upon him the medal which he so richly deserved and the Frank Frantz Post of Spanish-American War Veterans in Tulsa was named after him. He became a director of the Investors Royalty Company in 1940, and on March 8, 1941, died at the Veterans Administration Hospital at Muskogee, from where he was buried with full military honors in Tulsa's Memorial Cemetery. Taking part in the ceremony was Chris Madsen, a former Rough Rider sergeant, who had also been Oklahoma Territory's last federal marshal. Two other state Rough Riders in attendance were Tom Meagher and Bill McGinty. Frantz, who had been in ill health for a number of years, was survived by his widow, three daughters, and one son.[25]

In 1932, the Oklahoma Memorial Association had elected Frantz to membership in the Oklahoma Hall of Fame. His old political rival, Charles N. Haskell, was similarly honored at the same ceremony, as was William Jenkins, who had also been a governor of Oklahoma Territory.[26]

As an athlete and soldier, Frantz was trained to "go to the top of the hill." Thus, during his governorship whenever a situation arose that called for immediate action and quick thinking, he seized the initiative and did

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[24] William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma* (2 vols., Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1945), Vol. II, p. 108; Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, p. 387; Hurst, *The 46th Star*, pp. 23–24; *Daily Oklahoman*, November 16, 1907, p. 3; United States Department of the Interior, "Reports of the Governor of Oklahoma for 1907," *Administrative Reports for the year Ending June 30, 1907*, Vol. II, pp. 692–693.

[25] *Tulsa Tribune*, March 10, 1941, p. 1, March 11, 1941, pp. 1, 12.

[26] *Oklahoma Hall of Fame* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Heritage Association, 1974), p. 8.

what he thought best to protect the interests of the people of Oklahoma Territory. His aggressiveness in dealing with the railroads and his imaginative handling of the school lands and mineral rights cases brought benefits that far outlasted his tenure in office. If, in each case, he had stopped to ponder the political niceties involved, he may well have survived the storm and become the first governor of the state of Oklahoma as well as the last territorial governor. But he was too uncompromising for that. If he had been willing to make promises to the various factions that wanted their desires made known in the constitution or traded future commitments for votes, he may well have remained in Guthrie, but one can hardly pause during a charge in battle to bargain with the bullets flying past. So instead, he became in the eyes of some, a casualty, but few men have done so much for Oklahoma. If he had not taken and kept, a firm stand against the bigotry of the Constitutional Convention, many objectionable items would have been added to what was already an unwieldly document—one that has had to be amended some fifty times in less than three-quarters of a century. In short, he was, as his old colonel described him, "a crackerjack."

☆ NECROLOGY

Born a member of a pioneering journalism family in Shawnee, Oklahoma, on August 13, 1909, Lou S. Allard, an active newspaper publisher with a distinguished professional, civic, service and church record, died on November 2, 1974.

Services were in First United Methodist Church in Drumright, Oklahoma, Allard's hometown, in a building which he had served for many years as an active leader, the head usher and greeter every Sunday he was home.

Interment was in Oakhill Cemetery at Drumright. Allard's pastor, Reverend Don Waters, offered a beautiful tribute to him in a service which saw distinguished citizens and high ranking public officials, including the Governor-Elect of Oklahoma, David Boren, in attendance. Allard had helped Boren orient himself as a legislator eight years earlier when that young man joined Allard as a member of the Oklahoma House of Representatives—Boren served from oil-oriented Seminole County and Allard from oil-oriented Creek County.

Lou S. Allard, Sr., father of Lou Allard, was a newspaper publisher in Shawnee at the time of his son's birth. In 1915, at the height of the Drumright oil boom, the Allard family moved to that city and published the *Drumright Daily Derrick*. Lou grew up in that oil boom town and learned the newspaper business almost from the cradle. He was one of the state's best known publishers and received many honors from Oklahoma Press Association, The Oklahoma Professional Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi and the Oklahoma City Press Club for distinguished service in Oklahoma legislative investigations of the State Supreme Court.

Allard seemed to always have a special appeal for the younger members of the Oklahoma Press Association. Perhaps he remembered his days as a youth at press meetings with his family. But when young men and women of press association families were gathered at meetings, "Uncle Lou" would be found in the midst of the group inspiring many young men and women to continue in the profession.

In addition to his professional career as a journalist, Allard had served in the mid 1930s as an executive and youth director of National Youth Administration.

In Oklahoma's year of activity celebrating the Semi-Centennial of fifty years of Oklahoma Statehood, Allard served as the general chairman for the state and his drive and energy brought a statewide observance of the Semi-Centennial which attracted national attention.

He was interested in development of Oklahoma highways from the early days of the Drumright oil fields. He was one of the organizers and a past president of the United States Highway 33 Association; and an or-

Lou S. Allard
Board of Directors
Oklahoma Historical Society

ganizer and president at time of death of the Oklahoma State Highway 99 Association. In addition, he was an active member of Oklahoma Good Roads Association and served on numerous highway committees during his twenty-five years of legislative service.

Interested in the Oklahoma Historical Society from the time he could read, he was always an active member and a director of the Society at time of death. The organization, originally created by Oklahoma Territorial newspaper association in 1893, was one of Allard's favorite projects whenever its budgets were presented in the Oklahoma legislative assemblies.

Allard was a Mason, a member of the Drumright Lodge, a York Rite, a Thirty-second Degree Scottish Rite member, and a member of Akdar Shrine in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Allard's other civic organizations included the Jaycees of which he was a past state president; state director of Cowboy Hall of Fame and the Will Rogers District of Boy Scouts of America. Twice he was named Citizen Of The Year in Drumright; an honorary Future Farmers of America Chapter Farmer and during his service as Semi-Centennial state chairman was inducted in eighteen Shrine groups and made an Honorary Choctaw and Cherokee Indian.

Allard was a loyal Democrat in partisan politics and served his party in many capacities. He was elected to his thirteenth term in the Oklahoma Legislature a few months before his death. It was a tribute to Allard that although unable to campaign for the office, he was given an overwhelming vote in his district after friends canvassed his constituents in his behalf.

In the Oklahoma Historical Society, Allard was a member of the publications Committee and the Newspaper Library and Microfilm Committee.

Survivors are his wife, Wilma, of the home at 421 North Grand in Drumright; two daughters, Mrs. Fred (Kay Dell) Lawson of Tulsa and Mrs. Rocky (Dee Anne) Stanley of Drumright; four grand children and a brother, Orville S. Allard of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Lou Allard represented the finest in his professional service. He was an example to youth of the state in his service to his community, his state and his nation. He was a public official who considered his office a public trust and sponsored the state's "Open Meeting" law which prevents secret meetings of government bodies because of his belief that the public's business was the people's business. His family and his friends can take pride in the fact that they were privileged to know Lou Allard some part of the sixty-five years he spent on this earth.

H. Milt Phillips

MEMORIALS TO DECEASED MEMBERS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Colonel Horace Speed Jr., Retired was born in Guthrie, Oklahoma, on August 25, 1897, the son of Judge and Mrs. Horace Speed. Attending high school in Guthrie, Colonel Speed graduated from the United States Military Academy in June of 1919, after which he served in the old Army Coast Artillery at posts around the country. During World War II Colonel Speed was transferred to the Army Air Corps depot in Burtonwood, England, and later was director of supplies at the 71st Quartermasters Base Depot in Normandy, France, and in Berlin, Germany. At the time of his death in March of1974, Speed was a resident of Washington, D.C. where he was a member of the Army-Navy Club, West Point Society, the National Sojourner Club, the Caribou Society, the Shriners and the Masons and a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He is survived by his wife, Minette V.; a son, Horace III, of Saigon, South Vietnam, and two grandchildren.

OKLAHOMA TERRITORY RESEARCH

By John Stewart

To emphasize research in the territorial period of Oklahoma history, the Archives and Records Division, Oklahoma Department of Libraries announces that the following territorial records have been processed and are available for research:

Office of the Governor:	
Reports to the Legislature	1 cubic foot
Pardons and Paroles	6 cubic feet
Proclamations and Executive Orders (see Secretary of Territory below)	
Miscellaneous Filings (see Secretary of Territory below)	
Administrative Correspondence December, 1901 to April, 1902	1 volume
Territorial Legislature: House and Council Bills and Resolutions, 1891–1905	22 cubic feet

Territorial Treasurer:	
Warrant Ledgers 1891–1907	5 volumes
Cash Ledgers 1891–1907	3 volumes
Appropriation Ledgers 1891–1907	3 volumes
Attorney General:	
General letters and opinions 1895–1907	5 volumes
Bond Transcripts and letters 1895–1907	30 cubic feet
Territorial Election Board	
Election returns and abstracts 1902–1907	10 volumes
Poll Books and county seat location petitions	35 cubic feet
Territorial Board of Agriculture	
Minutes and correspondence	2 volumes
County Cattle Brand Books	150 volumes
School Land Office:	
Land appraisal 1897–1907	8 cubic feet
Tract Books	16 volumes
Financial Ledgers 1895–1907	25 volumes
Secretary of the Territory:	
Governor's Proclamations and Executive Orders	1 cubic foot
Miscellaneous Filings, including reports from various territorial officials and county officials	3 cubic feet
Proposed counties and county seats	2 cubic feet
Territorial Auditor and Superintendent of Education	
General letters 1893–1894	1 volume
Insurance Board:	
Company ledger including location, agents, and reports 1906	1 volume
Territorial Supreme Court: 1891–1907	
Dockets	8 volumes
Record	5 volumes
Opinion Journal	7 volumes
Cases	300 cubic feet
United States Criminal Court of Appeals for Indian Territory, 1895–1907	
Dockets	4 volumes
Journal	4 volumes
Cases	188 cubic feet
Works Project Administration. Historical Records Survey.	
County Histories 1937–1942. 55 counties	2 cubic feet

ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

The History Department of Oklahoma State University announces the following activities and staff changes effective with the autumn semester of 1974: Odie B. Faulk, professor and head, returned from a sabbatical leave to study in Australia during the summer of 1974; H. James Henderson, professor, became visiting professor of history at the University of Virginia for the 1974–1975 academic year; Alexander M. Ospovat, professor, returned from England and Spain, where he conducted research in the history of geology and presented a paper at the symposium of the International Committee of the History of the Geological Sciences during the summer of 1974; Charles M. Dollar, associate professor, became a visiting consultant to establish a computer retrieval program in history at the National Archives and Records Center, Washington D.C.; Edward M. Walters, assistant professor, entered postdoctoral study in the library program at the University of Chicago; Neil J. Hackett, Jr. and Joseph A. Stout, Jr., were promoted to associate professor; Virginia H. Haughton, visiting assistant professor of history at Southern Methodist University during the 1973–1974 academic year, became visiting assistant professor of recent United States history for the 1974–1975 academic year; Thomas Knight, assistant professor of history at Ottawa University, became visiting instructor in English history; Carl N. Tyson and Nudie E. Williams became part-time instructors in United States history; Warren B. Morris, Jr., part-time instructor, became assistant professor of history at Southwestern University, Georgetown, Texas; Terry P. Wilson, part-time instructor, became assistant professor of history and coordinator of Indian culture at Eastern Montana College.

EDUCATION DIRECTOR HONORED

Mr. Bruce Joseph, Director of Education, Oklahoma Historical Society, has been honored recently by the *Directory of American Scholars* which lists Mr. Joseph in its Sixth Edition, Volume I, History Division.

SYMPOSIUM ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN

The Division of Social Sciences at Northeastern Oklahoma State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, wishes to announce the Third Annual Sym-

posium on the American Indian. Centered around the topic "The American Indian and American Ideals: 200 Years After Independence," the meeting will be held on the Northeastern Oklahoma State University campus May 1–2, 1975. Made possible by a grant from the Oklahoma Humanities Committee and the National Endowment for the Humanities, the symposium is open to all those interested in this aspect of American history. Program and reservation information may be obtained from Billy Joe Davis, Director, Symposium on the American Indian, Division of Social Sciences, Northeastern Oklahoma State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, 74464.

HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD

The Oklahoma Historical Society has recently acquired copies of *Historic American Engineering Record*, State of Oklahoma Inventory, Duane S. Ellifritt, Principal Investigator, which may be ordered through the business office of the Oklahoma Historical Society at a cost of $1.50 plus 10¢ for postage.

AWARDS ANNOUNCED BY NATIONAL HISTORY ORGANIZATION

By R. W. Jones

The American Association for State and Local History has this year voted forty-eight Awards of Merit and fifty-one Certificates of Commendation to recognized state and local history projects, agencies and individuals showing superior achievement and quality. The Award of Merit is given for excellence of accomplishment or program in state, provincial and local history. Certificates of Commendation distinguish outstanding achievement in light of local limiting circumstances or scope.

Receiving the Award of Merit were WKY-TV News Department, Bob Dotson, producer, for "Through the Looking Glass, Darkly," an "outstanding compilation of black history in Oklahoma," and Dr. Arrell M. Gibson, a professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, "for his scholarly chronicles of the history of his region."

Dr. Mark R. Everett, Dean Emeritus of the University of Oklahoma College of Medicine, received the Certificate of Commendation "for fusing personal experience with historical research to produce a readable and valuable contribution to Oklahoma History in *Medical Education in Oklahoma*."

THE INDIAN REMOVALS: A REPRINT OF SENATE DOCUMENT 512, 23rd CONGRESS; 1934–35; Introduction by John M. Carroll. (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1974. Pp. xxiii, 4,271, 5 volumes. $328.50.)

One of the most important of all source materials on the Indian removals is now available in print. Students and history buffs alike who desire to have as complete a personal library as possible will be delighted at the news that AMS Press, Inc. has reprinted this most essential reference work.

On December 27, 1833 the United States Senate adopted a resolution directing that it be furnished by the Commissary General of Subsistence copies of all correspondence from November 30, 1831, dealing with the subject of the "immigration" or removal of the Indian tribes from southeastern United States to what is now Oklahoma. The report was later issued as *Senate Document 512*, and was published in Washington, D.C., in 1834–1835.

Until now these removal papers have been for all practical purposes inaccessible, for even though the student may be fortunate to have available a copy from the original printing, its condition would be invariably such that ease in use would be impossible.

The pages of *Senate Document 512* are replete with tragedy, pathos and even horror and revulsion. Every word is "eye witness," and is put to paper by an active participant in those miserable events.

A foreword by Brantley Blue and a most worthwhile introduction by John M. Carroll add much to the value of the reprint. Illustrations by Paul Rossi heighten the desirability of the set.

Every library custodian and reference work curator is urged to investigate this reprint and by acquisition to make certain that this important material will be again available for the current generation of students as well as to all interested in determining how such events could be part of our history.

George H. Shirk
Oklahoma City

PLOW-HORSE CAVALRY, THE CANEY CREEK BOYS OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH TEXAS. By Robert S. Weddle. (Austin, Texas: Madrona Press, Inc., 1974. Pp. xii, 210. Photographs. Maps. Bibliography. Index. $9.00.)

In Steve Oates' definitive study of the *Confederate Cavalry West of the River* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1961), the Thirty-fourth

Texas plays a very minor role in the Civil War. So why a book about that particular military organization? Two good answers come forward. First, Robert Weddle writes about the Caney Creek boys with great personal feeling, for many of them are his ancestors. And second, as a good historian he recognizes that a "minor" event has "major" consequences for the people involved in it.

Weddle, who has published two other well-received books on Southwestern topics, wrote this book out of a personal sense of establishing his relationship with his origins and the boys from Fannin County, Texas. The result is not a piece of market-minded nostalgia but a remembrance from the past. Weddle succeeds in recreating his ancestoral past because he maintains his discipline as a professional historian.

The research is extensive. The photographs of contemporary Caney Creek add to the book's mood. Family letters, however, are really the main historical materials. And like the letters collected by Bell I. Wiley, these documents reveal a wide range of human emotions. Most contemporary readers would be struck by the strong religious tone. In a very real sense history is an act of reading other people's mail.

Northeastern Texas in 1861 was a scene of confusion and uncertainty. Although slaves were few in number and Northern sentiment strong, the area supported secession but not without a mass hanging of a number of Unionists near Gainesville, Texas. The Caney Creek boys were poor farmers. With mixed motives they joined A. M. Alexander's regiment, the Thirty-fourth Texas Cavalry. It was a case of "volunteer, be drafted, or flee." After poor military performances the men were dismounted. They were now in the infantry. As such they fought in the bloody struggle at Prairie Grove, Arkansas. However, their greatest military moment came at Mansfield, Louisiana, when they broke the Union line at high cost in human lives.

Using family letters, Weddle describes the lines of the soldiers, military campaigns, privations of war and defeat. The last chapter is a personal postscript in which Weddle recalls his childhood and his experiences with the children and great grandchildren of the Caney Creek boys.

The major criticism of *Plow-Horse Cavalry* is not based on research or interpretation but one of style or technique. If a person does not care for history as a personal remembrance then this book is not for him; but by accepting this condition a reader can gain an insight into the poor and humble annals of the men from Fannin County. Without numbing sentimentality, Weddle does them justice as human beings caught in an unsentimental enterprise, the Civil War.

Donald K. Pickens
North Texas State University

SEQUATCHIE: A STORY OF THE SOUTHERN CUMBERLANDS. By J. Leonard Raulston and James W. Livingood. (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1974. Pp. x, 275. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. Appendix. $9.75.)

The scope of this book is a history of what is essentially a four county area in East Tennessee and adjacent Alabama from pre-Columbian times to the post-World War II era.

The first five chapters deal with Indian occupancy of the Sequatchie Valley, a narrow lowland cut into the Cumberland Plateau to the north and west of Chattanooga, Tennessee. The narrative moves from the Late Archaic epoch through the times of Hernando de Soto's expedition, Dragging Canoe's stand against the encroaching whites and the forced removal of the Cherokees.

A treatment of the first white settlement in the valley follows and includes discussions of routes utilized by the earliest settlers to come into the area, dates of formation of counties, whites who squatted on Indian land, the Tennessee-Georgia boundary controversy, pioneer customs and economy and religious and educational beginnings.

The issue of preservation of slavery failed to receive the support of the majority of inhabitants in the Sequatchie Valley, as voters there generally had allied themselves with the Whig Party after Andrew Jackson left the Presidency. With the advent of Civil War, the Sequatchie counties were found more in support of the Union than the Confederacy. It was interesting to read that one Tennessee county near the Sequatchie Valley, disgruntled with that state's reluctance to secede, sought to join Alabama. On the other hand, some residents of the one northern Alabama county treated as part of the Sequatchie region expressed an interest in parting company with the Montgomery fire-eaters and in replacing this attachment with one to Tennessee, perceived as loyal to the Union in the winter of 1860–1861. During the war, expeditions led by Ormsby Mitchel, James Negley and Braxton Bragg all passed through Sequatchie. Also, the Chattanooga campaign occurred very near Sequatchie and splashed over into it.

Violence growing out of the Civil War persisted in the valley for years after Appomattox. Newspapers printed within the valley appeared after the war, but the region remained largely a backwater in regard to medicine, transportation, religion and education.

A chapter discusses the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company and the violence associated with convict labor in East Tennessee. The construction of Hales Bar Dam in 1913 marked the first great twentieth century attempt to control the Tennessee River. The 1930s saw the creation

of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and a portion of the book chronicles the story of this agency from the first dams to the Raccoon Mountain Pumped-Storage Hydro-Plant of the 1970s.

A final chapter deals with Sequatchie developments in the twentieth century in the fields of education and transportation as well as providing a listing of some of the prominent persons of the region in this century.

The narrative reads well, and a good sense of continuity is achieved. Weaknesses are found in a sparseness of footnotes in some parts of the book, and in a perhaps unavoidable tendency merely to repeat material which can be found in earlier works on Tennessee and the Tennessee Valley.

All in all, the book will be welcomed by general readers who have an interest in this part of Tennessee and Alabama, a microcosm of southern Appalachia.

James E. Copeland
Walters State Community College

CHURCHES IN CULTURAL CAPTIVITY: A HISTORY OF THE SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF SOUTHERN BAPTISTS. By John Lee Eighmy, with Introduction and Epilogue by Samuel S. Hill, Jr. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1972. Pp. xi, 249. Bibliography. Index. $11.50.)

Historiography is a biased quest for truth. A contemporary historiographical school insists that sectional history provides the perceptive student little insight into this nation's past. Those subscribing to this view argue that local, state and sectional history merely reflect national tendencies and that slavery, for example, should be viewed as an aberration of a national pattern, or-racism evolved. Many historians, therefore, might seriously question the validity of the late Professor Eighmy's work in which he examines the leadership and hierarchy of a sectional denomination and seeks to illuminate the religious and social concerns of a provincial people.

Faulkner's famous reference to the religion of a Southern Baptist as an "emotional condition that has nothing to do with God or politics or anything else" is, perhaps, reflective of New-Left historiography. Faulkner's flippancy may be forgiven, but that of contemporary scholars is not so easily put aside. Eighmy has done a creditable job of revealing the world view—be it at times somewhat unsophisticated—of the most prominent fundamentalist movement in the United States today. It is to Eighmy's credit that he precisely presents the "emotional condition" of Southern

Baptists as an entity which has much to do with their conception of God, politics and reality. In the process, Eighmy moves close to presenting "peoples' history" and it is obvious that his research revealed to him that Southern Baptists, in their own way, possess a rational concept of society and the world.

There were, Eighmy observes, enlightened Southern Baptists spanning the era from Reconstruction to the mid 1960s who sought to aid blacks in their slow and tedious quest for social justice. Unfortunately, the voices of these churchmen, strident or otherwise, were not heard in Philadelphia, Mississippi, or Birmingham and Selma, Alabama, during that "crucial decade" of racial turmoil. Why did they fail to speak out when such obvious and blatant acts of murder occurred? Even as late as 1968, after Dr. Martin Luther King's death, they chose, Eighmy argues, to write a document in convention which was "toned down considerably before adoption." It was not Professor Eighmy's purpose to formulate moral judgments relative to the social inaction of Southern Baptists in the sixties, but the inherent tragedy which emerges before us via the media each day is that American society still reaps "the whirlwind" of racial injustice. Perhaps the option for members of the largest Protestant denomination is to face this reality.

Eighmy has significantly contributed to the field of social history by his perceptive and scholarly study of the historic concerns of Southern Baptist churchmen. This monograph fills a vacuum for the historian whose major concern is to find to what extent cultural values are revealed in religious belief, experience and practice.

Paul D. Travis
Oklahoma Baptist University

SPOTTED TAIL'S FOLK: A HISTORY OF THE BRULÉ SIOUX. By George E. Hyde. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974. Pp. v, 346. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. $8.95.)

This second printing of George E. Hyde's *Spotted Tail's Folk*, Volume LVII in The Civilization of the American Indian Series, contains several additional illustrations, one more map and a foreward by Harry H. Anderson, Director of the Milwaukee County Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Anderson's informal and personal introduction to the author acquaints the reader with Hyde's deafness, greatly impaired vision, lack of formal education and "difficulties with the academic world." Recognizing the validity of historians' criticisms regarding Hyde's limited use of footnotes and bibliography, Anderson nevertheless emphasizes Hyde's lively style, under-

standing of Indian culture and knowledge acquired from Indian informants, qualities which have made his work "unmatched in the literature of Plains Indian history." While Anderson's foreword enables the reader to "appreciate Hyde's writings properly," an updated and expanded bibliography also would have been a valuable addition.

Although the title implies a complete history of the Brulé Sioux, *Spotted Tail's Folk* is the biography of a man Hyde considered "the ablest chief the Sioux ever had." Understanding the "scope and power of American Society" and the inability of the Sioux to "remain united or fight a protracted war," Spotted Tail advocated peace as the only means of survival for his tribe. He avoided war by moving his people to the reservation but opposed government efforts to alter their way of life. Able to deal as an equal with Washington officials, Spotted Tail frustrated attempts to break tribal authority and to introduce farming, education and Christianity. The Brulé continued his policy of "race resistance to sudden change" even after his murder in 1881 by a jealous rival.

In light of recent movements to preserve Indian culture, the reader might wish that Anderson, as a friend and colleague, had commented on Hyde's conclusion that "the Brulés are now within sight of a time when they will join the mass of the nation's population and be merged into it." Would Hyde have changed his opinion? Perhaps, but certainly he would have continued to hope that the Indian people would "be proud of a great Brulé chief whose name was Sinte Galeska—Spotted Tail."

Lesta Van Der Wert Turchen
Dakota Wesleyan University

THE SOUTH CENTRAL JURISDICTION 1939–1972. By Theodore L. Agnew. (Nashville: The Parthenon Press, 1973.)

Dr. Theodore L. Agnew, Professor of History at Oklahoma State University at Stillwater, being an astute historian and a faithful member of the United Methodist Church, at home and abroad, has carried on the Wesleyan tradition of keeping an accurate historical view of the church. John Wesley's *Journal* has always been an incentive for his followers.

The Commission on Archives and History asked Dr. Agnew to do a brief history of The South Central Jurisdiction of the United Methodist Church, and he has chosen to deal with some significant questions: How has the South Central Jurisdiction performed and what has it accomplished?

The lay persons and ordained conference ministers are elected as delegates to the Jurisdictional Conferences and continuing in this democratic process, one of the chief responsibilities of these delegates is to elect and

assign Bishops who are consecrated to a task of Episcopal Administration. Dr. Agnew launches his book with a picturesque description of this ceremony. He describes the process when in 1964, Dr. W. McFerrin Stowe, Pastor of the 7,200 member St. Luke's Church, Oklahoma City, was elected and consecrated.

Dr. Agnew, in his overview from 1939 to 1972, depicts the historical cooperative efforts of the Methodists from the eight states of New Mexico, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana representing eighteen Annual Conferences. In 1940 a Jurisdictional Council was formed, thus giving a tangible form of guidance to the Jurisdiction.

The author with deliberate effort helps the reader see that the process of Elected Episcopal Leaders "was and still is the center of denominational life." He continues, "Looking outward to the world, the bishop was the chief spokesman for church members; looking inward to the faithful, he was the chief shepherd of the flock."

Dr. Agnew takes the reader through a journey seeking to discover just who are these members of the Jurisdictional Conference, the pastors and lay persons, both men and women. Then he defines from the Discipline of the Church the duties and responsibilities of these members. Always, as is the case in accurate history of the church, a large and significant role has been performed by the women, and Dr. Agnew discusses this quite adequately in chapter six, "Mid the Darkness . . . Light." Their organization during this period was known as The South Central Jurisdiction Women's Society of Christian Service.

Dr. Agnew in his Epilogue briefly and capably, as he is accustomed to do, summarizes his impressions of the Ministry and Mission of the South Central Jurisdiction of the United Methodist Church.

This brief history and Interpretation by this outstanding historian will be of special interest to any who sense our indebtedness to the noble of the past, and our obligation to the future seeking to be born.

Marvin D. Nelson
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

THE WICHITA MOUNTAINS: ANCIENT OASIS OF THE PRAIRIES. By E. Buford Morgan. (Waco, Texas: Texian Press, 1973. Pp. xvii, 253. Illustrations. Maps. Index. Appendices. $8.95.)

This is an interesting book which combines cursory examinations of the geology, history, mythology and wildlife of the Wichita Mountains of Southwestern Oklahoma. It is roughly divided into four sections. The first of these consists of speculation concerning pre-historic man in the area of

the Wichitas followed by sketches of the Wichita, Apache, Comanche, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache tribes which lived in the area during some stage in their history. Second, the explorations of the Spanish, French and Americans are each considered as is the establishment and development of Fort Sill. The author then proceeds to a discussion of the sundry myths and historical accounts pertaining to gold and silver mining, the activities of outlaws, and the predictable tales of buried treasures. His final chapter is a history and description of the Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge. Appendices include lists of the various amphibians, reptiles, birds, fishes and mammals of the region.

For the amateur historian, zoologist or the family planning to visit the region, this book should prove interesting, and might add the ingredient necessary to enjoy something more than the scenery of the Wichitas. However, the book presents serious problems to both amateurs and scholars as it is deficient in a number of ways. For example, the activities and contributions of cattlemen and other settlers of the region are almost completely neglected. Also, legends and history are blurred frequently. And though the author noted the difficulty of separating the two, his efforts toward that end are less than sufficient. There is scant evidence of any critical evaluation of sources and obvious lies and yarns often are reported as if they were documented facts. Further, in spite of the author's explanation in the introduction, the numerous accounts of Indian savagery do not seem justified and on numerous occasions these stories detract seriously from his attempts to depict accurately the ingredients of tribal life. The popular media have offered aboundant testimonies that Indians were and are perceived as having being brutal; the real need is for more descriptions of other aspects of Indian culture. Finally, the book is married frequently by both simple and complex grammatical and formal errors that detract seriously from the reader's potential enjoyment.

Alvin O. Turner
Altus Junior College

IN THE DAYS OF VICTORIO. By Eve Ball. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1970. Pp. vii, 222. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. Appendix.)

There have been many books written about the Indian from the white man's point of view. This book, *In The Days of Victorio*, by Eve Ball is an exception because it is the Indian's version as to how they were deceived and persecuted by the very government agents sent to protect and preserve

the Apache tribe. In order to preserve the Apaches from extermination the Indian chiefs chose the only possible means of survival; they fled from the army which was determined to locate them on barren reservations where they would either starve to death or die as a result of white man's diseases.

This work provides a fairly accurate description of the Warm Springs Apache's life during their fight for survival in the mid 1870s. Ball used information obtained from descendants of the survivors of the Massacre at Tres Castillos, where the majority of the Warm Springs Apache died, including their great leader Victorio, who according to this account killed himself rather than be captured.

The narrator of this unique story was the grandson of Chief Nana, James Kaywaykla, who recalled his childhood memories. When this book was being prepared Kaywaykla was the sole survivor of that massacre.

For those who wish to consider the Indian culture and attitude during the great Indian wars, this work is recommended. However it must be pointed out that recollections such as this are only partially accurate, for time obscures even the best of memories.

Kareta Casey
Oklahoma State University

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, October 24, 1974

President George H. Shirk called the Quarterly Meeting of the Board of Directors to order at 10:00 a.m., October 24, 1974. Those Directors in attendance were Mrs. George L. Bowman, O. B. Campbell, Harry L. Deupree, M.D., W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, E. Moses Frye, Dr. A. M. Gibson, John E. Kirkpatrick, Dr. James Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, Miss Genevieve Seger and H. Merle Woods; Jack Wettengel, Executive Director, and Dr. Muriel H. Wright, Director Emeritus. Directors who had asked to be excused were Lou S. Allard, Henry B. Bass, Q. B. Boydstun, Joe W. Curtis, Bob Foresman, Nolen J. Fuqua, Denzil D. Garrison, W. E. McIntosh and Jordan B. Reaves. Mr. Pierce moved to excuse the absent members; Mr. Frye seconded, and the motion carried.

The Executive Director was asked to give his report and he announced that sixty-seven persons had applied for annual membership during the past quarter and that Ms. Alice Hyde had made application for a life membership. Miss Seger moved to accept the applications; Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion which passed.

A contribution was sent to the American Heart Association by the Board in memory of Mrs. Floy Boydstun, wife of Board Member Q. B. Boydstun, said Mr. Wettengel.

The Board was advised of the appointments on July 1, 1974, of Mrs. Martha Royce Blaine to the position of Director of the Indian Archives Division and Miss Charlene Akers as Assistant Indian Archivist. Mrs. Blaine assumed this position upon the retirement of Mrs. Rella Looney.

Mr. Wettengel reported on the publication schedule maintained by Editor Dr. Kenny Franks for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Of special interest is the addition of the index to the present volume which will appear in the Winter 1974–1975 issue. Henceforth, the index will be included in the fourth issue of each volume, eliminating the printing of a separate index.

Dr. Franks is planning a future issue of *The Chronicles* which will be devoted entirely to the territorial governors of Oklahoma. It will be available in reprint form.

The development and maintenance requirements of sites throughout the state were brought to the attention of the Board by Mr. Wettengel. He also called attention to the amount of time required of the Historic Sites

staff in reviewing over 150 A-95 forms. These Grant-in-Aid Clearing House forms are sent to the Society to avoid conflicts between known or potential historical or archaeological sites and proposed construction sites.

The preparation and execution of sixteen contracts to aid regional societies, associations and commissions in properly spending their line item appropriations also required a considerable amount of time, according to Mr. Wettengel.

Mr. Wettengel said that the Indian Archives and Newspaper Divisions received a number of complimentary letters during the quarter from persons who had used these facilities and were kind enough to express their gratitude to the staff members for their assistance.

Mr. Shirk expressed his appreciation to the Board Members for their efforts in defeating State Question 505 in the August elections. The defeat of the question, which sought to eliminate the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, as well as certain other boards and commissions, was a vote of confidence in the Society by the people, said Mr. Shirk.

In her Treasurer's Report, Mrs. Bowman read the cash receipts and disbursements for the Cash Revolving Fund 200 for the quarter. The balance of $110,308.89 as of September 30, included a Federal grant of $46,322.00 which is to be disbursed during the next quarter for the development of the Overholser Mansion and the Old Central building on the Oklahoma State University campus.

Mr. Wettengel gave a special report, requested of him at the July meeting, on three properties not yet approved for acquisition by the Board. These were the Otto Butler Farm, the Chisholm Trail Historical Museum and the Triangle Heritage Association of the Cherokee Outlet. The Historic Sites Committee recommended that the Board reject the Otto Butler property and that it be returned to the donor. Mr. Phillips placed this recommendation in the form of a motion, which was seconded by Mr. Frye; the motion carried.

Dr. Fischer brought before the Board the question of the establishment of a historical literature sales stand. It was his opinion that such a stand is needed and should be considered a part of the Society's program. Similar organizations realize a substantial profit from such stands because of the interest of the public in history and related subjects. Dr. Fischer proposed that a book stand be considered.

Discussion followed on the acceptance by the Board of the Chisholm Historic Trail Association at Waurika. Objection to the acceptance was raised because of the existing Chisholm Trail Museum in Kingfisher. Although the museum in Kingfisher is a local one, it was felt by some mem-

bers of the Board that the similarity of the names of the two museums would be confusing and perhaps detract from each other. Dr. Gibson suggested that by acquiring the museum in Waurika, its operation could be controlled, thereby edifying the Kingfisher museum. Dr. Fischer moved that the Board accept the Chisholm Historic Trail Association conveyance; Mr. Frye seconded, Mr. Phillips dissented, and the motion passed.

Mr. Wettengel read to the Board a list prepared by a planner retained by the Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Department. This was a list which suggested that certain sites of a historical nature in the state should be under the direction of the Oklahoma Historical Society and others, primarily for recreation, should be controlled by the Tourism and Recreation Department. According to the survey, there are some sites now owned by Tourism which should be transferred to the Society.

Mr. Pierce moved that Mr. Shirk and the Executive Committee be given all necessary authority to consider the suggestions of the Tourism Department survey, and to follow through with these recommendations. Mr. Frye seconded the motion and it was passed.

Dr. Fischer then moved that the Board accept the Triangle Heritage Association of the Cherokee Outlet and suggested that a review be made of the problem of the similarity of names of the two Chisholm Trail museums. Mr. Frye seconded this motion, which passed.

Mr. Wettengel presented a slide presentation of the Governor E. W. Marland Mansion in Ponca City which is being offered for sale by the Felician order of nuns of the Roman Catholic Church. As pointed out by Mr. Wettengel, the mansion itself is an architectural wonder and the entire complex has a possible use as a small college or boarding school. It has been offered to the Historical Society, but the five million dollar asking price is prohibitive, and it was noted that Governor Marland only lived in the house three years.

Dr. Deupree moved to accept the report and expressed the Board's interest in the mansion's historical aspects. Mr. Frye seconded the motion, and it carried.

Dr. Morrison advised that the South Barracks of Fort Washita is now enclosed and work can continue on the interior during the winter months.

Mrs. Inez Orr and Mrs. Esther Phillips are two new employees of the Museum Division of the Society, according to Dr. Fischer. In his report, Dr. Fischer also described the work of nine Junior League volunteers who are doing a remarkable job in storing and caring for artifacts in the Museum.

Dr. Fischer moved that the Board of Directors approve the recommendations of the Museum Committee to dispose of certain items, according to the Museum Disposal Policy, and to authorize the Museum staff to

make such disposals in the manner indicated. Dr. Morrison seconded this motion, which carried. Specifically, these are items Accession No. 69.21 through TIC No. 1287. A decision regarding the busts and portraits on the list will be deferred.

A meeting of the Honey Springs Battlefield Commission was held recently, according to Dr. Fischer. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the acquisition of additional land for the site and to seat the four new members to the commission. These members are Mr. Anthony D. Ashmore, the Honorable Robert J. Bell, Senator Kenneth Butler and Mr. Britton Tabor.

The members of the commission adopted a resolution to acquire by the power of eminent domain a portion of land described as the South Half of the South Half of the SW¼ of the NW¼ less one acre, in Section 11, Township 12 North, Range 17 East, containing nine acres in McIntosh County, Oklahoma. The Society, represented by Board Member McIntosh, has been unable to buy this parcel of land from the owner. In order to implement the wish of the legislature, House Bill 579, May 8, 1967, the Society has had to resort to this procedure.

Mr. Frye moved that the resolution be adopted by the Board of Directors to acquire the described nine acres of land. The motion was seconded by Mr. Campbell and all approved.

Mr. Shirk said that the Portrait Committee had met and it was their unanimous decision to accept portraits of Mr. E. G. Phelps, publisher, and Kate Galt Zaneis, educator, to be used by the Society for whatever use the Museum Committee feels is appropriate, but not for addition to the Portrait Gallery. Mr. Phillips seconded this motion; all concurred. Mr. Wettengel was asked to write to Florence Phelps Smith to advise her of the decision of the Board.

Mr. Phillips, as an executor of the will of deceased Board Member Morton R. Harrison, reported that the $2,000 provided by the will is to be used to finance the writing of a history of the American Legion in World War I from 1919 to 1940. This money is to go into a separate trust fund until other funds are available. The Executive Committee as individuals will implement the bequest of Mr. Harrison.

A motion was made by Dr. Fischer to request Channel 13 KETA to repeat an earlier program featuring Oklahoma Astronaut Colonel William R. Pogue, a member of the team of the Skylab III flight. The Skylab flights were featured in the October issue of *The National Geographic*, and it was the hope of Dr. Fischer that by viewing the program more Oklahomans could become aware of the scientific benefits of this space effort and

the part an outstanding Oklahoman played in it. Miss Seger seconded the motion and it was carried.

With the resignation of Mrs. John Frizzell from the Board of Directors in July, the election of Miss Wright to the Board, and the subsequent election of Miss Wright to emeritus status, there is presently a vacancy of one member on the Board of twenty-five members. It was agreed that the traditional procedure would be followed in electing a new member; that is, nominations and brief biographical sketches are to be sent to the Executive Director, who will then send the nominations to the Board members twenty days prior to the January meeting.

Turning to other business, Mr. Shirk read a letter from the president of the Wynnewood Historical Society, whose project is the Eskridge Hotel Museum in Wynnewood. The Wynnewood Historical Society had inquired about the possibility of transferring to their museum all items placed by the United Daughters of the Confederacy in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. Shirk stated that all such items are now owned by the State of Oklahoma because of the clear language of Title 53, Oklahoma Statutes, Section 14, which requires such articles be placed permanently in the Confederate Room.

Mr. Pierce moved that President Shirk be commended for his efforts in defeating State Question 505. Dr. Fischer seconded, and the motion was passed unanimously.

Dr. Fischer moved that First Vice President Phillips be thanked for his hard work in connection with the defeat of State Question 505. Dr. Deupree seconded, and the motion passed unanimously. Mr. Campbell was complimented also.

The meeting was adjourned.

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

JACK WETTENGEL,
Executive Director

GIFT LIST FOR THIRD QUARTER, 1974

LIBRARY:

Railroads of Oklahoma June 6, 1870–July 1, 1974, revised edition.
Donor: Chester Davis and State of Oklahoma Department of Highways, Survey Division, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Cemetery Records—Book I—Garfield County, Oklahoma by The Garfield County Genealogist of Enid, Oklahoma.
Donor: Garfield County Historical Society, Enid, Oklahoma.

Invoice Ledger of Claude Keltner Store covering towns of Douglas and Onyx, Oklahoma, June 1914–June 1915.
Donor: Ms. Ina Mae Keltner, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Generosity of Americans by Arnaud C. Marts, 1966.
Crimsoned Prairie—The Indian Wars on the Great Plains by S. L. A. Marshall, 1972.
A Gazetteer of Indian Territory by Harry Gannett, Bulletin No. 248 of the United States Geological Survey, 1905.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The New England Shermans by Roy V. Sherman, 1973.
Donor: Author, Akron, Ohio.

Dusty Trails, Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1974.
Donor: Editor, Mrs. Patty Webb Eubanks, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Stillwater's First National Bank and Trust Company, 1899–1974, 75th Anniversary Booklet and *News-Press* tabloid.
Donor: J. W. Gardner, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Rhyne Family History 1597 to 1974 by Clark O'Neal Rhyne, July 29, 1974.
Donor: Author, Wardville, Oklahoma.

Xeroxed copies of a collection of papers re Territorial Governor George Steele, National Archives, Record Group 48, Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Patents and Miscellaneous Documents of Oklahoma Territory.
Xeroxed copy "The Story of Norman—Surveyor and Site" by John Womack, June, 1974.
Donor: John Womack, Noble, Oklahoma.

A Tribute to My Friend Cash M. Cade—For His Worth-while Life from the Early Days of Oklahoma to the Present by Vernon Whiting, Pawhuska, Oklahoma.
Donor: Leo S. Cade, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Collection of back issues of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*—35 issues.
Numerous pamphlets, etc. regarding early Oklahoma.
Donor: In Memory of Mrs. Howard Miller by Mrs. Elzia Buck Rhodes, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

1800 Census of Oglethorpe County, Georgia, compiled by Mary B. Warren, 1965.
Donor: Mrs. Mary McBryde, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College, 1974, edited and compiled by William Claude Vogt.
Donor: Ms. Ann Dawson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Petit Jean Township, Logan County, Arkansas in 1880, compiled by K. C. Emerson, 1974.
Emersons in the Southern States Listed in 1880 Soundex Index compiled by K. C. Emerson, 1974.

Donor: Marvin Emerson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, for compiler, Arlington, Virginia.

Fort Towson by Eliza Oglesby, 1974.
A. G. I.'s Birdseye View of Japan by Eliza S. Oglesby, 1967.
Donor: Author, Haworth, Oklahoma.

Microfilm: Civil War (Union) 1859–1863 L–Z only; roll No. 28 of No. 223.
Civil War (Union) 1864–1865 L–Z only; roll No. 30 of No. 233.
1860 Federal Census of Kentucky, roll No. 384 for McLean and Madison.
1870 Federal Census of Kentucky, roll No. 487 for McCracken, McLean and Meade.
Donor: George M. Stiers, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Imperial Texas—An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography by D. W. Meining, 1972.
Donor: Mrs. J. W. Gaither, Norman, Oklahoma.

Boonslick Historical Personalities—Howard and Cooper Counties, Missouri, 1974.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Nicholas A. Brunda, Boonville, Missouri.

Gateway to the Big Pasture Devol by Robert Lee Wyatt, III, 1974.
Donor: Author, Devol, Oklahoma.

Christopher Houston 1829–1892 by Kenneth Houston, 1973.
Donor: Author, Washington, D.C.

Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Education State of Massachusetts, 1869.
Sixty-Third Report of the Public Schools of the State of Missouri, 1912.
Donor: Mrs. Harriet Rosenstahl, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of historical clippings and items of the late Dr. J. R. Campbell of Stillwater, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. Clarence Reeds, Norman, Oklahoma.

Program—Christening and Launching Ceremonies of Guided Missile Frigate England (DLG–22) at Todd Shipyards Corporation, Los Angeles Division, San Pedro, California, March 6, 1962.
Donor: Robert A. Wilson, National Secretary Forty-Fifth Infantry Division Association, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of Early Theatrical and Stage Programs from Early Oklahoma City.
Donor: James Katigan Sr., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, by Pen Woods.

Ancient and Modern Genealogies by Thomas Milton Tinney, 1973.
Donor: Thomas and Kim Tinney, Salt Lake City, Utah.

History of the Kansas Conference of the Evangelical Church, Vol. II, 1914–1939 by C. R. Findley, Historian.
Donor: Mrs. Martha Blaine, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Thesis: *Governor Lee Cruce and His "Righteous Crusade"* by Orben J. Casey, 1972.
Donor: Author, Norman, Oklahoma.

Descendants of John Caughey 1747–1826—A Revolutionary War Soldier of the 6th

Pennsylvania Line by Karl Rosenberg.
Donor: Lafayette Chapter, The Ohio Society, Sons of The American Revolution, El Paso, Texas.

McCurtain County and Southeast Oklahoma—History, Biography, Statistics by W. A. Carter, 1923. This is 1974 reprint autographed by granddaughter of the author.
Donor: Frances E. Thompson and Josephine Thompson Hughes, Sand Springs, Oklahoma.

Jenny Wiley—Pioneer Mother and Borderland Heroine by Henry P. Scalf, 1964.
Donor: Mrs. Hazel C. Patton, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Some Paschal Ancestors, Descendants and Allied Families compiled by Rosa Lee Price Paschal, 1969.
Donor: Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Personal collection of Myrtle Lucille Brown.
Donor: Myrtle Lucille Brown Stone, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Tyron Family in America compiled and edited by Wes. M. Tyron, 1969.
Donor: Ruby and Fairbanks Tyron of Guthrie, Oklahoma, for author, Wheaton, Maryland.

William Roach 1801–1879 and Descendants by Henry A. Roach, 1974.
Donor: Author, Glen Rose, Texas.

The Thirty-Sixth Division in the Great War—Texas and Oklahoma National Guard 1918–1919.
Donor: E. H. Drewel, Houston, Texas.

"Oak Ridge Cemetery in Oklahoma, November 19, 1973."
Donor: Robert and Kay Beal, Ridgecrest, California.

Genealogy of William Ball—Born 1812—Loudoun County, Virginia, compiled by William Lee Ball, 1974.
Donor: Mrs. Elizabeth Ball Carr, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Record of Virginia Elizabeth Clark Easley—Accepted as a member of Daughters of the American Revolution direct Descent from Bryan (Bryant) Ward, compiled by Ruth Hope Parker Lessley, 1973.
Donor: Compiler, Paducah, Kentucky.

Down the River by Louis Maynard, 1971.
Oklahoma Panhandle—A History and Stories of No Man's Land by Louis Maynard, 1956.
Donor: Author, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Certificate No. 43 of 200 shares in Mexican Production and Development Company of Oklahoma City, Territory of Oklahoma, March 5, 1905, made out to M. P. Miller.
Donor: Arthur W. Johnson, Park Ridge, Illinois.

Membership Roster of Oklahoma Chapter Builders' Division The Associated General Contractors of America, Inc. for 1970, 1971, 1972.
Donor: Oklahoma Chapter, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Pioneering the Union Pacific—A Reappraisal of the Builders of the Railroad by Charles E. Ames, 1969.
Donor: Author, Erie, Pennsylvania.

The Journal of the Cherokee Strip, Vol. XIV, September 1972.
The Journal of the Cherokee Strip, Vol. XV, September 1973.
Donor: Neal M. Lovell, Enid, Oklahoma, by Mrs. John W. Ervin, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Tax Commission Personnel Directory, 1971 and 1972.
Roster—State and County Officers and Election Returns, November 3, 1970 compiled by Basil R. Wilson.
Donor: Ray Asplin, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Grandmother Mary Ann (Crosby) April 16, 1835–December 21, 1913 by Abbie W. Bitney, 1974.
Donor: Ms. Ima Crosby Wells, Arlington, Virginia. Sent by author, Pullman, Washington.

The Iroquois Stalker (Watseka, Illinois), Vol. III, Nos. 1–4, 1974; Vol. IV, No. 1, 1974.
Genealogy and Local History Catalogue No. 367, 390 and 265 of Goodspeed.
The Handbook of American Genealogy, Vol. IV, 1943.
The Magazine of American Genealogy Aa to Ae, No. 1, August, 1929.
Library Catalogue of the Institute of American Genealogy.
Donor: John W. Delaney, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Upshaw Family Journal, Vol. I, Nos. 1,2,3 of 1974.
Donor: Mrs. John Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Cowboy and Indian Trader by Joseph Schmedding, 1974.
Donor: University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Kappa Theta Study Club Delphian Chapter Record Book.
Donor: Miss Ruth Dropkin, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Illinois State Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 2, Summer, 1974.
The Report, Ohio Genealogical Society, Vol. VI, No. 1, Spring, 1972.
Donor: Mrs. Kathleen Fowler, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Tijerina and the Courthouse Raid by Peter Nabokov, 1970.
Donor: Author, Carmel, California.

Federal Census Pennsylvania, 1800, 1840, 1850, 1860 and 1880, compiled by Genealogy Section of Pennsylvania State Library.
Pennsylvania Imprints 1689–1789—The First Hundred Years.
Genealogical Research in the Published Pennsylvania Archives, compiled by Sally A. Weikel, State Library of Pennsylvania.
Incorporation Dates for Pennsylvania Municipalities by Jo Anne Hottenstein and Sibyl Welch, 1965.
Donor: Sally A. Weikel, State and Local History and Genealogy of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, through Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

PHOTOGRAPHS:

One hundred and seventy-seven negatives re Heritage Hall, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Donor: Fred Huston, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Alonzo "Lon" O'Hornett and son, Carl—two photographs taken in Ponca City, February 24, 1900.
Donor: Patrick Jay O'Hornett, Cascade, Colorado.

Mr. and Mrs. Albert Spittler, Cheyenne, Oklahoma Territory, ca 1895.
Mr. and Mrs. Albert Spittler and son Clemon, Cheyenne, Oklahoma Territory, 1895–1898. Copies of originals.
Donor: J. Guy Fuller, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Ten early Oklahoma or Oklahoma City postal cards.
Donor: Ms. Marjorie Hesse, Purcell, Oklahoma.

Three early Oklahoma City postal cards.
Donor: Mrs. T. R. Leach, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

"Initial Point" used for all land surveys in Oklahoma, Kansas and part of Nebraska, 1973.
Donor: Gerrie Jackson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Two photographed brochures: "The Chilocco Hiawatha" and "Chilocco School Views."
Donor: Mrs. Jim Wilkinson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Apache Camp Near Anadarko.
Donor: Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebraska.

Halliburton Oil Well and Cementing Company, Office Building, Duncan, Oklahoma.
Main Street Looking West, Duncan, Oklahoma.
Stephens County Court House, Duncan, Oklahoma.
Eleven large (11"x14") matte photographs of oil wells and drilling.
Leon Phillips, William Skelly, Erle P. Halliburton and Johnson Murray on Erle P. Halliburton Day, Duncan, May 1, 1953.
Donor: Mrs. George E. Jenkins, Duncan, Oklahoma.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION:

Thesis "Justice for the Cherokees: The Outlet Awards of 1961 and 1972" by Bill Sampson.
Donor: Author.

Thesis "Federal Refugees from Indian Territory, 1861–1867" by Jerry Leon Gill.
Donor: Author.

Goodland Family Photo Album.
Donor: Goodland Presbyterian Children's Home, Hugo, Oklahoma.

Thomas Bowman Hoskinson, 1819–1907 by Mrs. Josie Hoskinson.
Donor: Author.

Papers of Jehu (John) Casey.
Donor: Mrs. Maxine Casey Hayes, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Tulsa Annals, Vol. III, No. 3; Vol. IV, No. 3; Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3; Vol. VI, Nos. 1, 2, and 3; Vol. VII, Nos. 1, 2, and 3; Vol. VIII, Nos. 2 and 3; Vol. IX, No. 1.
Donor: Mrs. Leslie Schorn, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Cowlitz Tribe of Indians v. U. S., Docket No. 218: Order.
Pillager Bands of Chippewa Indians v. U. S., Docket No. 144; Order; Findings of Fact.
Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 57: Order allowing Reimbursement; Findings of Fact; Order.
Navajo Tribe v. U. S., Docket Nos. 69, 299 and 353: Opinion; Order.
Citizen Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Oklahoma, et al. v. U. S., Docket Nos. 217, 15-K and 29-J: Order.
Stockbridge Munsee Community, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 300: Order.
Lipan Apache Tribe, et al. v. U. S., Docket Nos. 22-C, 226 and 257: Order.
Suquamish Tribe of Indians v. U. S., Docket No. 132: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Order.
Northern Paiute Nation, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 87-A: Interlocutory Order; Opinion.
Sioux Tribe of Indians of the Standing Rock Reservation v. U. S., Docket No. 119; Interlocutory Order; Opinion.
Lummi Tribe of Indians v. U. S., Docket No. 110: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Order.
Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes of Indians v. U. S., Docket Nos. 257 and 259-A: Findings of Fact; Order.
Kikiallus Tribe of Indians v. U. S., Docket No. 263: Findings of Fact; Order.
Makah Indian Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 60-A: Opinion; Order Denying Defendant's Motion; Order Granting Defendant's Motion.
Sac and Fox Tribe of the Mississippi in Iowa, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 219: Order allowing Reimbursement; Order allowing Additional Reimbursable Expenses; Findings of Fact.
Seneca Nation of Indians, et al. v. U. S., Docket Nos. 342-B, 342-C, 342-F, 342-I, and 368: Order.
Steilacoom Tribe of Indians v. U. S., Docket No. 208: Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award; Opinion.
Peoria Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 313; Opinion; Order.
Mohave Indians v. U. S., Docket Nos. 283 and 295: Findings of Fact; Order.
Squaxin Tribe of Indians v. U. S., Docket No. 206: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Nisqually Tribe of Indians v. U. S., Docket No. 197: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 236-G: Opinion; Order.
Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C.

Bryan Ward, 1720–1740 by Mrs. Ruth H. Lessley.
Donor: Author.

Report of regular quarterly meeting of the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, July 12, 1974.

Donor: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Bigby-Foreman Cherokee genealogical material compiled by donors.
Donor: Mrs. Thelma Simmons and Mrs. Mary Jane Stone, Ypsilante, Michigan.

Xeroxed copy of the *Chapman Roll of Eastern Cherokees, 1851.*
Xeroxed copy of the *Old Settler Roll, 1851.*
Xeroxed copy of the *Hester Roll, 1884.*
Donor: Jack Baker, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

MUSEUM:

Crocheted bedspread, made by donor's mother; shawl which belonged to donor's grandmother.
Source: Miss Helen Biggers, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Oil portraits, "Little Joe the Wrangler" and "Black Beaver".
Source: Frederick A. Olds, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Watch fob, made from hair of donor's uncle; switch, made from hair of donor's aunt.
Source: Theodore Walter Oberndorf, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Metal oil company signs and tools.
Source: R. L. Pointer, Seminole, Oklahoma.

Picture postcards, two, "Guthrie Library."
Source: Mrs. J. Bert Strong, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Trunk, belonged to donor's grandfather.
Source: John W. Lowe and Mary Lowe, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Cards, one complete deck, Copyrighted 1902, belonged to donor's father.
Source: Mrs. Donald L. Melton, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Portrait, oil, "Jesse Chisholm", painted by donor.
Source: William Burford, Waukomis, Oklahoma.

Shirt, belonged to Senator Robert S. Kerr, used as model for Capitol Rotunda portrait.
Source: Charles Banks Wilson, Miami, Oklahoma.

Navy uniform, WWI, clothing, accessories and photograph of donor in uniform.
Source: Henry D. Hunt, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Ticket case with key.
Source: Mrs. Oscar B. Vogt, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Photograph, Indian delegates to the Constitutional Convention, 1906, Guthrie, Oklahoma; Film, Guthrie's 89'er Day Parade, ca 1938.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. Owen Harned, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Shotgun; double barrel with hammers.
Source: Robert J. Hall, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Coverlet, hand-loomed, made by donor's grandmother; horsehair lap robe.
Source: Mrs. Helen Driskill, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Statements of account and receipts, 1893–1899.
Source: Kenneth Mitchell, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Postcards, two, "Interior, Bath House, Guthrie, Okla.," "Mineral Wells Bath House, Guthrie, Okla.".
Source: Mrs. Bill McCurdy, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Photographs, two, 1939 Guthrie 89'er Parade, William Murray on last day in office of governor; photographer Alphia Hart, donor's uncle.
Source: Mrs. Jerry Frisk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Check protecting machine, patent 1919.
Source: Bob Hussey Railroad Construction Company by Ms. Janice Donnelly, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Shoe lasts and stand; tools; used by donor's grandfather.
Source: Mrs. E. D. Fields, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Cotton underslips, two, ca 1901–1906.
Source: Mrs. J. O. Surrell, Wapanuka, Oklahoma.

Money order cutter and two Xerox copies of last money order cut with this tool.
Source: John Womack, Noble, Oklahoma.

Photographs, Annual Session Oklahoma State Firemen's Association, 1911.
Source: Lige B. Thompson, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Theater seat from the Brooks' Opera House.
Source: Don Odom, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Medical items of Dr. W. K. Hartford.
Source: Mrs. W. K. Hartford, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Map, "Oklahoma The New State," belonged to donor's father.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kumpe, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Photographs, family.
Source: Mrs. Helen F. Ames, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Wool rug.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Edwards, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Bridge model, made by N. H. Sturgis for a patent, from which design three bridges in the Guthrie area were built.
Source: John Egelston, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Clothing items, belonged to donor's father and grandmother.
Source: Frances Evans Fullerton by Eula Fullerton, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Dress and accessories which belonged to relatives of donor; photograph of members of Oklahoma Senate, Eighth Legislative Assembly, 1905, with donor's grandfather A. L. Sharrock in photograph.
Source: A. L. Berg Family, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Wooden bread bowl which belonged to donor's mother.
Source: Ms. Josephine Brown Graham.

Leather saddle.
Source: C. O. Bohlman, Jr. by Germaine L. Bohlman, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Book, *Elements of Logic*, by Richard Whateley, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, Ireland, 1839.
Source: Mrs. Florence Moore Nelson, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Cast iron teakettle.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. L. E. Dale, Checotah, Oklahoma.

Parlor suite and two chairs.
Source: Estate of Kate Ardailia Reid Herwig by: F. H. Campbell, Jr., Executor, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Book, *Nancy McIntyre* a Tale of the Prairies, 1908.
Source: Mrs. J. C. (Gamble Fountain) Wyrick, Paris, Texas.

Lithograph which has been in the donor's family since before 1924.
Source: Glenn and Linda Hohimer, Yale, Oklahoma.

Instrument kit and documents which belonged to donor's father, Dr. J. L. Ledgerwood.
Source: Mrs. Anna Mae Odom (Ledgerwood), Norman, Oklahoma.

Quilt, doily, glass items, bean pot.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Burris, Yale, Oklahoma.

Photographs for stereoscope.
Source: Mr. Bill Lehmann, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Steel stapler, possibly used in the Capitol City Business College.
Source: Mrs. Ruby Mae Gaffney Tryon, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

July 26, 1974 to October 24, 1974

Agee, Elton E.	Oklahoma City
Ames, Helen F.	Tishomingo
Anderson, Richard	Oklahoma City
Anoatubby, Mrs. Rhonda	Durant
Arnold, Mrs. Marie	Richmond, Texas
Bayerlein, W. E.	Oklahoma City
Beck, Mrs. Harold H.	Bethany
Bell, Ralph L.	Midwest City
Berry, Mrs. Jack	Yale
Bidwell, Beulah I.	Muskogee
Birdsong, Mrs. Janet	Del City
Brunda, Nicholas A.	Boonville, Missouri
Burdick, Ben L.	Oklahoma City
Carmichael, Norman	Wichita, Kansas
Carter, L. Edward	Norman
Cummins, Dr. D. Duane	Oklahoma City
Davis, Addie J.	Oklahoma City
Dawson, Ann	Oklahoma City
Dick, Jerry	Oklahoma City
Donnelley, H. F.	Stillwater
Dykstra, Thomas C.	Oklahoma City
Edmondson, Linda	Muskogee
Ely, Sylvia Roye	Oklahoma City
Gallaher, Neldean	Norman
Grimes, Larry A.	Moore
Griggs, Anthony	Meeker
Hixon, George Edward	Tulsa
Hixon, Steven Howell	Tulsa
Hoig, Dr. Stan	Edmond
Holman, Mrs. Lyda	Jacumba, California
Hudson, Martha Patton	Oklahoma City
Hunter, Erma	Cleo Springs
Inda, Lorri	Dewey
Kaw City Museum Association	Kaw City
King, J. Russell	Haverford, Pennsylvania
Lancaster, Mrs. Woody	Guthrie
Lazalier, Mrs. H. C.	Muskogee
Love, Sam O.	Stilwell
Mathews, Mrs. Louise	Oklahoma City
McCerran, Randy	Terral
McLemore, Mrs. J. D.	Hugo
Moore, Lt. Col. E. L.	Norman
Morris, Joseph W.	Muskogee
Mosely, Lynda	Tishomingo
Motes, Mrs. Paul F.	McAlester

Peck, Dwight L.	Wewoka
Reeder, Finley M.	Oklahoma City
Reuter, Jack	El Reno
Rhyne, Clark O'Neal	Wardville
Roberts, James W.	Oklahoma City
Roberts, Leroy K.	Baxter Springs, Kansas
Rogers, Mrs. Jean	Oklahoma City
Rogers, Dr. Joe E.	Oklahoma City
Samuel, Maurine E.	Pryor
Skelton, Dr. R. H.	Cape Girardeau, Missouri
Spangler, Pauline	Chula Vista, California
Spellman, Comdr. Fred G.	China Lake, California
Stone, Norma	Del City
Thomas, Mrs. Jim C.	Norman
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THE COVER C. R. Breckenridge, the son of former Vice-President of the United States John C. Breckenridge, as he appeared while serving as a member of the famous Dawes Commission in Indian Territory. C. R. Breckenridge himself had previously served as a member of the United States House of Representatives from Arkansas, and as United States Minister to the Czarist court of Russia. A polished gentleman and adept diplomat, Breckenridge contributed much to the success of the work of the Dawes Commission.

EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS IN OKLAHOMA: A SURVEY

*By Douglas Hale**

One facet of Oklahoma's history which has long been ignored, but which has had a huge impact on the state's culture and heritage is European immigration. Though these settlers from abroad did not stream into Oklahoma in such multitudes as they did into certain other states, their number was by no means inconsequential. At the time of statehood, approximately 8 percent of Oklahoma's population was composed of foreign born and their children. They established dozens of their own communities and worshipped in 10 different languages in 375 churches. The first and second-generation European stock was approximately equal numerically to the Negro population and far exceeded that of the American Indian in Oklahoma.[1]

Yet, the story of trans-Atlantic migration to Oklahoma has never been systematically studied. The homeland conditions which prompted emigration, the choice of sites for settlement, the character of these communities in the early years and their cultural impact upon Oklahoma remain unexplored questions as well as fertile and unexploited fields for historical inquiry. This study represents an attempt to provide a general background for investigation into these problems by establishing the numerical and spacial concentrations of the major European nationalities in the state as of 1910.[2] Further, basic research sources are suggested and specific areas of inquiry are defined. It is hoped that this initial effort will inspire concentrated and detailed studies of the immigration question throughout the state.

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* The author is a Professor of History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, and this is the first of a series of articles dealing with the various aspects of European immigration to the state. Dr. Hale wishes to acknowledge the support and encouragement of the Oklahoma State University Committee on Educational Innovation which made the research on this article possible.

[1] The total Oklahoma population was 1,657,155, of whom 130,430 were first or second-generation Europeans, 137,612 Negroes and 74,825 American Indians. United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910. Population* (11 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), Vol. III, p. 461. Data on language use in religious services is for 1906 and includes organizations with a total statewide membership of 23,689. United States Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies, 1916* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), p. 86.

[2] 1910 was chosen as the pivotal date in the survey because the census of that year showed the highest proportion of foreign born ever achieved in the United States; it was also the first census which recorded the mother tongue of those born abroad. Moreover, the date roughly coincides with the end of the major wave of settlement of the state and the achievement of

The theme should prove an attractive one; in terms of sheer drama, determination and courage, there are few stories to rival the epic of American immigration, and it has consistently exerted an attraction for both historians and writers of fiction as well.[3] Its magnitude alone defies the imagination. In the last 150 years, some 46,000,000 immigrants have come to this country. Within this enormous exodus there are countless individual sagas of hope and hardship, of suffering and success which provide an infinite variety of human experience.

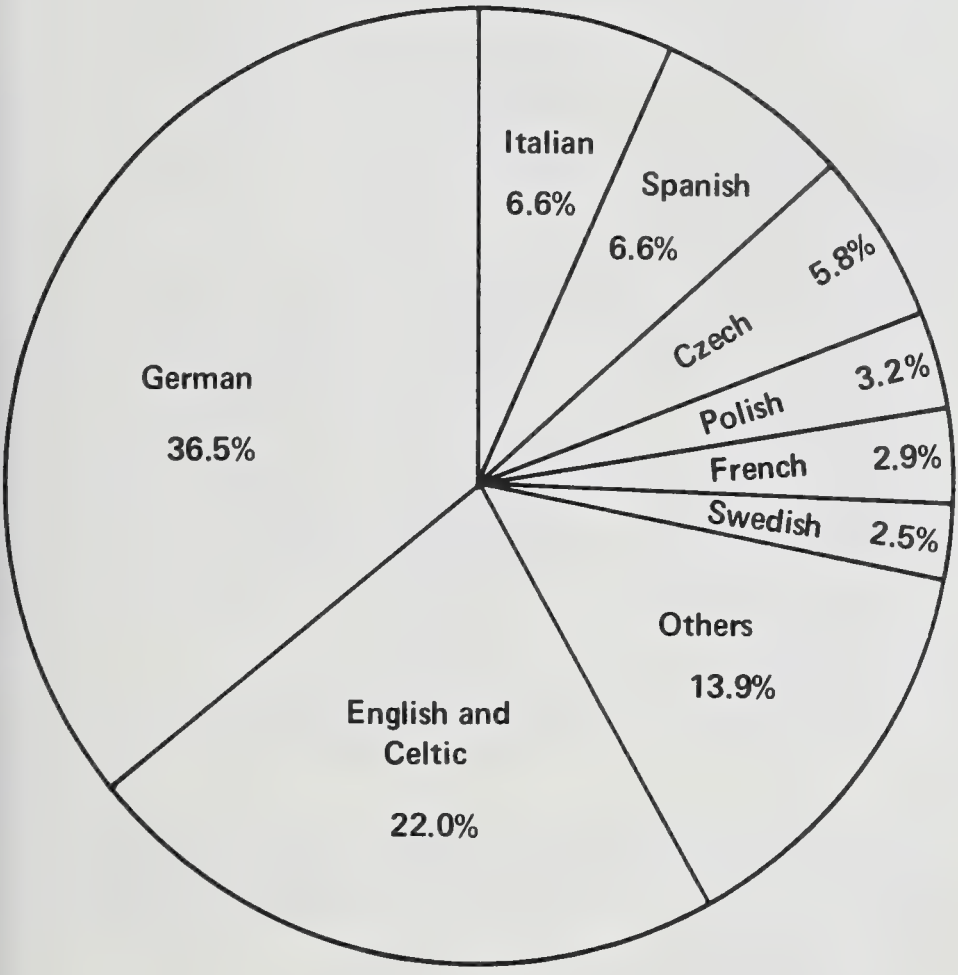
Some crude order may be imposed upon this exceedingly complex phenomenon by recognizing that the tide of migration fluctuated in time and underwent several transformations in character. Between 1820, when the first reliable statistics were compiled, and the Civil War, there occurred a sharp increase in the level of emigration from Europe. A fairly stable annual rate was maintained between about 1865 and 1880, to be followed by an expanded flow in the 1880s and then a brief decline down to the turn of the century. The one and one-half decades before World War I experienced an enormous surge, which reached its height in 1907, when 1,285,349 immigrants entered the country in a single year. By 1910 there were 13,500,000 foreign born living in the United States—about one-seventh of the population. One-third of the inhabitants of Massachusetts and New York had been born abroad, while the cities of Boston, Massachusetts; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Chicago, Illinois, showed a similar proportion of foreign born.[4]

---

statehood. Data for country of birth, mother tongue and township of residence of the foreign born in twenty-five selected Oklahoma counties were derived from the "Manuscript Census, 1910," housed at the Personal Census Service Branch, Pittsburg, Kansas. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Francis Allai, head of this office, and Mr. James Van Houten, Chief of Processing Section, for their aid in this project. For a useful introduction to the possibilities and problems involving the use of census data in ethnic studies, see H. S. Shryock and J. S. Siegel, *The Methods and Materials of Demography* (2 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971), Vol. I, pp. 252–281.

[3] Among the most widely available and useful general surveys of the subject are Philip A. M. Taylor, *The Distant Magnet: European Migration to the U. S. A.* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1964); Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951); M. L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607–1860* (New York: Harper, 1961); G. M. Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration, 1821–1924* (Boston: Russell and Russell, 1926). On current trends and problems in ethnic studies, see R. J. Vecoli, "Ethnicity: A Neglected Dimension of American History," in H. J. Bass, ed., *The State of American History* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), pp. 70–88.

[4] F. D. Scott, *The Peopling of America: Perspectives on Immigration* (Washington: American Historical Association, 1972), p. 27; Taylor, *Distant Magnet: European Migration to the U.S.A.*, pp. 192–195; United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960), pp. 56–59.



Major mother tongues of the Oklahoma
Foreign – Born White Population, 1910.

With the coming of World War I and the imposition of quota restrictions on the admission of foreigners in 1921 and 1924, the flow of immigrants diminished to a trickle, and the depression years of the 1930s witnessed an influx no larger than that of a century earlier. But as a result of the gradual relaxation of restrictions during the past two decades, a new surge began which has continued down to the present time. Between 1951 and 1970, 5,837,156 immigrants were admitted at a rate roughly comparable to that of the 1890s.[5]

Just as the pattern of immigration shows periodic fluctuations in magnitude, it is also marked by fundamental changes in the nationalities most directly involved. Before the Civil War, Germans, British and Irish constituted the bulk of new arrivals, while Scandinavians and Germans led during the 1870s and 1880s. From the turn of the century to the imposition of stringent restrictions in the early 1920s, however, the so-called "new immigration" from Italy, Russia and southeastern Europe comprised the vast majority of newcomers. Since the resurgence of immigration in the 1950s, only 42 percent have come to this country from Europe, while 46 percent of the new arrivals were born in countries of the Western Hemisphere.[6]

As the flood-tide of immigration between 1890 and 1914 coincided with the era of settlement in Oklahoma, one should expect to encounter substantial numbers of foreign born among the approximately 1,500,000 people who came into the state during the period. And such was the case. They entered the territories at an average rate of about 2,000 per year during the two decades after 1890. By 1910, Oklahoma counted 40,084 foreign-born white inhabitants, or 2.4 percent of its total population.[7]

To be sure, this percentage of foreign born was far smaller than that of the northeastern states, and even neighboring states showed a substantially

---

[5] M. T. Bennett, *American Immigration Policies: A History* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1963), pp. 40–58; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1953), pp. 301–324; United States Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1973* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 95.

[6] Taylor, *Distant Magnet: European Migration to the U.S.A.*, p. 63; *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1973*, p. 95.

[7] Population growth may be summarized in the following figures from United States Bureau of the Census, *Bulletin 89: Population of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, 1907* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), p. 7:

Year	Indian Territory	Oklahoma Territory	State Total
1890	180,182	78,475	--------
1900	392,060	398,331	--------
1907	681,115	733,062	--------
1910	------	------	1,657,155

In 1890 there were but 2,709 foreign-born white persons in the territories. United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. III, p. 461.

higher ratio. Colorado counted 16.2 percent, Nebraska 14 percent, Kansas 8 percent, Missouri 7 percent and Texas 6.2 percent of their respective populations of foreign-born white in 1910.[8] Yet, it is necessary to consider that with their children born in America, these Oklahoma immigrants still constituted a foreign stock of about one-twelfth of the population. Furthermore, many of the foreign born tended to concentrate in certain localities, thus raising their proportionate influence considerably. Ten Oklahoma counties had a foreign-born population of more than 5 percent in 1910.[9] It is consequently at the county or local level that the impact of the immigrants can be seen most clearly.

They had come from as near as Mexico and as distant as Japan, but this study shall confine itself only to the major groups of European origin. Seven countries of Europe each sent more than 1,000 immigrants to Oklahoma, and each must be considered in turn. But beyond this, it will be necessary to distinguish among the various and diverse ethnic groups which emigrated from each homeland if the heterogeneity of the population is to be fully appreciated. The location and classification of the major European nationalities in the state may be established both on the basis of native country as well as that of ethnic affinity as defined by mother tongue.[10]

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 162–163.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 466–479. These were as follows:

County	Number of Foreign-Born White	Percent of County Population
Blaine	1,043	5.8
Canadian	1,308	5.6
Coal	1,575	10.0
Ellis	784	5.1
Garfield	1,740	5.3
Latimer	879	7.8
Major	871	5.7
Noble	1,001	6.7
Oklahoma	4,312	5.1
Pittsburg	3,367	7.1

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 466. Major Mother Tongues of the Oklahoma Foreign-Born White Population, 1910. The various European homelands and their respective proportions of the foreign-born population were as follows:

Country of Birth	Number in Oklahoma	Percent of Foreign-Born White Population
Germany	10,089	25.2
Russia	5,807	14.5
Austria-Hungary	4,236	10.6
England, Scotland, Wales	4,561	11.4
Italy	2,564	6.4
Ireland	1,800	4.5
Sweden	1,020	2.5
Others, including non-European countries	10,007	24.9
	40,084	100.0

The bulk of the non-European immigrants came from Canada (2,831) and Mexico (2,645).

Just as Germany provided the largest contingent to American immigration as a whole, so the German born accounted for the single most numerous group in Oklahoma. The first sizable colony of German immigrants had arrived in America in 1683, and throughout the following century a substantial German stock took root in Pennsylvania, New York, South Carolina and the Shenandoah Valley. The second wave of settlement, which began about 1830, brought German pioneers to Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin and Texas. By the time the Civil War interrupted this exodus, as many as 200,000 Germans were coming to the United States in a single year. The surge resumed after the war, and by the early 1880s had reached its prewar volume. But toward the turn of the century, Germany's emergence as a powerful industrial nation offered increasing opportunities for its burgeoning population at home, and the immigrant tide diminished. During the years before the First World War, only about 20,000 emigrants were leaving Germany for America annually.[11] By 1910, there were still 2,500,000 Americans who had been born in Germany. Most were concentrated in the north central states, and a large proportion were engaged in agriculture.[12] They enjoyed a very high literacy rate and earned, on the average, a higher wage than most other immigrants.[13]

The 10,000 natives of Germany who lived in Oklahoma were concentrated for the most part in the north central region of the state. One out of ten lived in Oklahoma County, but Canadian County had the highest percentage of German-born inhabitants. Garfield and Kingfisher counties provided homes for many as well. While these settlers tended to disperse

[11] D. Cunz, "German Americans," in F. J. Brown and J. S. Roucek, eds., *One America* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952), pp. 105–111; W. F. Willcox, ed., *International Migrations* (2 vols., New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929–31), Vol. II, pp. 315–320, 341–344. Among the many useful works on the German Americans are A. B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (2 vols., Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909); C. Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952); Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966); and H. A. Pochmann and A. R. Schulz, eds., *Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953).

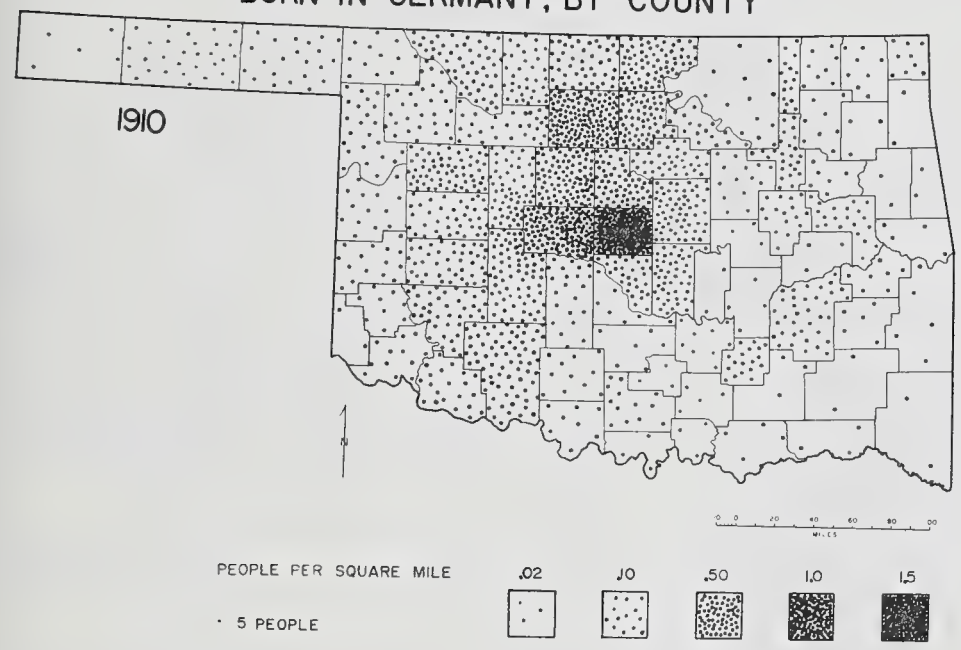
[12] O. E. Baker, "Agricultural Regions of North America," *Economic Geography*, Vol. III, No. 3 (July, 1927), p. 329; H. B. Johnson, "The Location of the German Immigrants in the Middle West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. XLI, No. 1 (March, 1951), pp. 1–41; United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. I, pp. 784, 803. As of 1900, the proportions of German-born male breadwinners in various occupations were as follows:

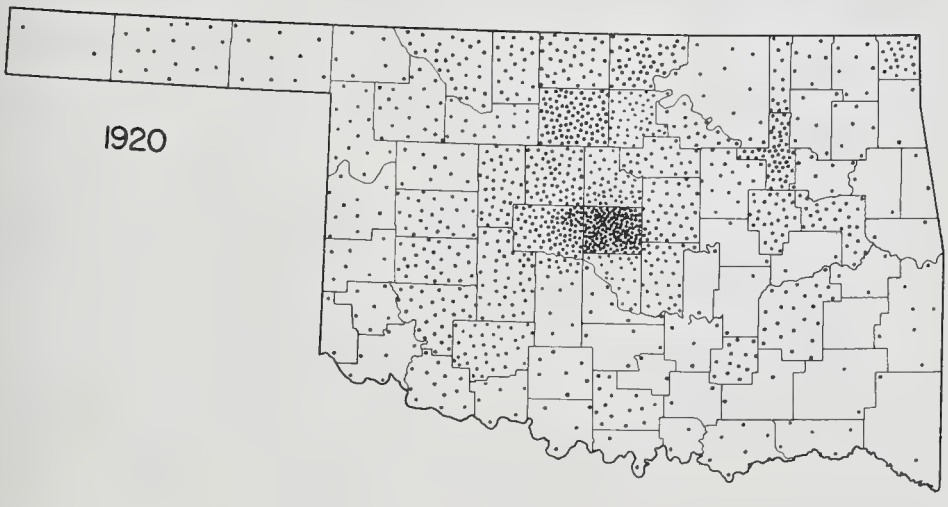
Agriculture — 27.3 percent
Manufacturing — 37.3 percent
Trade and Transportation — 16.5 percent
Domestic and Personal Service — 16.5 percent
Professional — 2.4 percent

See United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (41 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), Vol. XXVIII, p. 11.

[13] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 99, 367.

NUMBER OF OKLAHOMA RESIDENTS BORN IN GERMANY, BY COUNTY





SOURCE U S CENSUS

COMPILER LAURA MANNING

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rather widely and follow agricultural pursuits, a substantial minority favored town life. Oklahoma City had 674 natives of Germany in 1910, while El Reno counted 158 and Enid and Muskogee each accounted for 134.[14]

In order to locate German settlements in Oklahoma it will not suffice merely to identify those individuals who were born in Germany, however. For it is impossible to discuss the German element in the state without taking into consideration the Germans from Russia. Of the more than 5,800 Russian born who lived in Oklahoma in 1910, about three-fourths were actually German in culture and language. They formed a small part of the 1,732,462 natives of Russia residing in the United States as of 1910. Two salient features of their migration deserve special emphasis: the emigrant exodus from the Czar's Empire had been of relatively short duration—before 1880, fewer than 10,000 persons had made the trip annually, but the annual influx would swell to 291,040 by 1913—and six quite distinct nationalities played an important part in this migration—each must be considered in turn.[15]

The Germans from Russia were the heirs of a much earlier migration. For a century after 1763, thousands of German settlers had been permitted

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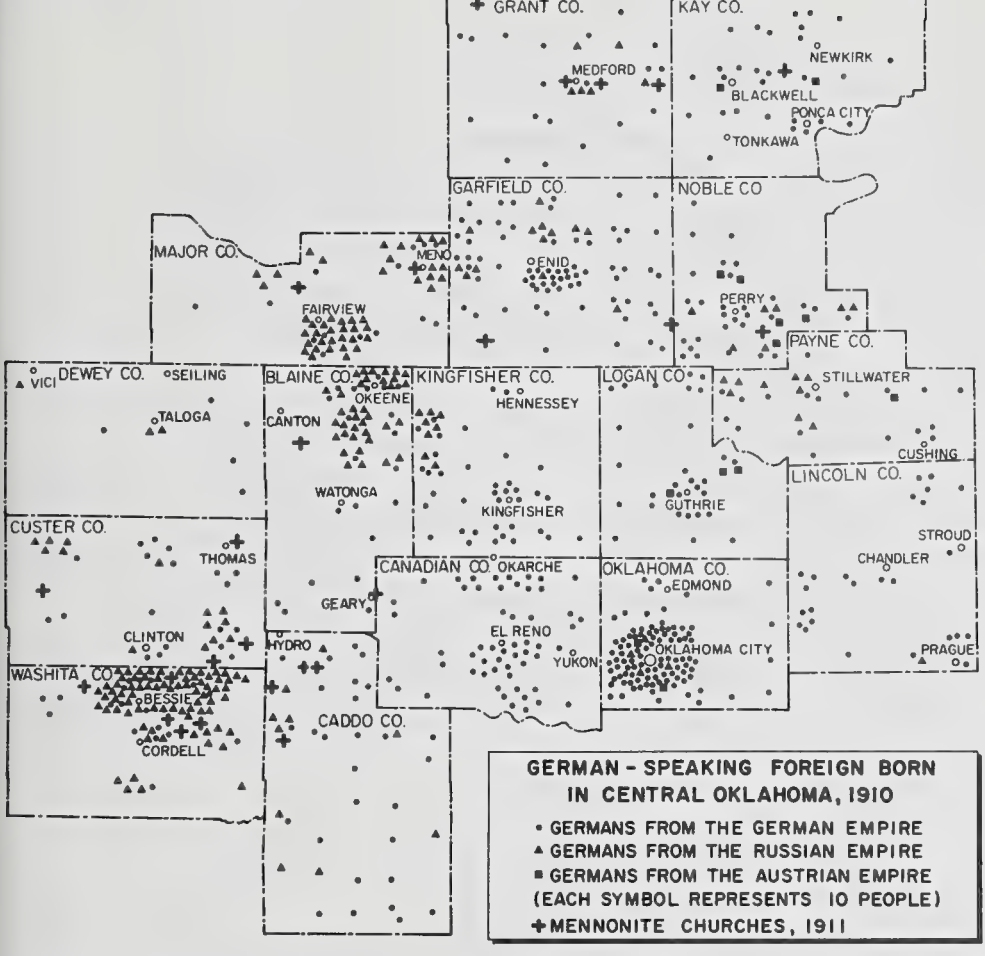
[14] See Number of Oklahoma Residents Born in Germany, by County. For the preparation of the maps which accompany this article, I am especially grateful to Professor James H. Stine, Department of Geography, Mr. Eldon J. Hardy, Engineering Research, and the following students at Oklahoma State University who compiled and plotted much of the data: Jim Ellis, J. A. Dunn, Jr., Laura Manning, Vincent Robinson, Gary L. Watters and Kermit M. Bird II. Lawton enumerated 110, McAlester 86 and Tulsa 83 natives of Germany in 1910. Figures for El Reno are for the township; all others for the town only.

[15] See Number of Oklahoma Residents Born in Russia, by County, 1910; United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the U. S.*, pp. 56–57. Useful works on the various ethnic groups from Russia include J. G. Frumkin, *et al.*, eds., *Russian Jewry (1860–1917)* (New York: T. Yoseloff, 1966); Salo W. Baron, *The Russian Jew under Tsars and Soviets* (New York: Macmillan, 1964); C. H. Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927); W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (2 vols., New York: A. A. Knopf, 1918–1920); and W. S. Vucinich, ed., *The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968). The relative numbers of the various nationalities in the influx from Russia may be summarized in the following table taken from United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. IV, pp. 338–339:

Ethnic Group	Number Emigrating from Russia to the United States, 1899–1910
Jews	765,531
Poles	471,378
Lithuanians	168,740
Finns	148,183
Germans	100,817
Russians*	77,321

*Ukrainians were not listed as a separate category by the U. S. Census until 1930. J. A. Fishman *et al., Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1966), pp. 36, 420.



to colonize extensive areas of the Czarist Empire, until by the beginning of the twentieth century their numbers had increased to approximately 1,790,000 people. Most of these Germans inhabited self-contained and largely autonomous colonies stretching from Bessarabia to the middle Volga. In order to attract these sturdy peasants, the Russian rulers had granted them generous privileges, including free land, exemption from military conscription, freedom of religion and local self-government. Under these conditions the German settlers prospered greatly, maintained their own schools and churches and developed a progressive middle class.

But in 1871, the Russian government altered its policy, revoked the numerous privileges and exemptions enjoyed by its German minority and actually attempted to absorb the alien group into Russian society. Year by year, the restrictions and impositions became more onerous, until thousands of the colonists resolved to emigrate to a land of greater freedom. Between 1900 and 1914, almost 150,000 German-speaking natives of Russia were admitted to the United States, and most of them settled as farmers on the Great Plains.[16]

[16] A. Schock, *In Quest of Free Land* (San Jose: San Jose State College, 1964), pp. 13, 61, 92–108; Willcox, *International Migrations*, Vol. I, p. 488, Vol. II, pp. 529, 552–553; J. N.

These immigrants consisted of two distinct groups: Mennonites and persons of the Lutheran faith. The Mennonites, having lived apart in their own communities for almost four centuries, during which they had preserved their dialect, culture and uncompromising faith, tended to be the more homogeneous of the two. The first Russian-German Mennonites emigrated from the Volga and Black Sea regions in 1874, and in subsequent years settled primarily in Kansas, Nebraska and Manitoba, Canada.

When the Cheyenne-Arapaho lands in Oklahoma were opened to white settlement in 1892, hundreds of these Mennonites established homesteads in that area which became Blaine, Custer and Washita counties. Many others acquired farms when the Cherokee Outlet was opened the following year. By 1911, there were thirty-three Mennonite churches in the state, most of which served as focal points for communities of Russian-German immigrant families in the surrounding areas.[17] By far the largest concentration of Oklahoma Mennonites stretched from Gotebo through Bessie and Corn to Geary. Another substantial group inhabited the area from Canton through Fairview to Meno. Enid, Medford and Perry became centers of Mennonite concentration also, as did Hooker in Texas County and Turpin in Beaver County.[18]

Approximately one-half of the Russian-Germans who came to Oklahoma had been Lutherans in Russia. Subsequent to their arrival in America, however, a large proportion converted to Congregational, Methodist, Baptist or Seventh-Day Adventist churches.[19] In 1910, these people were concentrated in the Okeene area as well as in southern Noble and northern Payne counties. But their densest settlement occurred in the locality of Shattuck, in Ellis County, where about one-sixth of the population had been born in Russia.[20]

Of the various peoples who emigrated from Russia to America, the Jews were most numerous, constituting more than one-half of all Russian-born Americans in 1910.[21] At the turn of the century, some 525,000 Jewish sub-

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Carman, *Foreign Language Units of Kansas* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1962), pp. 72–75.

[17] H. S. Bender *et al.*, eds., *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (4 vols., Hillsboro, Kansas: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1955–1959), Vol. IV, pp. 33–37; M. E. Kroeker, "The Mennonites in the Oklahoma Runs," *Mennonite Life*, Vol. X, No. 3 (July, 1955), pp. 114–120; E. G. Kaufman, "Mennonite Missions Among the Oklahoma Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XL, No. 1 (Spring, 1962), pp. 41–54.

[18] See German-Speaking Foreign Born in Central Oklahoma, 1910, for the location of Russian-German settlements and Mennonite churches.

[19] Schock, *In Quest of Free Land*, pp. 114, 116.

[20] "Manuscript Census, 1910." See also Donna Baker *et al.*, eds., *A Pioneer History of Shattuck* (Shattuck: Beta Sigma Phi, 1970), pp. 24–27.

[21] 838,193 persons, or 52.3 percent of all the Russian born indicated Yiddish or Hebrew as their mother tongue. Bureau of the Census, Thirteen Census . . . 1910, Vol. I, pp. 968, 971–972.

jects of the Czar resided in the twenty-five provinces of western Russia known as The Pale. Eight out of ten lived in towns and cities and for the most part were engaged in small trade or handicrafts. While more than 70 percent of the total Russian population worked in agriculture, only 4 percent of the Jews were so employed. Achieving a marginal existence at best, hundreds of thousands of Jews were pauperized as a result of the economic dislocations which followed the Russian Revolution of 1905. Having suffered under discrimination and persecution for centuries, their misery and insecurity were but exacerbated by a series of pogroms, or sporadic anti-Semitic riots and massacres, which began in the early 1880s and reached a climax in 1905. These pogroms provided the primary incentive for massive emigration.[22]

In America, the Russian Jews concentrated in the larger cities of the eastern seaboard; more than one-half settled in the state of New York. For the most part, they found homes near the already flourishing Jewish communities, which had been established earlier by their coreligionists from Germany and Austria. Only gradually did these people move out of the cities toward wider opportunities in the West.[23]

Because the Jewish people cannot be compressed within the conventional demographic categories of nationality, religious affiliation or linguistic grouping, it is impossible to provide exact statistics as to their numbers in Oklahoma or to ascertain with precision their countries of origin. Yet, certain generalizations may be adduced as a starting point for further detailed investigations. The first Jewish settlers entered Indian Territory following the Civil War, but it was only after the opening of the Unassigned Lands in 1889, that they came to the area in substantial numbers. The first permanently organized Jewish community was established at Ardmore in 1899, and by 1916 there were six other similar congregations at Chickasha, Lawton, McAlester, Muskogee, Oklahoma City and Tulsa, enrolling a total of 1,166 members. This figure omits many who, though observant in the faith, did not live in towns large enough to maintain separate communities. While according to the Census of 1910, 607 of the Oklahoma foreign born listed Yiddish or Hebrew as their mother tongue, the majority of Oklahoma Jews appear to have come from Germany or Austria rather than Russia.[24]

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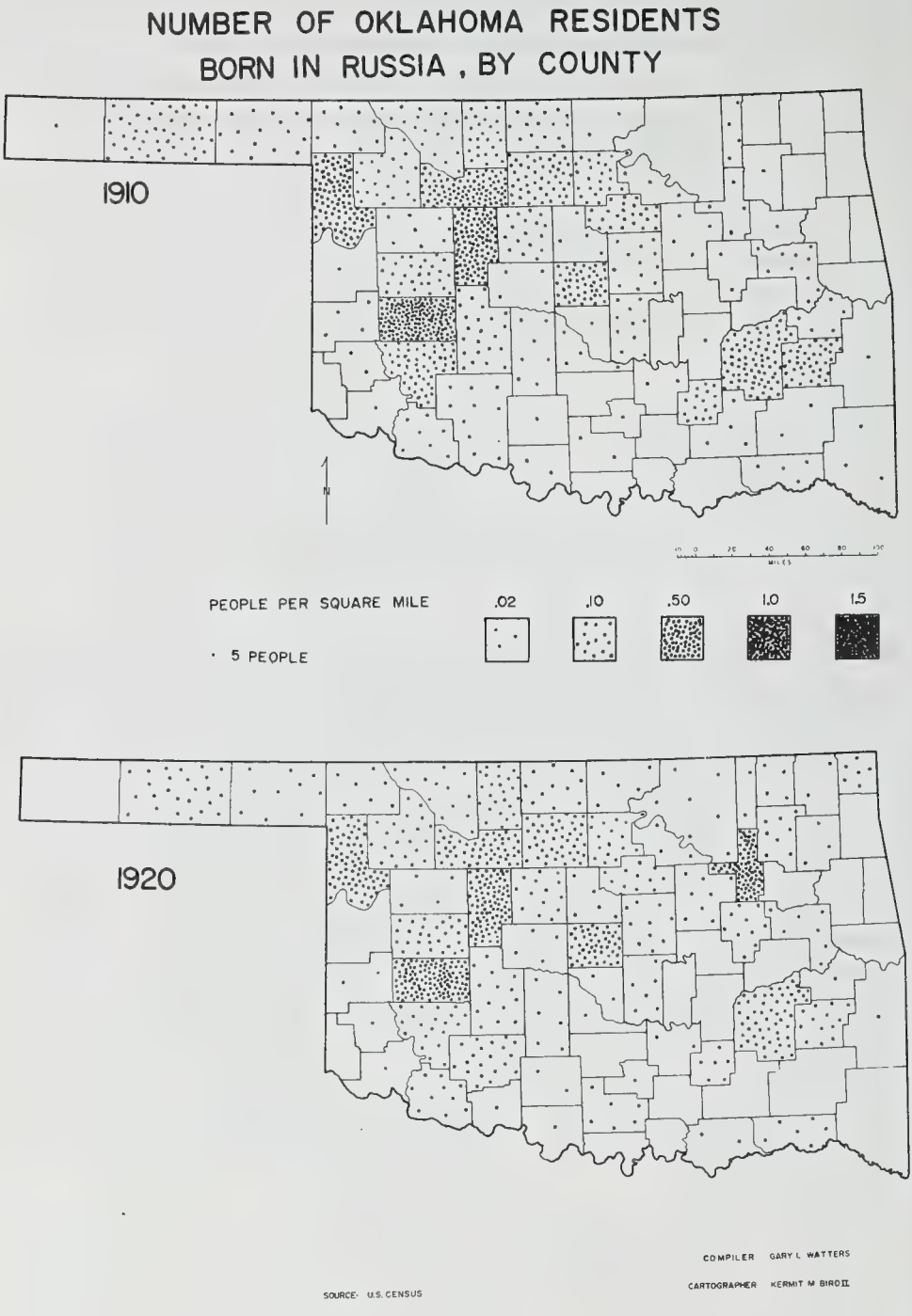
[22] Willcox, *International Migrations*, Vol. II, pp. 539–546; United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. IV, pp. 271–295.

[23] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 761; United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. I, p. 982.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 1005; *Religious Bodies, 1916*, Pt. I, pp. 299–300. Interviews, Robert H. Rubin, Stillwater, Oklahoma, August 11, 1974, Leonard Lieberman and Rabbi Leonard Lifshen, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, August 22, 1974. See also Rabbi Joseph Levenson, "The Story of


NUMBER OF OKLAHOMA RESIDENTS
BORN IN RUSSIA, BY COUNTY
1910
N
PEOPLE PER SQUARE MILE
.02
.10
.50
1.0
1.5
· 5 PEOPLE
1920
COMPILER GARY L. WATTERS
CARTOGRAPHER KERMIT M. BIRDII
SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS

A similar background in terms of country of origin was shared by Polish-Americans. In the one and one-half decades before the First World War, about 1,500,000 Poles came to this country from Germany, Austria and Russia. From the end of the eighteenth century until 1918, no independent state of Poland existed, its territory having been absorbed by Prussia, Austria and Russia. But Polish national consciousness persisted and intensified under foreign domination, in itself providing a potent motive for emigration. At first, the German sector of Poland contributed the largest proportion of Polish immigrants to the United States, but after 1880 the majority of these people came from the Austrian province of Galicia. By 1900, immigrants from the Russian provinces had begun to exceed the Austrian Polish migration.[25]

Though 80 percent of the Poles had worked in agriculture in their respective homelands, only one in ten became farmers in America. Almost one-half of the foreign-born Poles settled in the three industrial states of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey.[26] There were but 1,301 native Poles living in Oklahoma in 1910.[27] Approximately one-third had come from Russia, 56 percent had emigrated from Austrian territory and about one in ten had been born in Germany.[28] Though the Poles were fairly widely dispersed throughout the state, almost one-half of their number resided in but three communities. More than 300 lived between McAlester and Wilburton in the coal mining district; they constituted a majority of the Roman Catholic Parish of St. Teresa at Gowen. Another group of about 250 native Poles resided near Harrah. Here members of the community established the St. Teresa of Avila Parish in 1897. Finally, there was a small Polish element living in and around Oklahoma City.[29]

Oklahoma Jewry," unpublished manuscript, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio; B. Postal and L. Koppman, *A Jewish Tourist's Guide to the U. S.* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954), pp. 510–517; C. Roth *et al.*, eds., *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (16 vols., New York: Macmillan, 1972), Vol. XII, pp. 1354–1355; and U. Z. Engelman, "Jewish Statistics in the U. S. Census of Religious Bodies (1850–1936)," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (April, 1947), p. 152.

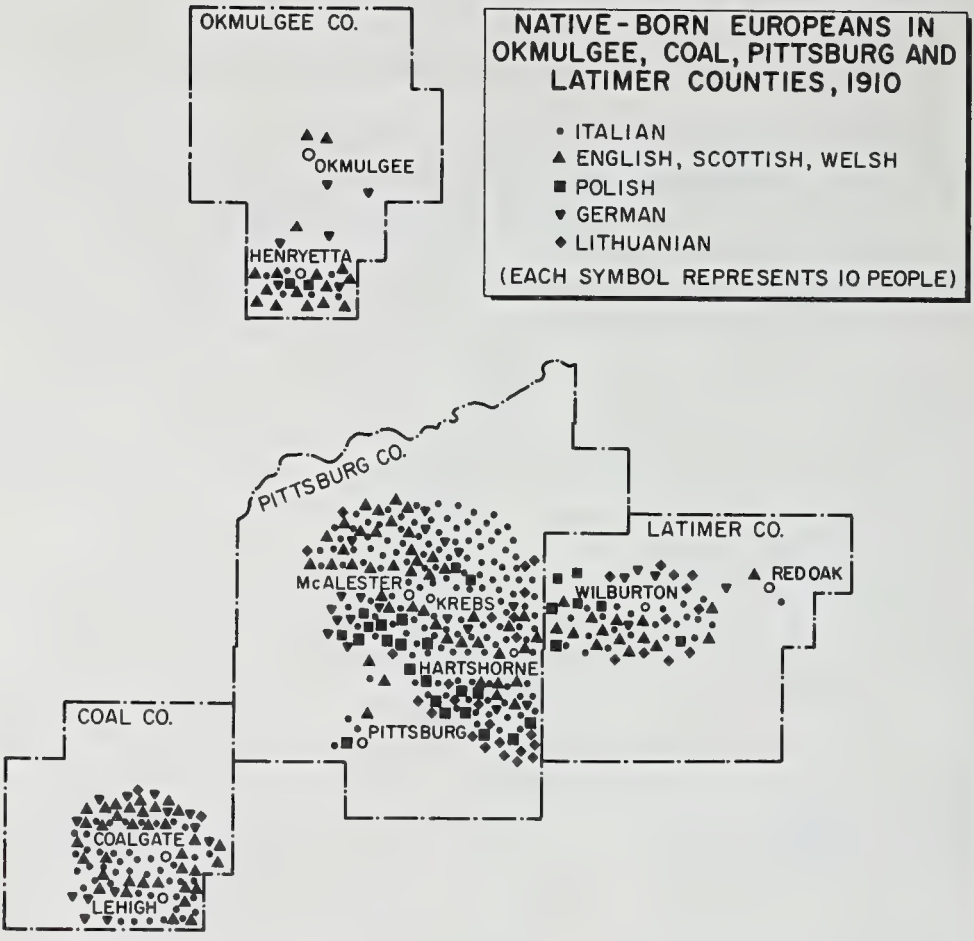
[25] Between 1899 and 1908, 4 percent of the American Polish immigration came from Germany, 47 percent from Austria and 49 percent from Russia. By 1914, 66 percent of the Poles were coming from Russia. See V. R. Greene, "Pre-World War I Polish Emigration to the United States: Motives and Statistics," *The Polish Review*, Vol. VI, No. 3 (Summer, 1961), pp. 47–49, 57–58.

[26] United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 183; Willcox, *International Migrations*, Vol. II, pp. 533–534.

[27] United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. I, p. 1003.

[28] These proportions were derived from a sample of 748 individuals inhabiting thirteen Oklahoma counties. "Manuscript Census, 1910."

[29] See Native-Born Europeans in Okmulgee, Coal, Pittsburg and Latimer Counties, 1910, based upon "Manuscript Census, 1910." Interview, Father Gerard Nathe, Harrah, Oklahoma, July 5, 1974. See also *Southwest Courier*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 42 (October, 1955), p. 39; *St.*



Lithuanians constituted the third most numerous nationality to emigrate from the Russian Empire, with 137,046 members of the first generation living in the United States in 1910. Coming primarily from the interior provinces of Russian Poland, about one-half were illiterate, and though three-quarters had been peasants at home, most found low-paying jobs in mining and heavy manufacturing in America. About one-third of their number settled in Pennsylvania, while a further one-quarter established homes in Illinois. However, by 1910, 488 Lithuanians had made their way to Oklahoma. Three out of four lived in the mining towns between McAlester and Wilburton, although there was a small group near Canton, in Blaine County, and a few isolated communities elsewhere.[30]

Compared to the relatively large number of non-Russian immigrants from the Czarist Empire, the Russians themselves were rare indeed. Only 143 residents of Oklahoma listed their mother tongue as Russian in 1910,

Rose of Lima Parish Bulletin (Perry), Vol. IV, No. 10 (November, 1935), n.p., and Vol. V, No. 7 (August, 1936), n.p.; Bishop Francis C. Kelly to John Rychlec, February 6, 1925, Parish Records, Archdiocese of Oklahoma City Chancery Office, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[30] Willcox, *International Migrations*, Vol. II, p. 537–538; United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. I, pp. 982, 1005; United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. I, pp. 99, 361, 363, 367; "Manuscript Census, 1910."

and many of these were actually Ukrainian rather than Russian.[31] This conforms to the general pattern of Russian emigration, however: only 3.8 percent of all those aliens admitted from Russia between 1899 and 1910 were actually Russian by language. More than one-third of these were illiterate, and a majority of the men found employment in the arduous labor of the mines, steel plants or slaughter houses. One-half of the Russian or Ukrainian language groups in the state of Oklahoma lived in and around Hartshorne, where they established one of the few Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic churches in the central part of the country; a Ukrainian Orthodox Church was subsequently founded at Jones. Other smaller groups were located near Canton, Enid and in Oklahoma City.[32]

Though a survey of the immigration from the multinational Empire of Russia is extremely complex, the most difficult of all migrations to Oklahoma to trace come from the most polyglot population of prewar Europe—the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy. These Hapsburg lands were inhabited by more than 50,000,000 people comprising 12 major nationalities; no single ethnic group comprised as much as one-quarter of the total population. Each of these nationalities participated to a greater or lesser degree in the movement to America.[33]

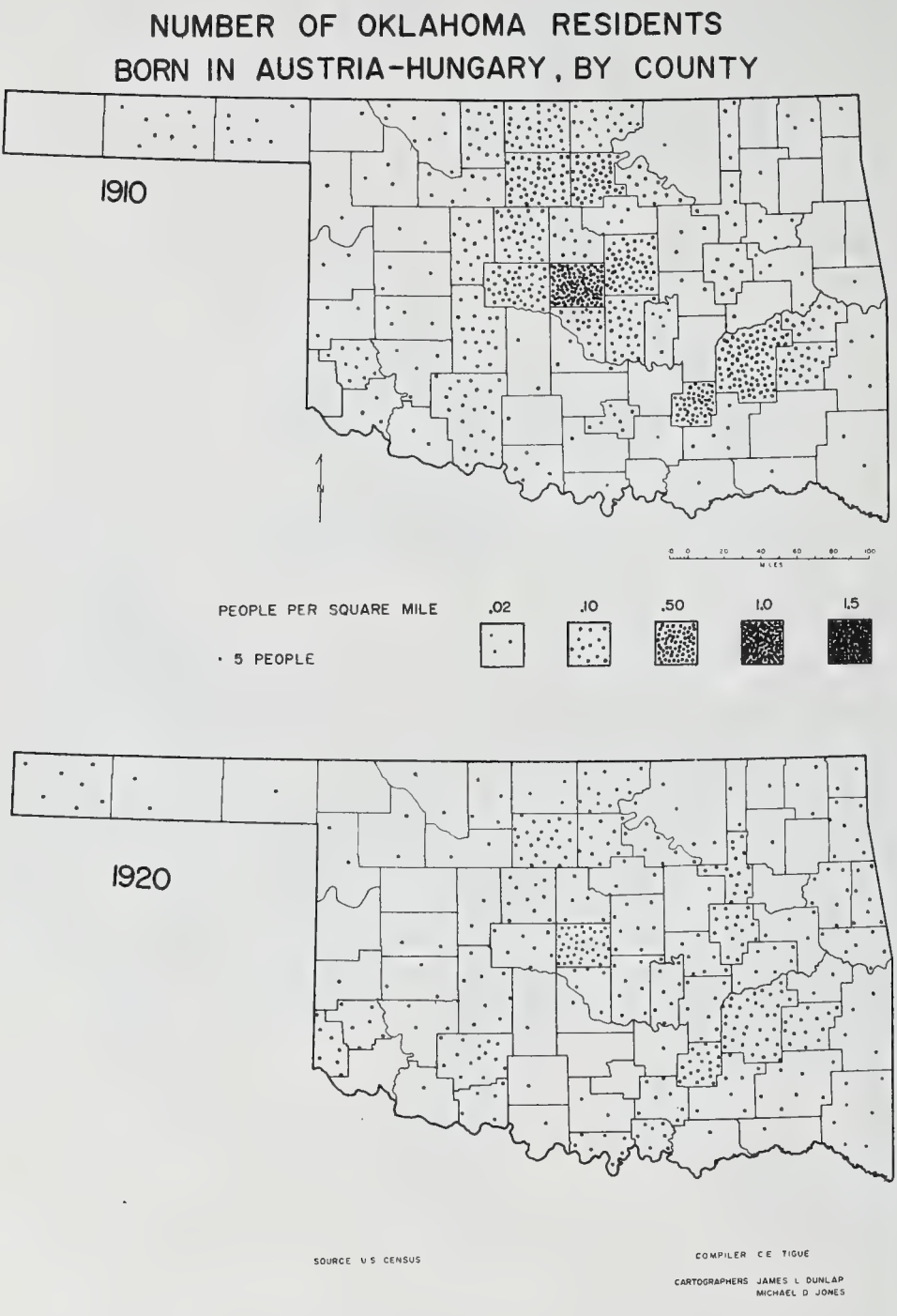
[31] Many of those who listed Russian as their mother tongue were actually Ukrainians or Ruthenians from the Austrian province of Galicia, because Ukrainian was not officially recognized as a distinct and separate nationality in 1910. Interviews, James T. Kurilko, Tulsa, Oklahoma, August 21, 1974, and Olex Rudenko, Norman, Oklahoma, October 3, 1974. See also Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the United States*, pp. 36, 420.

[32] United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. I, p. 1003; United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vols. I, pp. 99, 367; IV, p. 339; and VII, pp. 21, 107; J. Davis, *The Russian Immigrant* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), pp. 10, 16–18; "Manuscript Census, 1910;" *Oklahoma Today*, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (Autumn, 1972), p. 29; W. Halich, *Ukrainians in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 52, 152, 158. Interview, Mrs. John Petrykanyn, Jones, Oklahoma, October 5, 1974.

[33] See R. A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire* (2 vols., New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), Vol. II, pp. 300, 305. The foreign born from Austria-Hungary who lived in the United States in 1910 were distributed according to mother tongue as follows:

Mother Tongue	Number	Percent
Polish	332,055	19.9
German	231,255	13.8
Magyar	227,742	13.6
Czech	220,969	13.2
Slovak	163,720	9.8
Yiddish and Hebrew	144,484	8.7
Slovene	123,250	7.4
Croatian	73,329	4.4
Ruthenian	21,634	1.3
Rumanian	19,078	1.1
Serbian	16,636	1.0
Italian	10,774	.7
Others	85,598	5.1
	1,670,524	100.0

United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. I, pp. 968–969.


NUMBER OF OKLAHOMA RESIDENTS
BORN IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, BY COUNTY
1910
0 0 20 40 60 80 100
MILES
PEOPLE PER SQUARE MILE
.02
.10
.50
1.0
1.5
• 5 PEOPLE
1920
SOURCE U S CENSUS
COMPILER C E TIGUE
CARTOGRAPHERS JAMES L DUNLAP
MICHAEL D JONES

The difficulties involved in tracing these immigrants to Oklahoma are mitigated somewhat by the fact that 60 percent of all the immigrants from Austria who settled in Oklahoma were Czechs, or Bohemians, as they were generally called.[34] They had been among the first of the many nationalities of the Dual Monarchy to emigrate in substantial numbers to America. Most came from the southern districts of Bohemia, a region of dense population but poor soil. Their first important agricultural settlements were established in Texas and the Midwest during the 1850s, and the tensions attending the reorganization of the Hapsburg Empire between 1866 and 1871 persuaded thousands of others to join the exodus. About one-third of these immigrants settled on farms, chiefly in the plains states. By 1910, approximately one-fourth of the total Czech stock lived in Illinois, while Nebraska, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa and Texas also registered substantial Czech minorities. There were many skilled artisans among them, they were a highly literate group and in general they prospered.[35]

About two-thirds of the Oklahoma Czechs lived in the ten north central counties in 1910.[36] They became superior farmers and some became prominent in such related fields as flour milling and agricultural equipment. A number of Roman Catholic churches, such as St. Joseph's at Bison and the Shrine of the Infant Jesus of Prague still bear a strong Czech character. In some areas, their *Sokol*, a patriotic gymnastic society, and the Z.C.B.J., the Bohemian insurance alliance, are still active organizations. As evinced by the annual Kolache Festival at Prague and the Yukon Czech Festival, many of these people are still quite conscious of their European cultural heritage.[37]

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[34] I.e., 2,332 Czechs of a total of 3,888 Oklahoma residents who had been born in Austria. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 1003. While there were 150 first-generation Slovenes, 183 Magyars, 137 Serbo-Croats and 85 Slovaks in Oklahoma in 1910, the limited scope of this study precluded the location of their areas of settlement. Among general works on the Czech immigration, the following are particularly useful: T. Čapek, *The Čechs in America* (New York: Arno Press, 1969); R. I. Kutak, *The Story of a Bohemian-American Village* (Louisville: Standard Printing Company, 1933); and E. G. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910).

[35] United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. I, p. 981; Čapek, *Čechs in America*, pp. 60–66; Balch, *Slavic Fellow Citizens*, pp. 75–78; United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vols. III, p. 426 and XXVIII, p. 8. See also R. W. Lynch, *Czech Farmers in Oklahoma* (Stillwater: Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1942), pp. 104–107; and R. Naramore, "Ethnicity on the American Frontier: A Study of Czechs in Oklahoma," *Papers in Anthropology* Vol. XIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1973), pp. 104–114.

[36] See Czech Foreign Born in North Central Oklahoma, 1910.

[37] Interviews, Alice May Svelan, Perry, Oklahoma, June 27, 1974, Frank Sefcik, Prague, Oklahoma, July 5, 1974, Mariann Johnson, Medford, Oklahoma, July 15, 1974, Father Jerome Talloen, Bison, Oklahoma, July 31, 1974 and Father John Michalicka, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, August 22, 1974; G. P. Webb, *History of Grant County, Oklahoma, 1811 to 1970* (North Newton, Kansas: Grant County Historical Society, 1971), pp. 124–129.

The most densely concentrated of all European immigrants in Oklahoma were the Italians. Of the 2,640 Italian-born inhabitants of the state in 1910, more than 80 percent lived in the three mining counties of Pittsburg, Coal and Latimer. Most of these had come during the preceding decade as the high tide of Italian migration began to crest. In the fourteen years before the outbreak of the First World War, emigration from Italy to the United States averaged more than 200,000 per annum; by 1910, there were 1,343,125 first-generation Italians residing in this country.[38] For many, of course, America represented but a temporary home; four out of five of all Italian emigrants were single men, and some 60 percent repatriated to the homeland later.[39]

One of the most persistent problems of Italy was the striking contrast between the relatively prosperous and progressive North and the backward and impoverished South. At first, the bulk of the emigrants came from the northern provinces, but after 1900, the balance shifted toward the South. Though most came from a peasant background, few Italian immigrants entered agriculture in the United States; only about 6.2 percent were so employed in 1900. Instead, they turned to peddling, mining or common labor to earn a living and remained for the most part in the large cities of the East Coast. More than one-third of all Italian immigrants lived in the state of New York in 1910.[40]

Italians began to find jobs in the Oklahoma coal mining industry about 1875, and by 1910, there were some 1,650 residing in the mining towns between McAlester and Wilburton. One-half of the population of Krebs were Italian born, most of whom had come originally from the Piedmont in northern Italy. About 450 resided in the Coalgate-Lehigh area, and 59 lived in the Henryetta vicinity. They had established their own churches—St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church at Krebs is a good example—and

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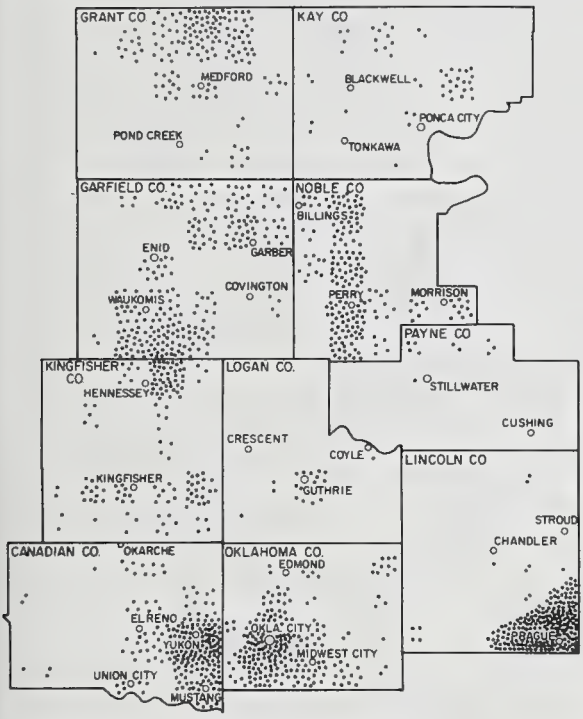
[38] United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. III, pp. 468, 472, 476; United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the U. S.*, pp. 56–57; A. F. Rolle, *The Immigrant Upraised: Italian Adventurers and Colonists in an Expanding America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 350.

[39] Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the U. S.*, pp. 56–57; Willcox, *International Migrations*, Vol. II, pp. 446, 451, 463. The repatriation rate cited is for the United States between 1902 and 1914. For regional figures on repatriation, see G. R. Gilkey, "The United States and Italy: Migration and Repatriation," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol. II, No. 1 (October, 1967), p. 28.

[40] United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. I, p. 559; E. P. Hutchinson, *Immigrants and Their Children, 1850–1950* (New York: Wiley, 1956), pp. 174–175; Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. I, p. 815. Useful works on the Italian element include J. Lopreato, *Italian Americans* (New York: Random House, 1970); S. M. Tomasi and M. H. Engel, eds., *The Italian Experience in the United States* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1970); and I. L. Child, *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943).

founded their own fraternal and mutual aid associations, such as the Christopher Columbus Society, also in Krebs.[41]



CZECH FOREIGN BORN IN NORTH CENTRAL OKLAHOMA, 1910
EACH SYMBOL REPRESENTS ONE PERSON

In the mines themselves, the Italians comprised the largest foreign-born element, about 42 percent. With the closing of some mines and the opening of others, this population was highly mobile and fluctuated considerably from year to year. But though the Oklahoma mines were notoriously unsafe, wages were good in comparison to other mining regions, and the low price of land made it possible for a number of these workers to buy property and go into business or farming. The Italians were noted, moreover, for their frugality and determination to save enough of their earnings to acquire land in the new country or aid their families in the old.[42]

Unlike that from Italy, Swedish immigration had already passed its peak by the time settlement began in Oklahoma. From only about 2,000 newcomers per annum during the 1840s, the Swedish influx expanded to a high of 37,000 per year during the 1880s, only to gradually recede to less than one-third of that number in the years before the First World War. By 1910, while approximately 1,000,000 Swedes had moved to America,

41 The population estimates in United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. VII, pp. 14–25, appear grossly exaggerated when compared to the census returns. Records of the Christopher Columbus Society are presently housed in Special Collections, Oklahoma State University Library, Stillwater, Oklahoma, while the Parish Records of St. Joseph's are located in the Archdiocese of Oklahoma City, Chancery Office.

42 United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. VII, pp. 107–112; E. Lord *et al., The Italian in America* (New York: B. F. Buck, 1906), pp. 107–110. On conditions in the mining communities, see S. Clark, "Immigrants in the Choctaw Coal Industry," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1955–1956), pp. 440–455; and P. A. Kalisch, "Ordeal of Oklahoma Coal Miners," *ibid.*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1970), pp. 331–340. Interview, Pete Echelli, McAlester, Oklahoma, September 21, 1974.

only 1,028 had settled in Oklahoma.[43] They came primarily from the southern agricultural counties of the old country and concentrated in the north central United States. More than one-third of all the Swedish born lived in two states, Minnesota and Illinois. Two-thirds lived in small towns or rural communities. In Oklahoma, Swedish settlement was widely dispersed throughout the state and showed no striking area concentration.[44]

Similarly, the native Irish population of the state, which amounted to 1,800 in 1910, was scattered broadly. They were relatively late participants in the flight from Irish poverty, a story which is familiar to most Americans. It began with a population explosion in the eighteenth century which rendered their troubled homeland quite incapable of supporting its people. Between 1700 and 1845, Ireland's population increased from about 1,250,000 to 8,250,000 people, upon whose miserable and impoverished shoulders the full weight of the great potato famine fell. Irish emigration rose dramatically to more than 200,000 persons per year for a time, then gradually declined. But by 1911, Ireland's population was only one-half of that which it had been two generations earlier. The United States received the bulk of this migration, and by 1910, there were one and one-third million native Irish living in this country. Most lived in the larger cities of the Northeast, 250,000 in New York City alone.[45]

In the century between 1820 and 1920, some 4,000,000 immigrants from England, Scotland and Wales came to these shores. The Scots and English tended to concentrate in the larger cities of the middle Atlantic region and enter the skilled building trades, machinery and textile manufacture. The Welsh, on the other hand, found work for the most part in the coal and steel industries. By the turn of the century, more than one-third of the foreign-born Welsh lived in Pennsylvania alone.[46]

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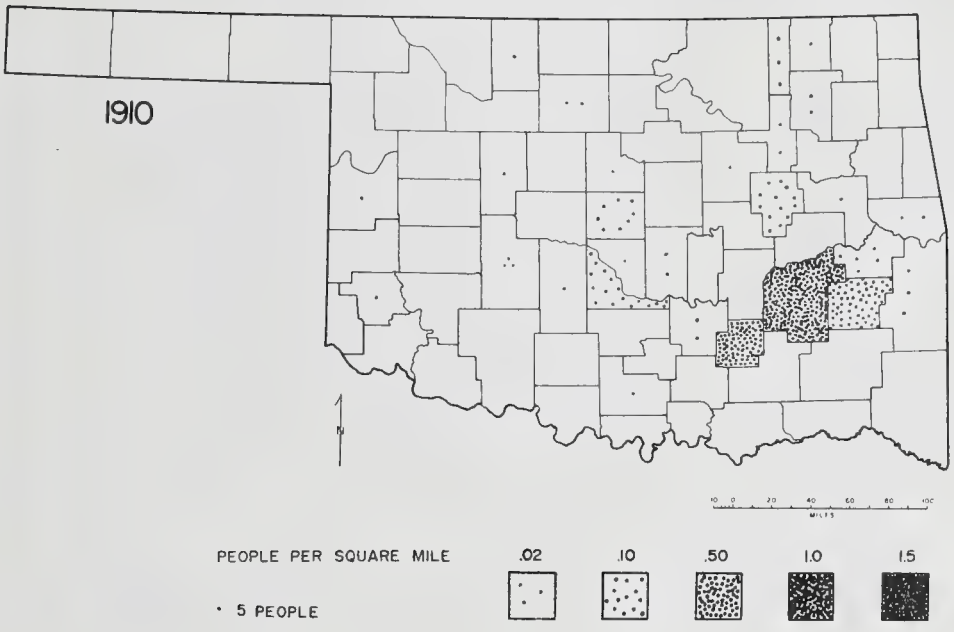
[43] Willcox, *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pp. 131, 187; United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. III, p. 466. Useful works on the Swedish immigration include A. B. Benson and N. Hedin, *Americans from Sweden* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1950); F. E. Janson, *The Background of the Swedish Immigration, 1840–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931); and K. C. Babcock, *The Scandinavian Element in the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1969).

[44] United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 15; United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. I, p. 814.

[45] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 784, 814, and Vol. III, p. 466; Willcox, *International Migrations*, Vol. II, pp. 261–282; United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. I, p. 145. On the Irish Americans, see C. Wittke, *The Irish in America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956); A. Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850–1900* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958); G. Potter, *To the Golden Door: The Story of the Irish in Ireland and America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1960); and W. V. Shannon, *The American Irish* (New York: Macmillan, 1963).

[46] United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the U. S.*, pp. 56–57; United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. I, p. 145; United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census . . . 1910*, Vol. I, pp. 814, 900; Hutchinson, *Immigrants and*

NUMBER OF OKLAHOMA RESIDENTS BORN IN ITALY, BY COUNTY

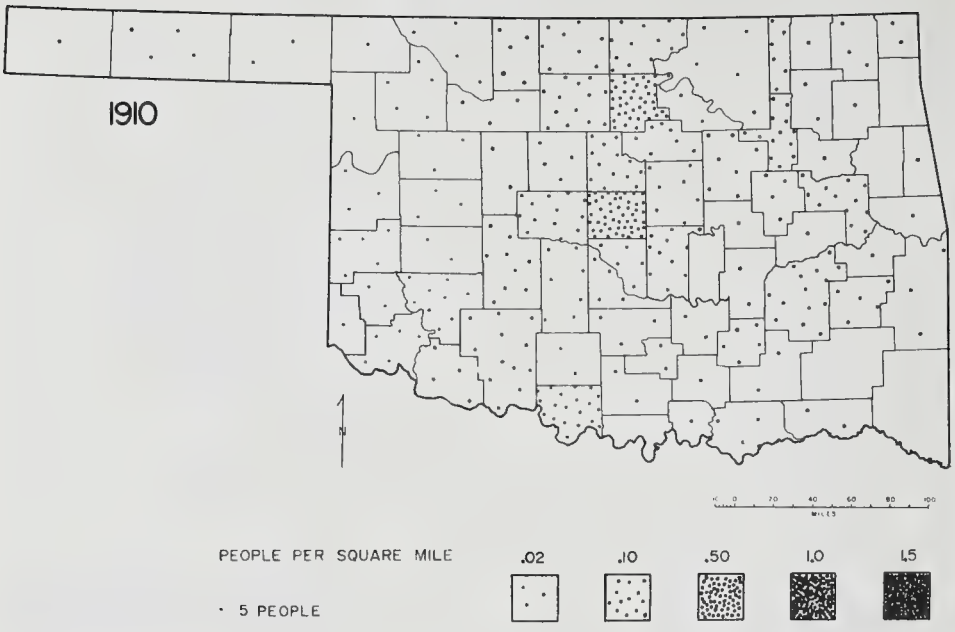


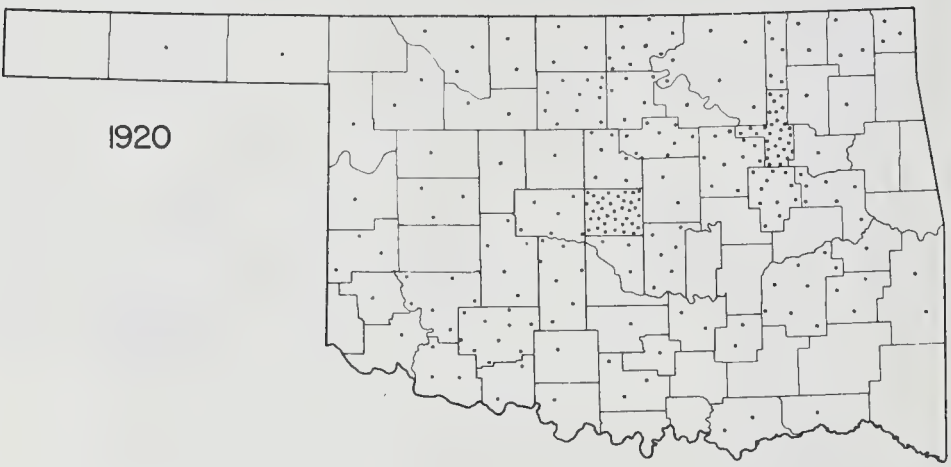
SOURCE U S CENSUS

COMPILER KENNY L BROWN

CARTOGRAPHER GERALD W HARPER

NUMBER OF OKLAHOMA RESIDENTS BORN IN IRELAND, BY COUNTY





SOURCE U.S. CENSUS

COMPILER: CATHI FURLONG

CARTOGRAPHER MICHAEL T. RUSSELL

In 1910, there were 4,561 English, Scottish and Welsh immigrants in Oklahoma, in the proportions of 65 percent, 27 percent and 8 percent respectively. The Welsh were concentrated in the tri-county coal-mining district, while the Scots and English were widely distributed throughout the state.[47]

In order to remain within reasonable compass, this brief survey has omitted from consideration many nationalities whose contributions have been significant and whose stories are full of dramatic interest. It has dealt almost exclusively with cold facts and sterile statistics. It is but a beginning. The real essence of ethnic history—human experience in infinite variety—lies above and beyond this rather flat and colorless underpinning. For behind these numbers and percentages stand real people whose stories are yet to be told. A beginning has been made in a few published memoirs, but the reminiscences of countless immigrants have yet to be collected.[48] There are indeed fewer survivors of the pre-World War I immigration each year; their accounts become all the more precious, and the necessity for recording these memoirs becomes ever more insistent. Letters to and from America must be collected and preserved, for they provide a unique resource in social history, as W. I. Thomas and Charlotte Erickson have demonstrated.[49] Church and lodge records must be examined for the light they cast on the immigration story, and local and family histories should give greater attention to the European element.

There is a need also for socio-historical studies which focus on the immigrant family, the process of assimilation or the conflict of generations. Does Marcus Hansen's hypothesis that the second generation tends to reject ethnic identification while the third embraces and revives its heritage hold

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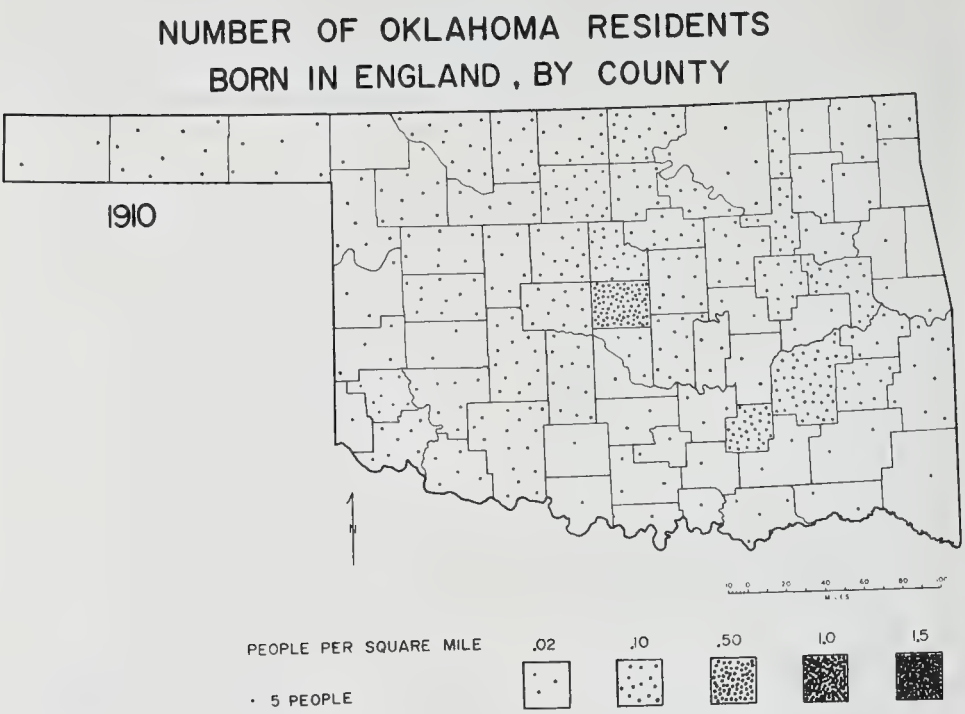
Their Children, pp. 174–175; A. Conway, ed., *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961), p. 165.

[47] See Number of Oklahoma Residents Born in England, by County, 1910. Studies on the emigration from Britain include R. T. Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790–1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953); W. S. Shepperson, *British Emigration to North America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957); C. Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1972); A. L. Rowse, *The Cousin Jacks: The Cornish in American* (New York: Scribner, 1969); and O. O. Winther, "English Migration to the American West, 1865–1900," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (November, 1963), pp. 159–173.

[48] Excellent examples of these are Fannie L. Eisele, "We Came to live in Oklahoma Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1960), pp. 55–65; A. M. Gibson, ed., "From the Brazos to the North Fork: The Autobiography of Otto Koeltzow," *ibid.*, Vol. XL, No. 2 (Summer, 1962), Part I, pp. 100–149; *ibid.*, Vol. XL, No. 3 (Autumn, 1962), Part 2, pp. 219–252; and R. C. Petter, "How I Became a Missionary," *Mennonite Life*, Vol. X, No. 1 (January, 1955), pp. 4–13.

[49] W. J. Thomas, *The Polish Peasant*; Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants*.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.50
1.0
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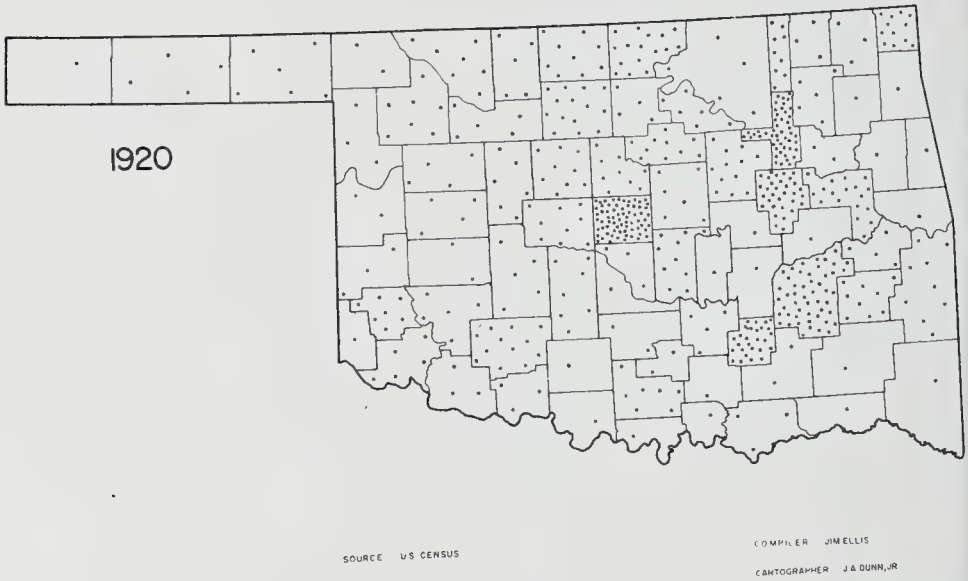
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true when applied to Oklahoma?[50] Has religious affiliation replaced ethnic identification, as Will Herberg has argued?[51] Is Nathan Glazer's dictum that in New York City "the melting pot . . . did not happen" valid for rural Oklahoma as well?[52] Or, by contrast, is the highly successful process of adjustment and rapid assimilation by the small town immigrant which Timothy Smith describes more characteristic of this state?[53] To what degree were immigrants disproportionately involved in crime or delinquency? Finally, one is curious to know whether the attributes of ethnicity have been thoroughly and irrevocably homogenized into an "American" culture, or have pockets of European culture survived? There is still time to study the varieties and frequency of use of the many languages the Europeans brought with them, and the foreign language press of Oklahoma still offers a fertile field for investigation.[54]

One wonders also about the degree to which the immigrants were a factor in the economic development of the state. R. W. Lynch has shown that certain old-country attitudes favored at least one group in its struggle for economic survival during the Great Depression.[55] Does this hold true for other groups as well? Further efforts should be made to measure the inclination of these people to support one or another political party or persuasion. How have they responded as voters to the major issues of our time? Is ethnicity "still an important factor in voting behavior" in this state as it is in other parts of the country?[56] These and many other questions should compel the attention of the student of Oklahoma history who is truly interested in perceiving and comprehending the surprising diversity of his state.

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[50] Marcus Hansen, *The Problems of the Third Generation Immigrant* (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Historical Society, 1938), p. 12.

[51] Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1955), p. 44.

[52] Nathan Glaber and D. P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians. and Irish in New York City* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1970), p. 290.

[53] Timothy Smith, "New Approaches to the History of Immigration in Twentieth-Century America," *American Historical Review*, Vol. LXXI, No. 4 (July, 1966), pp. 1265–1279.

[54] See, for example, W. A. Willibrand, "German in Okarche, 1892–1902," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vols. XXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950), pp. 284–291; W. A. Willibrand, "In Bilingual Old Okarche," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1951), pp. 337–354; as well as Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the U. S., passim.*

[55] Lynch, *Czech Farmers in Oklahoma*, pp. 104–107.

[56] R. E. Wolfinger, "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LXI, No. 4 (December, 1965), p. 908. See also E. Litt, *Ethnic Politics in America: Beyond Pluralism* (Glencoe, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, 1970); M. R. Levy and M. S. Kramer, *The Ethnic Factor: How America's Minorities Decide Elections* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973); and H. A. Bailey and E. Katz, eds., *Ethnic Group Politics* (Columbus: Merrill, 1969).

THE OSAGE PASTURE MAP

*By Robert M. Burrill**

By the year 1900, the continued existence and development of ranching, the major agricultural industry in the Osage Nation, was threatened by a collapse of the internal authority of the tribe. The slide into chaos was halted only by the intervention of the Federal government which assumed control over management of the Osage grazing area, and prepared a map of the reservation detailing the location, acreage and range condition of each existing pasture. In this way, ranchers wishing to lease rangeland could make bids on the available pastures by number according to a copy of the map kept at the Osage Agency at Pawhuska; however, the original drawing was housed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Washington, D. C., for the purpose of bid evaluation and awarding of leases.

Though the map was vital to the continued orderly development of ranching in the area, it did not have a wide circulation, nor were copies placed either in the archives or the libraries of the region. In addition the official copy, located in Washington, was in poor shape, having been torn and partially mutilated; however, by careful research reconstruction of the original was possible.

Geographically, the area occupied by the Osage reservation is the southernmost extension of the Bluestem Pasture Region—one of the most important ranching areas in the United States. As an Indian reservation, cattle operations in the area were under the aegis of the Federal government, although initially federal officials only policed the leasing procedures which were performed by Indian authorities. However, the maintenance of successful ranching operations was dependent upon close cooperation between Indian officials, who granted grazing leases, and federal authorities who approved them. As a result of this dependence, cattle operations in the area were occasionally threatened by the political maneuvering of men only marginally interested in ranching activities.

The first major threat occurred during the years of 1890 and 1891, when a breakdown in cooperation between federal and Indian authorities developed. Officials of the administration of President Grover Cleveland decided that Indian pasture leases to cattlemen were not legal and that ranchers should be excluded from Indian Territory. In an effort to reverse this decision, the Osages, along with other Indians, who had reservations in

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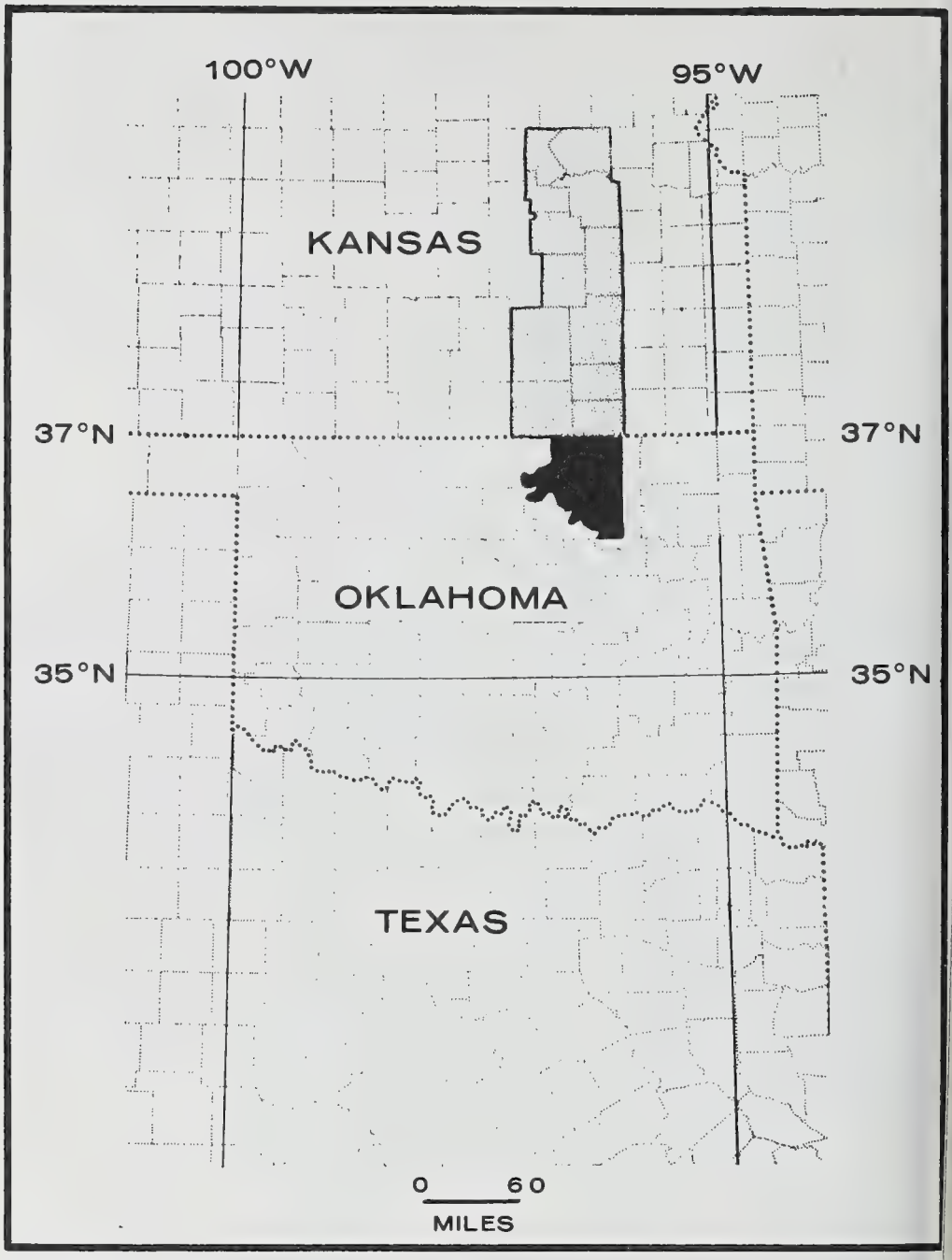
the area, dispatched delegations to Washington to argue the Indians' case before the administrators in the Department of the Interior and members of the United States Congress. Their arguments were persuasive and they succeeded in obtaining congressional action which specifically legalized grazing leases made by the Osage government and subsequently confirmed by the Secretary of the Interior. Thus, this conflict did not result in the collapse of the Indian-rancher relationship.

The next breakdown in cooperation between federal and Indian authorities occurred during the years of 1898 and 1899, when election difficulties resulted in paralysis of the Osage government. Because tribal authorities were responsible for making pasture leases, paralysis of the government meant that no new leases could be made, and only those cattlemen who had leases that had not expired were legally empowered to graze cattle on the reservation. However, federal authorities in Washington resolved this crisis by abolishing the Osage government and assuming complete control over the issuance of leases.

The problems that brought a halt to tribal involvement in leasing were based upon several circumstances. The most important was the intensifying conflict between factions within the Osage Nation itself. In addition there were a growing number of Osage "entrepreneurs" who made claims upon reservation acreage, and either used this land to pasture cattle themselves or leased the land to ranchers illegally. As large parts of present-day Oklahoma were opened for homesteading by a series of land rushes, more and more of the native grasslands disappeared beneath the plow. As a result greater competition developed between Southwestern cattlemen, who continued to seek pasturage in the region.

At the same time friction within the Osage Nation developed between the full-blood and the mixed-blood members. While the full-bloods sought to maintain Osage cultural heritage and protect the nation's considerable wealth, which had been obtained through the sale of its lands in Kansas, the mixed-bloods were willing to bridge the gap between the Indian and white cultures. Thus, while the full-bloods were essentially oriented toward tribal or community interests, the mixed-bloods were more concerned with individual rights. As long as the full-bloods were in the majority, they controlled the Osage government, and resisted pressures to allot land in the reservation. Under their guidance, a strong tribal government was maintained and the assignments of pasture leases were respected. Under such conditions the relationship between the cattlemen and their Indian landlords remained harmonious. Nonetheless, the numerical superiority of the full-bloods continuously declined as contact with whites increased.

By 1898, the mixed-bloods were numerous enough to elect some tribal



THE BLUESTEM PASTURE REGION

officers from their own group. However, the results of this election were bitterly contested, and finally an inspector from the Bureau of Indian Affairs had to be called in to resolve the issue.[1] Unfortunately for the Osages, the differences between the two factions were too great to allow any lasting compromise, and the following year the election of the national council again produced contested results. This political turmoil effectively destroyed the strength of the Osage government and contributed to its eventual abolition by the Secretary of the Interior in May, 1900.

By the year 1898, the problem of Indian "claims," "homesteads" or "head rights" on land leased by the Osage government had become serious. According to Osage law, each citizen of the tribe could fence one square mile or 640 acres of reservation land to use for grazing purposes.[2] This rule was promulgated to encourage individual Indians to become actively engaged in stock raising, although title to the land was retained by the Osage Nation to protect the reservation's integrity. During the 1890s, the authority of the Osage government, administered by the full-bloods, was challenged with increasing frequency by the mixed-blood minority, and as respect for authority declined, increasing numbers of individual Indians began abusing the prerogative to occupy reservation land by making claims in areas usually leased to cattlemen from outside the reservation. Even though these Indians did not possess title to the land they claimed, many of them collected the rental fees themselves rather than allowing the money to go into the tribal treasury. Though such action was clearly illegal, the erosion of tribal authority abetted rather than discouraged this practice.

The weakened authority of the Osage government also was exploited by the ranchers. The individual Indians who leased to cattlemen were less careful than the tribal authorities about restricting the operations of ranchers once the rental fee had been paid. Consequently, cattlemen began bringing larger herds onto the reservation—herds which not only overgrazed the leased land but also grazed on areas not included in the leases. During the grazing season of 1899, twenty-one parties were alleged to have had a total of approximately 116,000 head of cattle on the Osage reservation illegally.[3]

The allotment of Creek lands, immediately south and east of the Osage Nation, began in the spring of 1899, and exacerbated the already difficult situation in the Osage reservation. As a consequence of allotment,

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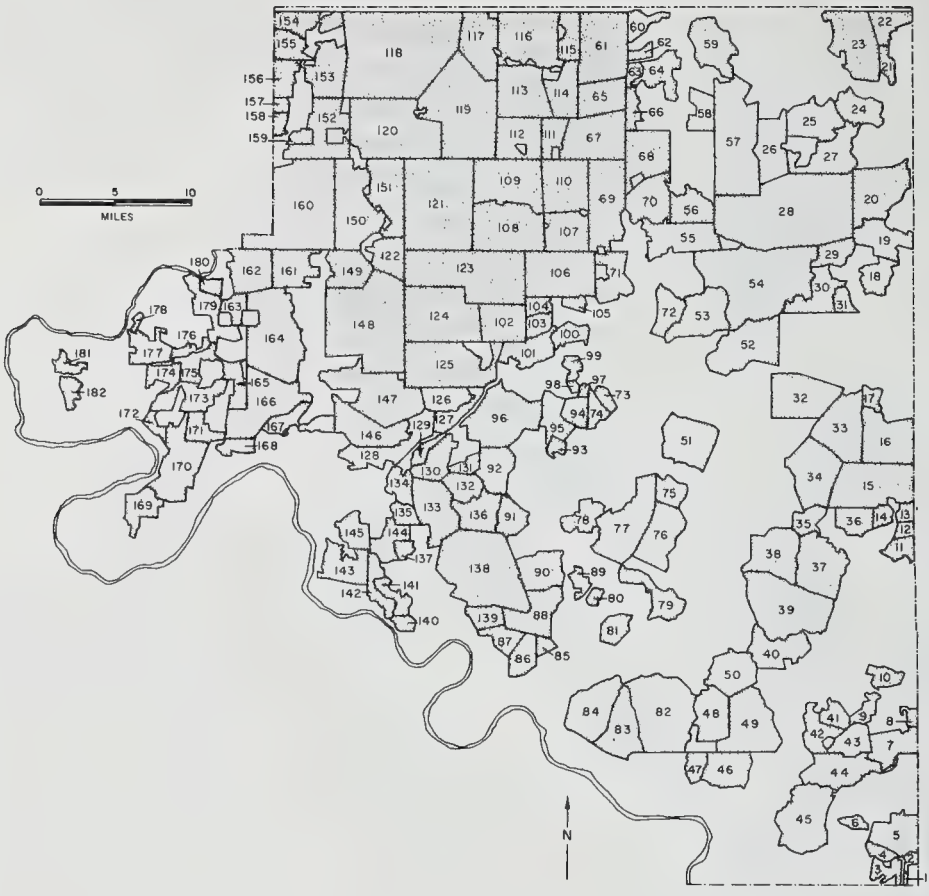
[1] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1900.* (Washington, D. C.: The Government Printing Office, 1900), p. xliv.

[2] W. S. Fitzpatrick, *Treaties and Laws of the Osage Nation.* (Cedar Vale, Kansas: Press of the Cedar Vale *Commercial*, 1890), p. 84.

[3] United States Senate, *Grazing Lands on the Osage Indian Reservation, Oklahoma* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), p. 23.



Pasture Map of the Osage Reservation

OSAGE PASTURE MAP DATA

No.	Acres	Class	No.	Acres	Class	No.	Acres	Class	No.	Acres	Class
1	146	1	46	3903	2	92	3770	1	138	14302	2
2	556	1	47	1253	2	93	725	1	139	1982	2
3	1870	1	48	3807	1	94	1810	1	140	7786	1
4	946	1	49	8475	2	95	2939	1	141	1554	2
5	3479	1	50	4351	2	96	10500	2	142	2285	2
6	800	2	51	6533	2	97	364	1	143	4020	2
7	3716	1	52	6852	2	98	330	1	144	2568	1
8	580	1	53	5181	2	99	922	1	145	1727	2
9	1300	1	54	18332	2	100	1750	1	146	4215	1
10	1552	1	55	5694	2	101	3300	1	147	9360	1
11	1431	2	56	3200	2	102	4649	1	148	17895	1
12	1068	2	57	12032	3	103	1420	2	149	3650	1
13	1036	2	58	3679	2	104	1240	3	150	8805	1
14	863	1	59	3700	1	105	780	1	151	5985	1
15	9492	2	60	1750	3	106	7912	1	152	6680	1
16	7006	3	61	9131	1	107	4454	1	153	5324	1
17	647	3	62	812	1	108	9339	1	154	3580	1
18	2590	1	63	830	1	109	8251	1	155	2340	1
19	3769	1	64	3370	3	110	5978	1	156	2330	1
20	6956	2	65	4468	1	111	2400	1	157	640	1
21	1284	1	66	1390	3	112	4867	1	158	703	1
22	3072	2	67	7768	1	113	7084	1	159	912	1
23	7497	1	68	6050	2	114	3689	1	160	15070	1
24	2505	1	69	8740	1	115	2694	1	161	4090	1
25	4428	2	70	5280	2	116	8913	1	162	4589	1
26	4687	2	71	3585	1	117	5785	1	163	1594	1
27	5057	2	72	2539	1	118	24127	1	164	11450	1
28	23846	3	73	779	1	119	16864	1	165	2190	1
29	2232	2	74	1409	1	120	13257	1	166	8572	1
30	3252	2	75	2079	2	121	17330	1	167	3137	1
31	1282	1	76	5126	1	122	3190	1	168	1212	1
32	6227	1	77	7889	1	123	15390	1	169	2896	1
33	8250	2	78	2977	2	124	10591	1	170	7688	1
34	6722	2	79	3420	1	125	9983	1	171	1823	1
35	1756	1	80	560	1	126	2685	1	172	940	2
36	2236	2	81	1796	2	127	1571	1	173	3543	1
37	7072	2	82	11457	2	128	4300	1	174	1945	1
38	5632	2	83	5097	2	129	910	1	175	2426	1
39	10957	2	84	6167	2	130	2992	1	176	910	1
40	4770	2	85	978	2	131	995	2	177	3045	1
41	1600	2	86	2169	2	132	2451	1	178	400	2
42	2740	2	87	1920	2	133	5126	1	179	3833	1
43	2008	1	88	5203	2	134	2020	1	180	959	1
44	4428	1	89	920	2	135	1440	1	181	1248	1
45	8354	2	90	4794	2	136	3792	1	182	1339	1
			91	2413	2	137	588	1			

Creek land that had been used by cattlemen for summer pasture was no longer available for such purposes, and ranchers who had planned on the availability of these pastures were forced to find adequate alternatives. A natural place to look was the nearby Osage reservation where prairie range still existed, even though the authority for making pasture leases in the region was inoperative. However, the need for pasture led many cattlemen to disregard legalities. Given the situation existing among the Osages at that time, this demand for pasturage made many additional tribal members instant land brokers.

As a result three types of cattle operations developed: those operating within the reservation having valid, unexpired leases from the Osage government; those with only illegal leases obtained from individual Osages; and those operating within the reservation without the benefit of any lease. When the operators with legal leases complained about the trespassers to the Indian Agent, he refused to be of any assistance, claiming that it was none of his affair. Ultimately, ranchers who wished to use the Osage reservation range were left to obtain whatever pasture land they could acquire and hold. This created a situation which seriously threatened the continued existence of organized cattle operations on the reservation.

Nonetheless, at a time when the Osage Nation needed a strong government to deal with the increasing numbers of cattlemen seeking to lease pastures, its government was moribund, and the only authorities capable of preventing complete anarchy were federal officials. In order to effectively manage the leasing of reservation pastures and to resolve the problem of Indian "claims," a special agent, Gilbert B. Pray, was dispatched by the Federal government to investigate the situation. Given authority to collect the Osage grazing taxes, as well as to grant new pasture leases, he was charged with the task of providing "an accurate instrumental survey and chain measurement of each pasture . . . showing the courses and directions of the out-boundaries thereof and the number of acres actually contained in each pasture."[4] Additionally, all these pastures were to be "accurately platted on a large map showing the entire reservation on a scale of 80 chains to the inch."[5]

When this special charge was made in August, 1899, both the federal authorities in Washington, as well as Pray, believed that the map would be completed in time for use during the grazing season of 1900. However, many of the pastures in use had been held by various individuals or parties for periods of up to fifteen years, and the area had been subdivided with

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[4] A. C. Tonner to Gilbert B. Pray, October 16, 1899; *ibid.*, p. 28.
[5] *Ibid.*

fences to insure adequate grass and water for the cattle placed on them.[6] This considerably increased the miles of fence line that had to be pinpointed, and by the time the map was completed on May 25, 1900, 182 pastures had been mapped and described. Individual pastures which might be leased were given an identification number, while the number of acres included and classification numbers indicating the quality of the pasture were noted. The open bluestem prairies were placed in class one, the dissected grasslands and scrub were placed in class two and the deeply dissected scrub areas were placed in class three. For bidding purposes, each class also was given a different minimum bid value—class one having the highest and class three having the lowest.

The new pasture map enabled federal authorities to assume complete control over the pasture leasing procedures on the Osage reservation, and allowed them to bring order to the management of cattle operations. However, as a result of the federal take-over, the Osage Nation no longer determined who might obtain leases. Cattlemen who had had leases and had been cooperative with the tribal authorities could no longer be assured of having their leases renewed. As a result, the Osages became absentee landlords of their own reservation.

[6] Pray to Jones, February 14, 1900; *ibid.*, p. 31.

GORE, BRISTOW AND TAFT: REFLECTIONS ON CANADIAN RECIPROCITY, 1911

*By Paul D. Travis**

The unwary student of American history may find it difficult to believe that such a traditionally mundane matter as the tariff and its possible revision was a source of unending political controversy during the early decades of this century. Nonetheless, controversy did indeed arise over the related question of establishing reciprocal trade agreements with foreign powers. The proximity of Canada—its ethnic similarity, customs and traditions—made it appear to some to be a suitable partner with which to draft an amiable reciprocal treaty, but, as there was a distinct division of opinion in the United States Congress over the merits of protectionism, likewise, there was much disagreement over the desirability of reciprocity.[1]

The positions of two mid-western United States Senators toward the Canadian agreement of 1911 presents an interesting comparison of two divergent views, both from agrarian areas, on the proposed agreement. Thomas P. Gore, a Democrat from Oklahoma, favored it, while Joseph L. Bristow, a Progressive Republican from Kansas, ultimately opposed the measure, seeing in it the opportunity to attack the trusts. As both Senators represented agrarian constituencies, it was assumed that they would have expressed similar interests and acted in harmony toward reciprocity; however, such was not the case.

William Howard Taft, handpicked for the party's nomination by Theodore Roosevelt, won the election of 1908 on a platform calling for the overhauling of duties contained within the Dingley Tariff of 1897. Roosevelt who had successfully avoided the tariff question even though he believed an obligation to reform existing duties, urged the United States House of Representatives and Senate to face the responsibility of revision. However, in framing the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909, Congress drafted a complex two-schedule tariff that did not meet revisionist expectations.[2] Instead it

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[1] United States Tariff Commission, *Reciprocity and Commercial Treaties* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), p. 368.

[2] Theodore Saloutos and John Hicks, *Twentieth Century Populism: Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900–1939* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1951), p. 54, characterize the opposition to the Payne-Aldrich Tariff as an "assault," and place Senator Bristow among the leaders. Also see: A. Bower Sageser, *Joseph L. Bristow: Kansas Progressive* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1968), p. 90; James Holt, *Congressional Insurgents*

provided rates of the maximum schedule applicable to those countries which had placed unsatisfactory duties on American products-duties of twenty-five percent ad valorem in addition to the regular duties, applicable to all goods on the duty list.[3]

Facing the application of maximum duties and fearing the demise of its prospering commercial trade, Canada stood ready to challenge the United States in a tariff war. Thus, both domestic and foreign considerations motivated Taft to seek reciprocity with the Canadian government.[4] Taft believed he could, by suggesting reciprocity, counter Canadian wrath, please lobbying interests and pacify those Congressmen threatening to bolt the Republican Party because of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff.[5]

Canada's Premier, Wilfred Laurier, responded favorably to Taft's overture and in March, 1910, a commission appointed by President Taft arrived in Ottawa, Ontario, for preliminary talks. The ensuing discussion with Canadian officials concerned the "provincial restrictions upon timber export, especially in their application to pulp wood."[6] Following these initial talks, Taft met with Finance Minister W. S. Fielding, on March 19, at Albany, New York.[7] In a cordial atmosphere the President indicated his desire to work for cooperation in trade relations and implied that should Canada implement concessions on American products, the maximum rates of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff would be relieved.[8]

Subsequent negotiations of a more formal nature occurred in late March in Washington, D. C. The Canadians adamantly informed members of the American commission that because of the threat of a tariff war had been precipitated by the intransigence of Congress, the majority of concessions would have to come from the United States. Nevertheless, after lengthy talks, the Canadians moved more willingly toward acceptance of reciprocity. Their hostility abated when Secretary of State Philander C.

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and the Party System 1909–1916 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 45; Herbert F. Marguiles, *The Decline of the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin, 1890–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), pp. 104–105; and *New York Times* (New York, New York), December 4, 1910.

[3] United States Tariff Commission, *Reciprocity and Commercial Treaties*, p. 369.

[4] *Ibid.*; See also George B. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900–1912* (New York: Harper and Sons, 1958), pp. 240–249; C. C. Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), pp. 460–461; and Sageser, *Joseph L. Bristow: Kansas Progressive*, pp. 90, 110.

[5] Senator Gore opposed the rates of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. A speech of July 3, 1909, gives some insight into his views. See Thomas P. Gore Collection, Manuscript Division, Bizzell Memorial Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[6] United States Tariff Commission, *Reciprocity and Commercial Treaties*, p. 369.

[7] Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, p. 461.

[8] United States Tariff Commission, *Reciprocity and Commercial Treaties*, p. 369; *New York Times*, March 20, 1910.

Knox informed them that Taft genuinely desired a mutually satisfactory reciprocal agreement.[9]

In November, Knox was informed by two State Department officials returning from Ottawa that negotiations were proceeding. Fielding, the Canadian Finance Minister, accompanied by his Customs Commissioner, met in an informal setting with Knox in January, 1911. Shortly thereafter, the Canadians attached their signatures to the reciprocal agreement with Fielding insisting that it be submitted to the national legislatures in the form of concurrent legislation. Such a provision allowed the signatory nations to annul the agreement at their discretion.[10] Taft in turn submitted the measure to Congress on January 26, 1911, and urged immediate passage.[11]

As Taft urged Congress to accept the Canadian reciprocity agreement, some farmers began to think that their interests were being sacrificed to those of the manufacturers, for they believed they would be forced to compete on the open market with Canadian farm goods, especially wheat. Early in February, the President made two speeches with which he hoped to allay agrarian concern. Speaking at the National Corn Exhibition at Columbus, Ohio, on February 10, 1911, he defended the agreement by stating, "anyone . . . who would initiate a policy to injure the farmer has much to answer for at the bar of public opinion." Then, warming to his subject, he added emphatically, "the American farmer is king and will remain so, reciprocity or no reciprocity."[12] The next day Taft addressed the Illinois Legislature in a joint session at Springfield. He reasoned that reciprocity would give to the United States "greater control of the wheat market than it has ever had before."[13]

An adverse Congressional reaction was immediately manifested as the Republican heartland reverberated with opposition to the agreement.[14] Bristow's reaction to Taft's speech typified the attitude of recalcitrant party

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[9] Bryce to Lord Brey, May 12, 1910, Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, p. 461.

[10] United States Tariff Commission, *Reciprocity and Commercial Treaties*, pp. 371–372; Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 461–462. The reciprocity issue in the fall of 1910 raised little editorial comment. See Henry M. Whitney, "Reciprocity with Canada," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. CVI (October, 1910), pp. 461–468. For Taft's attitude, see Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (Two vols.; New York: Fararr and Rinehart, 1939), Vol. II, p. 588.

[11] *Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City), January 27, 1911.

[12] United States Senate, *Senate Executive Document No. 862*, 61st Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), pp. 32–33. *Daily Oklahoman*, February 11, 1911.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[14] After reciprocity became the goal of Taft, it was impossible for him "To remain on good terms with . . . midwestern insurgents." G. Wallace Chessman, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Power* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1969), p. 173.

men who answered to farmer constituencies in the mid-west. In his words, the President had "flopped from an ultra-high protectionist to a free-trader.[15] Neither position, in Bristow's opinion, benefited American agriculture.

Editorial pressure which had begun to build for and against reciprocity before Taft presented it to Congress, revealed a distinct division of opinion over the merits and shortcomings of the bilateral agreement. One writer defined reciprocity as a "sharp bargain between sharp bargainers." A similarly colorful evaluation was that "Reciprocity is a dishonest scheme contrived by selfish men whereby one producing interest is sacrificed for the benefit of some other producing interest."[16] Another journalist warned that "manufacturers and politicians have presumed on the gullibility of the farmers."[17] Some editors argued that the Canadian agreement was helpful to agriculturists for it partially removed the tariff wall and opened the way to world markets in the future.[18] A writer for the farm press believed reciprocity was difficult for laymen to comprehend and labeled it a "jug-handled affair."[19] Such outspoken views provided by the news media helped polarize the issues, and the members of Congress, already divided, were preparing for battle.

As disenchantment with Taft and reciprocity mounted in the Senate, members of the opposition gravitated toward the leadership of Senators Robert LaFollette, an outstanding Wisconsin Progressive, Bristow and Albert E. Cummins of Iowa.[20] In the House of Representatives, opposition to reciprocity was less intense, but Representative Dick T. Morgan of Oklahoma, was outspoken in his rejection of the legislation. Nonetheless, a coalition of Democrats, Republicans and some Progressives in the House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly in favor of the bill on February 14, 1911.[21]

The Senate Committee on Finance reported the reciprocity agreement in unamended form to the Senate floor on February 24. Although the op-

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[15] Bristow to Henry Allen, February 14, 1911, Joseph Little Bristow Papers, 1894–1925, Manuscript Division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

[16] American Economist, Vol. XLVII (January 13, 1911), p. 20. Ethan E. Ellis, *Reciprocity, 1911: A Study in Canadian-American Relations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), p. 133. This periodical was the organ for the American Protective Tariff League.

[17] "Reciprocity and the Farmers," *The Nation*, Vol. XCII (February 23, 1911), pp. 184–185.

[18] "Canadian Reciprocity Would Help Our Farmers," *The Outlook*, Vol. XCVII (February 25, 1911), pp. 372–374.

[19] "Reciprocity in Farm Products," *Wallace's Farmer*, Vol. XXVI (March 10, 1911), p. 438.

[20] Bristow's biographer indicates that the Kansan did not ally himself with LaFollette until Taft called Congress into special session. See Sageser, *Joseph L. Bristow: Kansas Progressive*, p. 109.

[21] United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 2562.

ponents of the bill were in the majority on the committee and could have killed it there, they preferred to use stalling tactics so that Congress would adjourn before the measure came to a vote.[22] Taft, however, called Congress into special session on April 4, for the primary purpose of enacting reciprocity legislation.

Gore thought that reciprocity, if enacted, would be beneficial to both the farmer and consumer. Such a trade arrangement, he argued, would allow farmers to sell their products on the Canadian market and purchase manufactured goods for reduced sums. The consumer would likewise benefit through a growth in purchasing power resulting from reductions of prices on farm commodities as well as manufactured goods. Viewpoints similar to this caused some Republicans to deride Democrats as "free-traders." Gore's position on trade in 1911, however, was similar to William Jennings Bryan's viewpoint on the tariff in 1896. Gore's emphasis on markets met the needs and context of party considerations. Gore's opinions of protectionism, like those of Bryan, were "natural for one who identified himself with the rural elements in American society."[23]

His view that the tariff was inequitable had been formulated prior to 1911, when he had written that such measures allowed "one man to get without earning what another man earns without getting."[24] Such consideration had not made him unpopular within the state, as he was known for his outstanding record in Congress and described as a "fundamental Democrat."[25] And, as a "fundamental Democrat" from Oklahoma, he worked for increased markets for the farmer, attacked protectionism and called for tariff reform, even if it meant allying with Republicans.[26]

Because of his concern for the defenseless farmer and consumer who derived few benefits from the protective system, Gore lashed out at the opposition party. It was his opinion that "a fundamental principle with the Republican Party, one from which they can make no deviation, is to levy a high tax on the poor rather than upon the rich." The question of supporting Democratic or Republican trade policies was purely academic, for the residents of Oklahoma were assured the Senator stood for "elementary

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[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Paul W. Glad, *McKinley, Bryan and the People* (New York: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1964), p. 16. For a general discussion of Gore's attitudes on the tariff, see Monroe L. Billington, *Thomas P. Gore: The Blind Senator from Oklahoma* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1967), pp. 28–32, 35–38.

[24] Thomas P. Gore Collection, newspaper clipping, n. d.

[25] *Tulsa World* (Tulsa), n.d., in *ibid.*

[26] Newspaper clipping, n.d., in *ibid.* Gore admitted such an alliance in the Senate chamber and justified this coalition stating, "We make our alliances not from choice but from necessity."—United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 3164.

decency." "I shall never demand a protective duty in behalf of a product . . . in my own state," was the Gore credo. In the Congressional elections of 1910, he had urged that the Democratic platform be condensed into a few words, "less tariff, more trade, free ships, no trusts, no graft, no Taft."[27]

Gore saw the opportunity reciprocity presented to implement personal hopes for lower duties. With the facade of protectionism cracked, greater prosperity for consumer and farmer lay in the future should reciprocity and ultimately tariff reform succeed. In his words, "trade is a blessing and not a curse . . . we can not restore prosperity until trade is revived . . . we can not revive trade until we reduce the tariff."[28] In light of such views, Gore in June, 1911, attacked the protective system and advocates of a high tariff by declaring that "those who think the system is holy and is consecrated . . . say not to lay a profane hand upon the temple of protection; but sir, I am much mistaken if the veil of that temple is not already rent in twain."[29] Such rhetoric in 1911, reflected an attitude similar to that of two years before when he had stated "I am unwilling to betray the farmer with a kiss. I desire to see the United States leading the contest for commercial supremacy of the earth. I shall vote for every measure calculated . . . to promote that consumation."[30] A few days hence he had observed that "the age of peace and reciprocity ought to have come."[31]

Gore's emphasis on the farmer's benefiting from reciprocity was open to debate. Morgan, a fellow Oklahoman, but a Republican from the Second Congressional District, argued that reciprocity would prove detrimental to the interests of agriculturists. His position was that farm commodities, if admitted duty-free into the United States, would place the American farmer at a distinct disadvantage. The Oklahoma yeoman, in Morgan's opinion, would find himself directly competing on the open market with Canadian farmers. Before the House of Representatives, Morgan stated that "agriculture is the most important industry in the United States . . . it will be robbed of any direct benefit from our protective policy."[32] Observing that 5,000 laborers in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, were dependent upon the prosperity of farmers for their livelihoods and would be economically injured with the passage of the Canadian bill, Morgan declared that "free trade with Canada will inevitably injure the American farmer."[33] Looking ahead

[27] Much of the materials upon which this writer evaluated Gore's position on the tariff are undated and located in the Gore Album, Thomas P. Gore Collection.

[28] Thomas P. Gore Collection, notation, n.d.

[29] Extracts of Gore's speeches, *ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*, June 22, 1909.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, p. 469.

[33] *Ibid.* Morgan does not seem to have been at the forefront of the movement in the House opposing reciprocity. He was most concerned that gypsum was included in Schedule A. Morgan

to the election of 1912, Morgan had 25,000 copies of his speech reprinted and mailed to farmer constituents within the state, and justified such an expense by alluding to the fact that he was "letting the farmers know I was taking some interest in their welfare."[34]

Senator Bristow, meanwhile, was formulating his reasons for opposing reciprocity. In February, 1911, he expressed the conviction that "it is unjust to put on the free-list everything the farmer has to sell, without very materially reducing the duties on the things he has to buy."[35] This position was acceptable to a significant proportion of Kansans as the expedient course for Bristow to pursue.[36] The Kansas Senator and his progressive colleagues in opposing reciprocity feared that the introduction into the United States of Canadian hard winter wheat would act as a price depressant. Supporters of the bill, however, spent much time in an attempt to counteract this argument by stressing that the English market generally controlled the world price of wheat and reciprocity would have little to do with price fluctuations.[37]

Cummins, LaFollette and Bristow were not content simply to defeat the measure; they foresaw the opportunity to attack the protectionism afforded the trusts by the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, and the rhetoric surrounding reciprocity provided a smokescreen for this larger consideration.[38] As a leader of the Progressives opposed to reciprocity, Bristow typified the Insurgent Republican position relative to the tariff. He stated that the "Canadian bill takes the tariff off of the articles that are not controlled by the trusts, and retains the tariff on the articles that are."[39] That Bristow's main concern was weakening the trusts became obvious when he announced he would support the unamended version of the agreement as it came from the House of Representatives if "we can have bills taking off the excessive

to Porter H. Morgan, April 29, 1911, Dick T. Morgan Collection, Manuscript Division, Bizzell Memorial Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[34] Morgan to Porter H. Morgan, April 27, 1911, *ibid.*

[35] Bristow to N. L. Ard, February 23, 1911, Joseph Little Bristow Papers; *Kansas City Star*, (Kansas City, Missouri) February 26, 1911.

[36] A. A. Graham wrote Bristow "you are right on reciprocity." Graham to Bristow, June 21, 1911, Joseph Little Bristow Papers. A poll taken by the *Mail and Breeze*, in the state showed an approvel, 1053 to 49, of Bristow's position on the Payne-Aldrich Bill. Sageser, *Joseph L. Bristow: Kansas Progressive*, p. 99.

[37] William H. Mitchell, "Joseph L. Bristow: Kansas Insurgent in the U.S. Senate, 1909–1915," unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 1952, p. 107. *Kansas City Journal*, (Kansas City, Missouri), June 23, 1911; *Kansas City Star*, June 23, 1911; Sageser, *Joseph L. Bristow, Kansas Progressive*, p. 109.

[38] United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, p. 2906; Bristow to Morton Allen Pratt, June 23, 1911, Joseph Little Bristow Papers; Jacob Lichty to Bristow, June 24, 1911.

[39] Bristow to Fred C. Triggs, June 26, 1911, *ibid.*; United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 2906–2907.

duties that protect the sugar trust, the steel trust, and smelter's trust."[40] Thus, the tariff's relationship to the trusts helped to explain much of the opposition to the Canadian agreement.

The consumer, in Bristow's opinion, along with the farmer, would not benefit from the bill. In a speech before the Senate, the Kansan emphasized that the price of wheat would fall should reciprocity be adopted. While the price of flour, in his opinion, would not drop proportionately. He declared that the only conclusion that anyone may form from the provisions of this bill "is that it is intended to reduce the price that the packer and the brewer and the miller pay to the farmer, but it is not intended to reduce the price of goods sold . . . to the American consumer."[41]

Gore, on the other hand, believed any duty which forced the price of goods upward was not in keeping with the best interests of the consumer. Because of the deplorable protective system, he argued, "the American consumer is subjected to unreasonable exactions."[42] It was Gore's view that tariff reform had to begin with some tangible legislation to relieve the oppressing conditions facing the consumer. Reciprocity to him was a beginning which ultimately would serve those ends, and as he stated, "I begin here and now because it is an opportunity at hand." He added, "Republicans will either be driven to restore the duties on farm products, or else the farmers will assist the Democrats to reduce the duties on manufactured products."[43]

As the Congressional debates over the merits of the bill continued into the summer months, the nation's press revealed a division of opinion over reciprocity not unlike that of the senators. An Oklahoma newspaper published in the heart of the state's wheat country labeled reciprocity as unfair and indicated that the Democrats' desire to revise the tariff on farm products amounted to little more than partisan politics. An agricultural periodical prophesied that with the acceptance of reciprocity the farmer could expect decreased land values.[44] Other writers insisted that the term reciprocity was a "misnomer," because there was nothing "reciprocal or mutual about it. . . . There are no advantages offered to the farmers through this agreement."[45]

Some journalists argued that Taft's insistence upon reciprocity was

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 2906–2907.

[41] Extracts from Gore's speeches, June 14, 1911, Thomas P. Gore Papers.

[42] *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, p. 3165.

[43] *Mulhall Enterprise* (Mulhall), June 23, 1911.

[44] J. Ellis Barker; "North American or Imperial Reciprocity," *The Fortnightly Review*, Vol. LXXXXIX (June 1, 1911), p. 1043; see in addition Hugh J. Hughes, "Reciprocity: Why the Farmer Objects," *LaFollette's Weekly Magazine*, Vol. III (March 11, 1911), pp. 7–9, 12–13.

[45] G. C. White, "Proposed Agreement as Viewed by the Farmers," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XIX (July, 1911), p. 569.

merely a political device, and they in turn attacked the President's lack of familiarity with "the intrinsic contents of the pending legislation."[46] A Tulsa, Oklahoma, newspaper noted that the "aggressive opposition" by men of such stature as LaFollette, Bristow and Cummins was convincing some that the proposed measure was "not all it appears to be," but nevertheless added that the agreement should be endorsed, for it would "work out its own salvation."[47] An Enid, Oklahoma, newspaper, without referring to Gore, generally agreed with his premises when it stated, "reciprocity does offer the country a chance to prove some things about the high tariff regime is [*sic*] true."[48] The *New York Times* editorially concluded that the nation was in approval of reciprocity, while the *Wall Street Journal*, perhaps representing vested interests, accused LaFollette of wasting national time playing politics with his eye focused upon the election of 1912.[49] Another Enid newspaper congratulated Taft on fulfilling his promise of tariff revision and editorialized that "Big Bill . . . personally promised a downward revision to the people . . . Mr. Taft has made good."[50] Thus, the pros and cons toward the measure ran the gamut of expression from political intrigue to agrarian necessity to an almost pseudo-sanctification of the President.

As rhetoric abounded in Congress over reciprocity, and as newspapers and periodicals debated the merits of the bill, the Senate Finance Committee held hearings to clarify the issues. The committee membership generally opposed the measure with Senator Porter J. McCumber of North Dakota the most outspoken. The committee received testimony during the months of May and June from individuals representing various interests and groups. Members of the National Grange indicated their acceptance of the Bristow position on reciprocity without qualification. The chairman of the Minnesota state chapter stated unequivocally that the bill would be "of grave danger to all agricultural interests . . . in the country." He then alluded to arguments similar to those of Bristow. In attacking those of Gore's persuasion who argued that benefits would accrue to the consumer through reciprocity, he asked, "is such a premise . . . intended as a joke?"[51]

The Secretary of the National Grange from Ohio stated that reciprocity meant to "place the farmers of this country in competition with Canada

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[46] *The American Review of Reviews*, Vol. XLIV (July, 1911), p. 4.

[47] *Tulsa Daily World* (Tulsa), July 2, 1911. By mid July the newspaper had decided editorially, "Why Reciprocity is Good."

[48] *Enid Daily Eagle*, (Enid), July 17, 1911.

[49] *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* (New York, New York), July 17, 1911.

[50] *Enid Events* (Enid) July 22, 1911.

[51] United States Senate, *Senate Executive Document No. 56*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, 1911 (Washington Government Printing Office, 1911) p. 233.

and nothing else."[52] A subsequent witness wondered why the farmers of the nation had not "been treated right" and demanded to know why control of trusts had been overlooked in the reciprocity agreement.[53] Week after week the majority of testimony presented by witnesses to the committee revealed deep-seated agrarian resentment over the proposed measure.[54]

Perhaps one of the most significant witnesses asked to present his viewpoint on the bill was the Master of the National Grange, Nahum J. Bachelder. An able and articulate agricultural spokesman, Bachelder reinforced the standard argument of anti-reciprocity witnesses. In his opinion, removing the pale of protection on agricultural commodities while retaining it on industrial goods, was a heinous injustice to American farmers. The Grange witness exonerated Congress for the evils of reciprocity, and was persuaded that the responsibility for it lay with Taft.[55]

On June 20, the House of Representatives passed a bill which revised the woolen schedule in the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, and the next day Insurgent Republicans who opposed the Canadian measure allied with pro-reciprocity Democrats and moved to consider the bill in the Senate. The Oklahoma Senator introduced the "Gore Resolution" which called for the Senate Finance Committee to report the Canadian bill to the floor not later than July 10. The committee, in turn, packed with anti-reciprocity men who were aware of the political implications of the measure, responded on June 22, by reporting the woolen measure, along with another revisionist bill, adversely. Such maneuvering placed the reciprocity bill and the woolen legislation on the floor for consideration simultaneously. The Insurgent Republicans could not have been more happy with such timing, and they hoped the heated debates which would arise over the tariff revision measures would in turn stall the Canadian bill, focusing attention on the status of the trusts. If so, reciprocity would become of secondary importance in the Senate, for the protectionists would have to kill the tariff revision bills before considering the Canadian measure. Should this strategy fail, either of the revisionist measures, or both, might be attached to the reciprocity bill, and Taft had previously promised to veto reciprocity should it be amended.[56] Thus, they reasoned that whichever course developed in the Senate would send them from the fray victorious.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 534.

[54] The Hearings are heavily loaded with testimony opposing reciprocity. For a variety of views see *ibid.*, pp. 201–205, 328, 443, 512.

[55] United States Senate, *Senate Executive Document No. 834*, 61st Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911).

[56] See also William Howard Taft, "Canadian Reciprocity," *Senate Executive Document No. 43*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 3.

Under such conditions the reciprocity measure appeared doomed. Gore, nonetheless, in behalf of his Democratic colleagues, asserted he and his party would not hinder reciprocity. Thus, implying that Democrats favoring the Canadian bill would not vote to amend it.[57] With such an admission by the Democrats, the reciprocity measure was primed for eventual passage. At this juncture, the never-say-die Republican Insurgents began introducing a series of riders to the Canadian bill. These moves were little more than stalling tactics, but the amendments to the reciprocity bill were directed at the trusts which retained protection under the provisions of that measure. On July 14, the attempts to amend failed, and the wearisome debates culminated in the Senators moving to set a date to vote on the legislation.[58] Bristow and the Insurgents remained adamantly opposed to the measure. In contrast, Gore, along with many Democratic colleagues, fervently continued to support the bill. On July 22, the Canadian agreement was approved by the Senate by a vote of fifty-three to twenty-seven.[59] Taft and reciprocity had triumphed.

Ironically, in September, 1911, long after the emotional debate in Congress had subsided and passed into the realm of the forgotten, the Canadian Parliament rejected reciprocity. The motivations surrounding Canadian opposition to the bill were complex and varied, but the impact of the rejection at Ottawa changed the complexion of political exigencies in the United States.[60] The Insurgents, thinking they had lost the battle in July, found themselves victors in September.[61]

In reviewing the developments which led to the American passage of reciprocity, it was apparent that the agreement initially had taken shape within the framework of a low-key political atmosphere. The rebellion on the prairies, however, began to be manifested in a polarization of political attitudes toward the measure at the national level. Clearly, as early as 1909, Taft committed a political *faux pas* when he attempted to justify the Payne-Aldrich tariff. In so doing, the President alienated himself from the Insurgent wing of the Republican party, and he and the Progressives went

[57] United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, p. 3165.

[58] These debates continued from late June to July 7. United States Congress *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 1st Session.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 3167–3175; *Daily Oklahoman*, July 24, 1911, approved the passage; *Tulsa Daily World*, July 25, 1911, believed reciprocity was "good."

[60] Ellis has indicated that much of the Parliamentary opposition accorded the Laurier government was related to religious bias. Ellis, *Reciprocity, 1911, A Study in Canadian-American Relations*, pp. 184–186. The fear of ultimate annexation by the United States, whether real or imagined, aroused the opposition. Historically the United States in its relations with Canada, many Canadians believed, was only concerned with its national interests.

[61] *Salina Evening Journal* (Salina, Kansas), September 25, 1911. In an article, "The Canadian Refusal," *The Nation*, Vol. XCIII (September 28, 1911), p. 208, the rejection by Canada was labeled "tragic," and it was prophesied Taft had been given a "fatal hurt."

separate ways. By June, 1911, Bristow and other prairie Insurgents had discarded Taft as the party's nominee for 1912. The Kansan wrote that he favored "LaFollette for President," and added tersely that the Wisconsin Senator "stood for everything good in American politics."[62] Given such a frame of reference, if LaFollette stood for good in opposing reciprocity and trusts, Taft, in Bristow's opinion, represented "evil" by supporting the measure and aiding the trusts.

The reciprocity struggle was a battle for a greater prize than the defending of simple agrarians in their efforts against trusts and protectionism. The reciprocity issue became the means, within the larger framework of the Insurgent Republican strategy, to dump Taft for LaFollette in 1912. Reciprocity became a national sounding board by which Republican prairie politicians, though obviously committed to tariff reform, could embarrass Taft and drive him into political oblivion in the process.[63]

Gore's position as a Democrat is somewhat more nebulous and difficult to substantiate.[64] The Oklahoman partially formulated his viewpoint on reciprocity while thinking ahead to the election of 1912. Democrats could lend their support to the Canadian measure and receive credit with Taft for being instrumental in the passage of reciprocity, or in Gore's view a bill initiating tariff reform. Without presuming any kind of smoke-filled-room chicanery between Democrats and Taft, the significance of Taft's remark that the bill could not have been passed without Democratic votes is apparent.[65] Taft, perhaps unwittingly, gave the opposition party a portion of the ammunition which it ultimately fired at him in the election of 1912. Even had reciprocity been acceptable to Canada and had it been effected, the Democrats could have returned to their constituencies and claimed the achievement of tariff reduction. The fact that a Democrat had not resided in the White House since 1897, certainly was not a secondary consideration.

The President was also consciously motivated by political considerations. Taft had written a friend expressing his amusement over the position in which Insurgent Republicans found themselves because of reciprocity. He

[62] Bristow to W. A. Ogden, June 23, 1911, Joseph Little Bristow Papers. A Kansasan wrote his Senator, "Taft will have no chance to carry this state . . . LaFollette ought to be the nominee of the Republican Party." H. D. Crosby to Bristow, June 23, 1911. Bristow labeled Taft as "an ultra-reactionary."—Bristow to F. C. Triggs, *ibid.*

[63] A brief persual of the Bristow Papers is convincing that reciprocity was the means to more grandiose ends. Bristow wrote to Arthur Capper that if Taft be "nominated and elected, in my judgement it means the annihilation of the Republican Party . . . I am for LaFollette, and I want it distinctly understood in the state that I am for LaFollette . . . I am very anxious that the Republicans should hold Kansas in line in the November election." Bristow to Arthur Capper, July 5, 1911, *ibid.*

[64] Billington, *Thomas P. Gore: The Blind Senator from Oklahoma* pp. 36–37.

[65] *New York Times*, July 22, 1911.

vividly recalled how he had been attacked by LaFollette and others over the Payne-Aldrich bill. With the consideration of the reciprocity measure he had placed the Insurgents in the uncomfortable position of allying with staunch protectionists to prevent its passage. Taft could give vent to his smoldering rage with Insurgents in a subtle manner and perhaps bring them to a political demise as well.[66]

The election of 1912, the three-cornered race for the presidency and the victory by Woodrow Wilson in November, may be partially understood by the reciprocity battle. Bristow had accurately predicted what would happen to Taft should he be the Republican nominee. The overwhelming mandate for Wilson must have exceeded the Kansas Senator's expectations, for the electoral tally showed 435 votes for Wilson, 88 for Roosevelt and 8 for Taft.[67] Kansas, the ardently devoted Republican state, put aside tradition and joined sister plains states in the Wilson column—in Kansas this was "revolution."

In reviewing the Republican loss in 1912, the factor of alienation and bitterness fomented by the tariff debate and subsequently the reciprocity fight within the party cannot be overlooked. The reciprocity bill, considered within a pre-existing volatile political atmosphere, provoked a crisis. As the reciprocity debate proceeded, Bristow decided against Taft and for LaFollette as the party's candidate in 1912.[68] The Kansan's decision was significant, for in a short period of time he had risen to national prominence within the Insurgent movement. Such a decision wielded influence not only in Kansas but in many portions of the nation as well.

The reciprocity issue was directly tied to political developments of 1911–1912. Political rhetoric often contains, though frequently hidden, deeper motivations or aspirations. Although Bristow, like Gore, was interested in tariff reform, and although both sought in divergent ways to accomplish it, their greater consideration was to win the presidency for their particular candidate or party. Only one accomplished this ultimate goal.

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[66] Taft to Myron Herrick, July 25, 1911, William Howard Taft Papers, cited in Ellis, *Reciprocity, 1911: A Study in Canadian-American Relations*, p. 139.

[67] Frank Freidel, *America in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 108.

[68] Ellis states, "To the south [the United States] its [reciprocity] helped to complete a party disintegration already underway and thus contributed to the overturn of 1912." See Ellis, *Reciprocity, 1911, a Study of Canadian-American Relations*, p. 187. Also, see Henry Pringle, *Theodor Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931), p. 551; A. W. Dunn, *From Harrison to Harding* (Two Vols.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), Vol. II, pp. 144–146. Billington offers little explanation for the Democratic landslide, see *Thomas P. Gore: Blind Senator from Oklahoma*, pp. 44–64. Bristow in an interview stated there was a relationship between Taft's defeat and his advocacy of reciprocity. See Oscar King Davis, "Senator Bristow's Views on Present Political Conditions," *The Outlook*, Vol. C (March 30, 1912), pp. 725–729.

PICTORIAL ESSAY ON THE DAWES COMMISSION

*By Ronnie Williams**

Proceeding to Indian Territory in the latter portion of the nineteenth century with instructions to extinguish the tribal relations and governmental identity of the region's Indian inhabitants, the Dawes Commission began a magnitudinal task of advocating radical changes regardless of the rights or interest of those affected. In March, 1893, the United States Congress had passed an act which established the Dawes Commission to investigate and correct enrollments of the Five Civilized Tribes—Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws and Chickasaws. Instructed to secure the surrender of the land titles held by these Indians, the commissioners were to prepare individual land allotments and institute training classes for eventual citizenship and statehood.[1]

Believing governmental obliteration awaited them, the Indians chilled the reception of the Dawes Commission, but more drastically, the white or non-citizen elements, fearing for their lease rights, obstructed in every way possible its progress.[2] Organizing the United States Citizen Protective League, the white settlers in the Chickasaw Nation successfully prevented the commission from interferring with their land titles and homesteads. At the same time other Indians fought for national existence and ownership to land for which they held no title. Regardless of the efforts of the white settlers, tangible results were accomplished in the first four years of the commission's existance, and meetings were held throughout Indian Territory to ratify the agreements negotiated with the various factions.

The breaking up of the five Indian governments and the allotment of land in severalty to each tribal member remained two of the most important steps in the history of Oklahoma, for it was not until this work was completed that the organization of the present state was possible.[3] Tenaciously clinging to the old communal system of land ownership, the Indians were probably the most difficult obstacle for the Dawes Commission

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[1] Clarence B. Douglas, "The Dawes Commission," *Twin Territories* (1902), Vol. IV, No. 8, p. 217.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of The State and Its People* (4 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1929) Vol. II, p. 624.

to overcome, as many Indian leaders opposed the agreements in which change was the most bitter result.

Over 23,000 black freedmen, who as slaves had belonged to the Indians before the abolition of slavery, were enrolled by the Dawes Commission, as they, as well as other tribal members, were eligible for land allotments. To add to the problems of the commission, some of the "less progressive full-blood Indians" absolutely refused to choose any allotment whatever, and their land had to be allotted by arbitrary selection by the Dawes Commission or by other officials under its direction.[4] The controversy caused by this could only be resolved by difficult and tedious procedure.

After a general survey of the lands belonging to the Five Civilized Tribes had been completed by the United States Geological Survey, additional surveys of each forty-acre tract in the more densely populated sections of the country were made. This allowed individual allotments to be properly apportioned and equalized as to value. The allottee might elect to choose a homestead at one place and one or more additional tracts of land—to complete the total value apportioned—elsewhere within the boundaries of the tribal holdings.

Remaining in existence for twelve years, the Dawes Commission labored at its work from 1893 until July 1, 1905, when the commission expired by law and its duties were taken over by the Secretary of Interior. During this time 20,000,000 acres of land were distributed among approximately 100,000 Indian heirs in the Five Civilized Tribes. Out of the 300,000 applicants claiming to belong to these tribes, who had presented themselves before the commission, 90,000 were found to be eligible for enrollment. Likened to an administrator's settlement of five different estates, the Dawes Commission merged the five separate Indian governments with their different executive, legislature and judicial machinery into a constituent part of the United States.[5]

Providing interesting insight into the actual conditions in Indian Territory at the beginning of the twentieth century, the following photographs, most of which are previously unpublished, vividly portray the era. Taken by A. L. Aylesworth, Secretary of the Dawes Commission during its work in the Creek and Cherokee Nation, the two original photograph albums are now in the Photographic Section of the Oklahoma Historical Society Library, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 620.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 621–622.

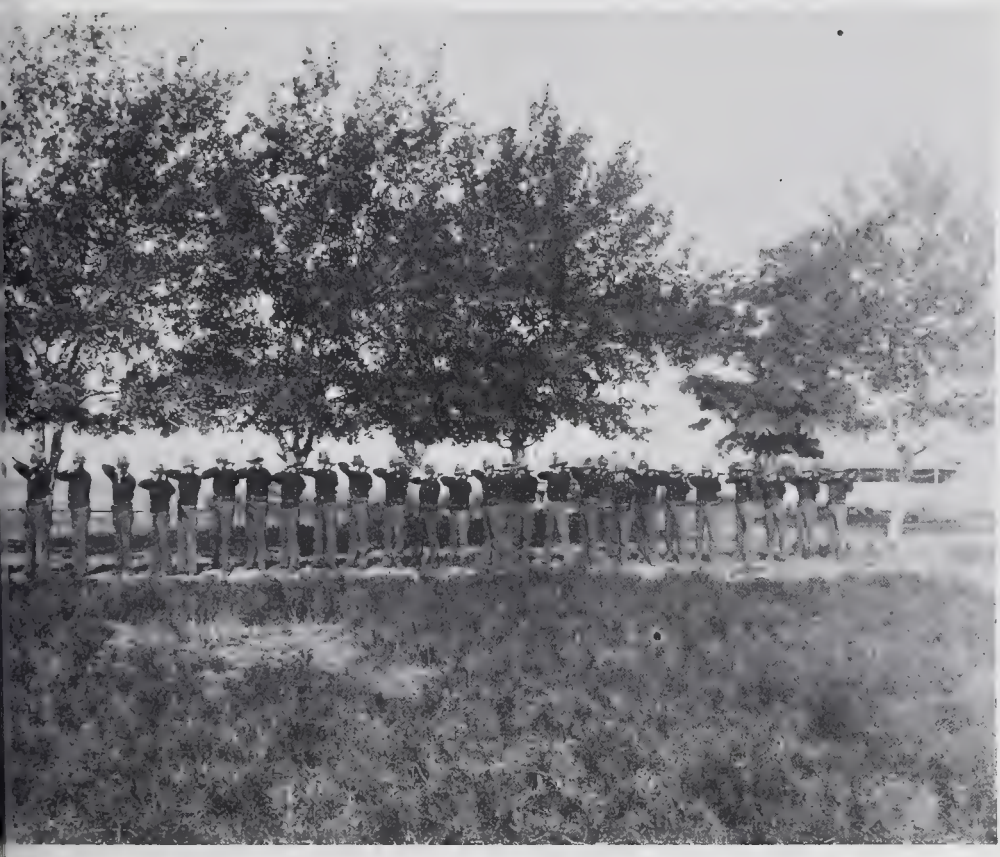
The conference held between the Dawes Commission and leaders of the Creek Nation in the Masonic Hall at Muskogee, in the Creek Nation.

Above—Wagons and soldiers of the Dawes Commission leaving for the field to enroll full-blood Cherokees around Fort Gibson, in the Cherokee Nation.

Right—United States Troops which were temporarily stationed at abandoned Fort Gibson during the work of the Dawes Commission to provide protection for the commissioners and the records.

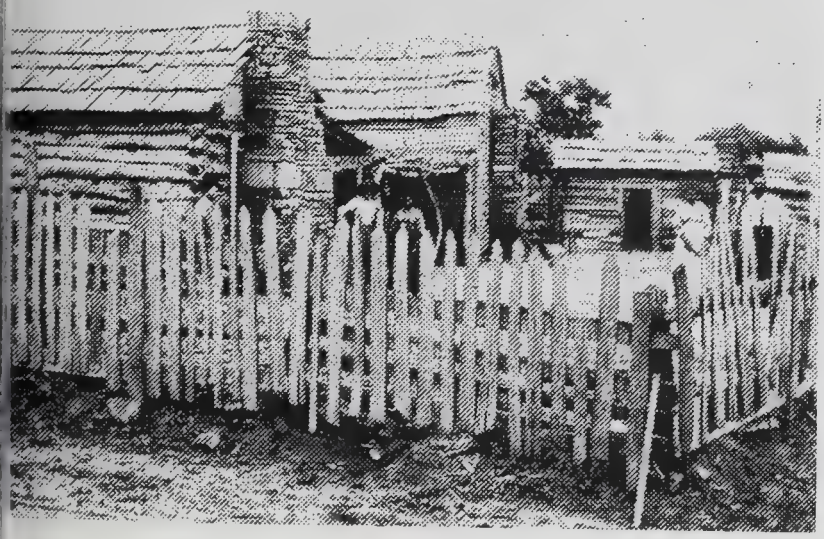
Below Left—A dance held by the black freedmen during enrollment at Fort Gibson.

Below Right—Indians waiting to be enrolled by the Dawes Commission.



Wagons of the Dawes Commission ferrying the Arkansas River on their way to Fort Gibson.

Right—A black family's cabin and sheds at Okmulgee in the Creek Nation.



Several Creek full-bloods called "Crazy Snake Indians" being held in the Muskogee city jail for opposing land allotment by the Dawes Commission.

Commissioner Thomas B. Needles, who was one of the judges of the first United States District Court ever held in Oklahoma. A native of Illinois he was selected as the United States Marashall of Indian Territory on March 26, 1889.

Captain A. S. McKennon enrolling freedmen at Fort Gibson. A native of Tennessee, McKennon commanded the Sixteenth Arkansas Confederate Infantry during the Civil War. Elected sheriff of Carroll County, Arkansas, in 1864, he later served as a member of the Arkansas Legislature in 1877, and as the prosecuting attorney of the Fifth Judicial District of Arkansas in 1878. McKennon was appointed to the Dawes Commission in 1893, and distinguished himself by his ability, impartiality and eminent statesmanship.

Above Right—Street scene in Muskogee during the stay of the Dawes Commission.

Below Right—Headquarters for the Dawes Commission in Muskogee.

Above—Headquarters of the Dawes Commission at Fort Gibson.

Above Left—A store set up by black freedmen who were camped at Fort Gibson while waiting to enroll.

Below Left—Dawes Commission in the field at Okmulgee. Seated left to right: Clarence W. Turner, liaison officer for the Creek Indians; A. L. Alyesworth, Secretary of the Dawes Commission and the photographer; H. Van Smith, disbursing officer; Colonel T. B. Needles, Commissioner; and Tams Bixby, Commissioner.

Camp of Cherokee freedmen near Fort Gibson during enrollment.

Chairman Tams Bixby leading the wagons into the field around Okmulgee. Bixby had few, if any governmental superiors, and was described as a man of "wide experience, sound judgment and unusual energy."

WOODY GUTHRIE: THE OKLAHOMA YEARS, 1912–1929

*By Harry Menig**

During World War II, the people of Okemah, Oklahoma, received a letter written on the Atlantic Ocean. The message came from an experienced merchant seaman, a man who knew the perils of German U-boat torpedoes. He was homesick; his name was Woody Guthrie. Alone at sea, a one-time Dust Bowl refugee, a folksinger, cartoonist and journalist, he reminisced: "There is a look and a smell about your smoking timbers that even is good away out here." Guthrie also had a message for his hometown folks, a message he implied would be good peacetime conduct. "Men of all kinds and all colors," he observed, "fight here side by side."[1] If the war, any war, can teach a lesson, it would be the lesson Guthrie observed at sea: that petty differences must be laid aside in time of extreme national emergency.

More than ten years had passed since Guthrie left his birthplace, yet in his letter he recalled the good as well as the bad times. His mind must have been filled with mixed memories: his mother's songs; his father's wealth and status; the town alive with cotton wagons, crowds, music and animals; the black harmonica players; the Indian stickball games and corn dances; the seven room house burning; the tornado; his sister's death; his mother's illness; his father's failure; the lynching and shooting of blacks; the drunkenness and free-wheeling boom-town days; and the town's death.

Guthrie's letter was more than a story with a moral; it was a simple observation with a plea for a very complicated hope for better conditions for all people. He never forgot his origins, never gave up the desire that all people might begin to live in harmony. His experiences in Okemah from 1912 to 1929 do not only recreate a social history but they also indicate that what he learned as a young boy influenced him for the rest of his life. His work and the memories people have of him is in itself an exciting account of a unique period in Oklahoma history and culture.

Guthrie's talents had their beginnings in both his home and the small pioneer town of Okemah. As a balladeer, cartoonist and journalist, he

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[1] Woody Guthrie, "Letter to the People of Okemah" in the "Today" column of *Okemah Ledger* (Okemah), unidentified newspaper clipping, Mrs. Dorothy Dill's "Scrapbook," Okemah, Oklahoma.

found an amazing amount of resource material for his autobiography and for his history of American life. From his mother, Nora Belle Tanner Guthrie, the daughter of one of Oklahoma's first log-cabin school teachers, he learned music and a deep respect for family love and unity. Charles Edward Guthrie, Woody's father, gave to him a sense of humor, a politician's mind and a journalist's eye. Okemah was, in a sense, Woody Guthrie's foster parent. From its people he learned music, charity, hatred, violence, but most of all, a sense of "getting along"—a need for self-survival through cooperation. In later life, he combined his musician's ear with his reporter's eye to point out, and sometimes to protest, the unfair conditions which forced many people to live unsatisfactory, unnatural lives. He himself was once left homeless and parentless because of the fates of health and weather. He never forgot the love his parents once gave to him, and he later transferred this love to all mankind; common men with a common goal became his children and he became their father spokesman.

Guthrie's own parents provided their children, Roy, Clara and Woody with a warm and loving home. The land investments of Guthrie's father allowed the family to live without fear of want; luxuries were at their demand; they needed only to sign the Guthrie name. Money, in early Oklahoma, however, was not easily earned, and Guthrie's mother had to pay a high price for the niceties of small-town pioneer life. The price was worry, for his father was in the uncertain land-trading business.[2]

At first Woody Guthrie's mother was able to compensate for her husband's uncertain occupation, for they had a new home and a growing family in a growing town. The house, built about 1912, the year of Woody's birth, according to him, had seven rooms and cost between seven and eight thousand dollars. "I remember a bright yellow outside—a blurred haze of a dark inside," he recalled. The ample money his father was able to share with his family obviously made his mother happy. "Mama could sign a check for any amount, buy every little thing that her eye liked the looks of," Guthrie wrote.[3] He understood that his father's money set him apart from the typical Oklahoman. "I wasn't in the class of people John Steinbeck calls the Okies," he said. "My dad was worth forty-thousand dollars."[4] While his father could give his family anything they "liked the looks of," his mother was not the ambitious type. In fact, she was quite the opposite, wanting only a stable and comfortable life, something she had

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[2] Woody Guthrie, "Interview of Alan Lomax," on *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings* (Washington, D. C., March 22, 1940), Side Number 1; Woody Guthrie, *Bound for Glory* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1943), p. 39.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.

[4] Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 1.

known as a young girl. Guthrie claimed his grandmother, Mrs. Lee Tanner, once described his mother to him and declared: "She went to my little school house where I taught over on the Deep Fork River and she read her books and got her lessons, and she helped me mark and grade the papers. She liked pretty music and she sang songs and played her own chords on the piano."[5] Guthrie's love for his mother was described by Mrs. V. K. Chowning of Okemah as "deep devotion."[6] Obviously she taught him more than a love for nice things; the ballads he learned from her were mixed with love for his family. Her influence, he said, took hold at a very early age. On the porch of their seven-room home, he claimed he composed his first song:

Listen to the music,
Music, music;
Listen to the music,
Music band.

Fortunately, Guthrie's mother had more to offer him and his older brother Roy and older sister Clara than music. Her strength of character and fortitude came to the children in the same words of Ma Joad in John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*. Guthrie's mother told him: "We love your papa, and if anything tries to hurt him and make him bad and mean, we'll fight it, won't we? . . . We're not the scared people Woody." Unfortunately, what she thought her family could unite against and fight was impossible odds. Guthrie, in his youth, showed his devotion by offering a simple solution for family peace. He wrote: "If ever single livin' one of 'em would all git together an' git rid of them mean, bad politics, they'd all feel lots better, an' wouldn't fight each other so much, and that'd make my mama feel better."[7]

The new Guthrie home with all the luxuries could not hide the fact that Guthrie's father was part of a rough era, when land ownership changed rapidly. The hostility of Guthrie's mother toward this rough way of life is remembered by many Okemah people. "She was often spiteful," recalled Mrs. Chowning. "One day, when she was mad at Charlie, she took all the furniture out of their house and piled it up on the front yard." As Guthrie's father grew in popularity, the townspeople grew in curiosity of the family. The personality of Guthrie's mother became public property,

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[5] Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, p. 72.
[6] Interview, Mrs. V. K. Chowning, Okemah, Oklahoma, June 27, 1973.
[7] Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, pp. 38–39, 77.

and as her worrying turned to depression, and the depression to a total nervous breakdown, town gossip grew stronger.[8]

To have a father who was popular was to young Guthrie a rare gift. In spite of the devotion he held for his mother, he could not help cherishing his father's tales of the day's land dealings. At night, Guthrie claimed, after his father "would ride in on the horse," he would sit on his father's knee and listen to "who he was fighting and why, and all about it." If Guthrie was devoted to his mother, it was obvious that he idolized his father. "Papa was a man of brimstone and hot fire in his mind and in his fists," he recalled, "and was known all over that section of the state as the champion of all the fist fighters."[9] His admiration of his father was obviously more folklore than fact, and evidently a boy's wish for a hero-father. Regardless of the myth, Guthrie's mother could not help but be upset over her husband's own "tall tales," for she knew he had other abilities which did not necessitate fist fighting. Guthrie never had to choose between his parents' ideals, for fate decided the issue. Nevertheless, he, like his mother, presented an equally half-true image of his father.

Guthrie's father was more than a fist fighter; he was a prominent Oklahoma Democrat, and thus commanded much respect and public scrutiny. A closer view of Guthrie's father reveals Woody's heritage as well as his background, first gained from affluence and status and later from deprivation and anonymity.

Guthrie's father loved his family, worked for them, gave them what they needed and fought hard for them. "He was a cowboy," recalled Mrs. Chowning, "who came in here from Texas."[10] The cowboy and fist fighting image, however, is only a partial truth. Guthrie's father was more than a folk hero, for he was what is commonly referred to as a self-made man. In Okemah, in the early days of Oklahoma statehood, times were comparatively primitive, and the Old West still prevailed. Nevertheless, the *Okemah Ledger*, the town's weekly newspaper, was stocked with investment and insurance advertisements. The people of Okemah were urged to invest and

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[8] Interview, Mrs. Chowning. The belief at the time was that Guthrie's mother could not stand the pressure of her husband's political career. The ups and downs involved in land trading and running for public office were assumed to be the cause of her deep depressions, resulting in her total mental breakdown. What was assumed to have been madness is now known to have been Huntington's Chorea, a hereditary nerve degenerating disease. At the time, however, her lapses into a coma-like state were thought to be signs of mental illness, when in fact they were symptons of Huntington's Chorea. The facts now known concerning her health, however, appear not to diminish the reactions people still have concerning the Guthrie family.

[9] Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 1.

[10] Interview, Mrs. Chowning.

Okemah, Oklahoma, as Woody Guthrie knew it in the early 1900s

protect their possessions; "Did You Ever Stop and Think" ran one advertisement for fire insurance. The advertisement appeared beside an article written by Guthrie's father titled "A Baby Defined," in which he wrote that he was "a happy as a lobster" over the birth of Woody.[11]

The first years of the life of Guthrie's father in Okemah were promising. He was elected to the office of Court Clerk, serving as the first clerk in Okfuskee County shortly after statehood.[12] From 1907 to 1912 he was laying the foundation for a well-established homelife for his family. By 1912, the year of Woody's birth, he was becoming better known and at the same time more community minded. Early in the year, he was concerned with the unclaimed land ownership question. Being a national election year, emotions normally ran high when various speakers came to Okemah to propose a variety of solutions to the major questions in Oklahoma: who would get the unclaimed land and how would it be sold? One Socialist party speaker, named Thurman, particularly aggravated Guthrie's father,

[11] *Okemah Ledger*, July 18, 1912, p. 2.
[12] Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 1.

for he seemed to provoke something very close to his life—individual rights, private ownership and enterprise. Woody's father, who owned much of the land and many buildings in Okemah, was understandably concerned when Thurman, suggested that the Federal government intervene to take possession in solving the ownership question, and the speech provoked a two column full-page response from Guthrie's father.

The article, titled "Evasive, Shifting and Inconsistent: A Careful Diagnosis of the Socialist and Anti-Christian Speech Made in this City on Christmas Day by Agitator Thurman," revealed an abiding belief in individual rather than state rights to ownership. Guthrie's father attacked the logic of Thurman's argument by pointing out his inconsistent suggestions: that the Federal government should take possession, and the failure of state government to offer viable solutions. To Guthrie's father, Thurman's argument was "Wishy-washy, slippery, and dangerous." He distrusted government intervention on a large-scale basis. "I have always been taught," he wrote, "that socialism meant majority rule. This would look like it meant Bossism." He concluded his counter argument to Thurman's plea for "purer" government through socialism with a Henry David Thoreau type statement which he directed to his neighbors: "No body of men can establish pure government unless that body of men are pure in themselves."

The political persuasion of Guthrie's father was tied to his concept of private enterprise; however, this article, plus several others, indicate his belief in a grass-roots government. As a family man in a small pioneer town, he found it necessary to protect his own rights as a land owner. Woody Guthrie would later adopt this type of thinking through his support of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration and then in his support of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Guthrie's belief that individual rights could be maintained by group solidarity was inherent in his father's writings. Guthrie's father concluded his argument with a touch of stylistic satire and a serious approach to the facts. He spurned Thurman with "Ta, ta, Doc Rev Socialist Windjammer" and then pointed out in a serious tone that the Socialist party had not provided the working man with as many benefits as the two million member American Federation of Labor.[13]

The political thinking of Guthrie's father gave to Woody the belief that solutions to governmental problems could be solved through established and accepted channels. The Democratic party to Guthrie's father was best

[13] Interview, Colonel Martin, Okemah, Oklahoma, June 28, 1973; *Okemah Ledger*, January 4, 1912, p. 1; Guthrie, *The Nearly Complete Collection of Woody Guthrie Folk Songs* (New York: Ludlow Music, 1963), *passim*.

suited to handle issues, as it was a well established and actively working organization. However, the common people were a part of this party, and Guthrie's father, and Woody himself, never lost sight of an individual's power within a large system. Most evident in the writings of Woody's father is his constant reference to the people of Okemah. As a family man with active political aspirations and significant financial operations, he was quick to identify himself with the middle class people of Okemah. In July, 1912, the *Okemah Ledger* was alive with the Guthries. In the same issue announcing the birth of Woody, his father was listed with D. W. Scully of Padan, Oklahoma, and Tom Hall of Okfuskee, Oklahoma, as candidates for the office of County Assessor. The birth announcement added to the political career of Woody's father, for it portrayed him as a respectable family man and a commoner: "Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Guthrie are the proud parents of an eight pound democrat boy that arrived at the new home Sunday afternoon. In another column of this issue will be found an article by Charlie on the baby question that we think is mighty clever."

By combining the political career of Guthrie's father with news of his homelife, the Guthrie family became more public than ever. In addition, the common man image of Guthrie's father was further strengthened in his own essay titled "A Baby Defined:"[14]

> It is a well established rule of nature that current events, to a certain extent, constitute the basis of current topics. The rule being strictly applied in my case, it has been my great pleasure to devote both time and thought to a systematic search for the best definition of a baby.
>
> After devouring . . . many volumes of the latest and most up to date works which deal with the theories of Creation, Evolution, and the origin of the Family; brushing away the cob webs to gain entrance to the antiquated libraries of our ancestors, I have finally succeeded in finding a definition. I have selected . . . one given in England in the hope of receiving a prize which had been offered by a London newspaper.
>
> 'A baby—a tiny feather from the wing of love dropped into the sacred lap of motherhood; an inhabitant of Lapland; a padlock on the chains of life; a curious bud of uncertain blossom; . . . the morning caller, the noonday crawler; midnight bawler; . . . the latest edition of humanity of which every couple think they possess the finest copy. . . .'
>
> I concur in the definition as given, and trust it will meet with the approbation of our splendid populace which is composed of real home-builders. To say the least, I am as happy as a lobster.

No matter how colloquial, no matter how witty Guthrie's father attempted to be, his readers could not help realize that he was a well-read

[14] *Okemah Ledger*, July 18, 1912, pp. 5, 2.

and talented man whose interests took him beyond the hardships of frontier life; yet he could apply his learning to a celebrated but simple occasion—the birth of his son Woody. To compliment the good citizens of Okemah as a town of "real home-builders" was a politician's effort to win his public. When Guthrie's father was appointed as "Temporary Secretary" to the "Permanent Wilson-Marshall Club" of Okfuskee County, it was evident that he had won some support. Thus, Guthrie can be seen as a product of his father's career more than in name only.[15]

Guthrie's father attempted to give his family what they needed, but his political aspirations were often the cause of family disunity. Like many ardent politicians, he was unable to leave his work at the office. As public figures, the Guthries enjoyed only a short-lived reign of public approval. The rumors, probably half spread out of jealousy, concerning Guthrie's mother grew as his father grew in popularity. The small town of Okemah, like many small towns, was high on gossip. Guthrie, with a touch of satire, described Okemah as "Just another one of those little towns. I guess, about a thousand or so people, where everybody knows everybody else; . . . Everybody had something to say about something or somebody and you usually knew almost word for word what it was going to be about before you heard them say it." When tragedy hit the Guthrie family, a family already in the news, rumors could not be curtailed. One day, the new seven-room home mysteriously burned to the ground, leaving no evidence of the cause of the catastrophe. The result, however, was recorded by Guthrie who claimed one of his friends told him, "Kids say your mama got mad an' set her brand new house on fire, an' burnt ever' thin' plumb up." While his mother's discontent with her husband's fist fighting life helped spread these rumors, the real catastrophe came in the ironic fact that Guthrie's father had no fire insurance. In a sense, his only investment was the family; while the new house burned, destroying all the "nice things" the Guthries tried to live on as a united family.[16]

Guthrie's father attempted to regain the family's trust and self-respect when he bought another house for about $1,000. Constructed to last forever, it was a two story structure: the first floor was made of stone and built into the side of a hill, while the second story was made of wood with an overhanging front porch. The view from the porch was for the young Guthrie a lookout; from there he watched the trains go by and the wagons come into town from the nearby farms. "He used to sit out on that front

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[15] *Ibid.*, August 15, 1912, p. 1.

[16] Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, pp. 37, 49; Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 1.

Guthrie's new home in Okemah, from which he watched the trains and wagons pulling into the town

porch a lot," recalled Mrs. Chowning. "It was the only place he could find some peace and quiet from his hectic homelife," she continued. "Okemah" Guthrie wrote, means "Town on a hill" in Creek. For him, the new home offered a view of Okemah in action, and to some extent, became a symbol of his homelife and hometown.[17]

Luckily for Guthrie, he was at an age when the family house burning catastrophe could not take its total effect. The older Guthries, however, realized the importance of the disaster. While the children, Roy and Clara, lost most of their toys, Guthrie's mother lost the one thing she could offer her family—strength and security. All complained of the darkness, the dampness and the general drabness of the new home; it did not compare

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[17] Interview, Mrs. Chowning; Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, pp. 44, 45–56.

to the seven-room home that had burned. Guthrie's mother, unfortunately, never had a chance to fully recover after losing her home. Guthrie described what was to become a common scene. In the new house she was washing the dishes when Clara shouted at her: "Mama, look! You're draining the dishes without a drain pan! The water's dripping like a great big . . . river . . . down. . . . And then Clara looked over the hot water reservoir on the wood stove and nobody in the house saw what she saw. Her eyes flared open when she seen that her mama wasn't listening, just washing the dishes clean in the scalding water."[18] Nevertheless, Guthrie's father continued his efforts to regain position and prosperity in Okemah. Guthrie also found other things to do when the family was having a hard time.

Guthrie's spirit was undamaged. Instead, he began to observe and take part in the activities of Okemah. A typical scene that Woody might have seen from the porch was the cotton wagons coming to town: "The white strings of new cotton bales and a whole lot of men and women and kids riding into town on wagons piled double-sideboard full of cotton," Guthrie remembered, "driving under the funny shed at the gin, driving back home again on loads of cotton seed." This farming town, he claimed, had a population before the big oil boom of approximately 1,500. On a typical Saturday at this time "all the farming people'd come in," Guthrie stated, "they'd have a trades-day, buy a new buggy, box of tobacco, or a new pair of button down shoes." While the parents were buying and selling, the children would enjoy the monkeys down at Moomaw's Drug Store. There, where the owner kept his monkeys in a cage in the window, the children gathered to wait for the big escape. The monkeys, being curious, would get out of their cages and climb on top of the brown stone building, where they watched business activity.[19]

On Saturday night, Guthrie would participate in the various traveling carnivals and minstrel shows that came to town. The Dubinsky Tent Show was one such opportunity for this young man to witness magical tricks, singing comedians and Robert Ripley type freak shows. If the town had a particularly exciting evening, the local drunks provided some sleeping citizens with impromptu versions of "In the Good Old Summer Time" or "Sweet Adeline."

On Sunday, for those who had the strength, many found it fun to visit the Fort Smith and Western Railroad platform to watch the in-

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[18] Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, p. 46.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 41; Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 1; Interview, Mr. and Mrs. Martin.

coming and outgoing trains. The Fort Smith and Western line had opened its service to Okemah in 1903 and the novelty of train watching was still fresh during this time; people were interested in seeing who and what came into Okemah. The Broadway Hotel and Dexter House also sent their hacks to carry back the new people and fresh supplies. Okemah was in the pre-oil boom stage.[20]

As Okemah prepared for the oil boom, the Guthries attempted in vain to recover their normal homelife. Their new house was not fitted to their personalities; it was cold as stone; they were warm with life. For one time, and only one time, a disaster seemed to work for and not against the Guthrie family. A tornado struck Okemah around 1917, taking with it a large part of their home. Guthrie described the results. As the house "stood there without a roof. It looked like a fort that had lost a hard battle. Rock walls partly caved in by flying wreckage and by the push of the twister. Our back screen door jerked off of its hinges and wrapped around the trunk of my walnut tree."[21] The Guthries celebrated this disaster. Though Woody's father had lost more money, he was able to find a better house on the more fashionable north Ninth Street section of Okemah. Guthrie's mother believed she could regain some of her warmth and strength in this new home, and the family was able to reunite for a short time and begin to share in the oil boom times.

During the following five years, between 1918 and 1922, Okemah experienced an oil boom never to be equalled. These years for the Guthries were a mixture of success and failure. Guthrie's father was, by 1922, at the summit of his political career. The *Okemah Ledger* announced that he was a Democratic candidate for the Oklahoma Corporation Commission, claiming that he had "active working organizations in twenty-six counties of the state." The announcement, also stating that his new headquarters was located in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, was accompanied by a photograph of Guthrie's father in a well-tailored business suit. He appeared stylish, healthy and youthful. A month later, the *Okemah Ledger* reported that he "feels sure of winning the state nomination."[22] Though his political aspirations were strong and he appeared youthful and expressed confidence, his homelife had worsened both personally and financially. Instead of being "happy as a lobster" over the birth of his son, Guthrie's father was silent over the death of his daughter Clara, then aged fourteen.

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[20] Interview, Mrs. Dorothy Dill, Okemah, Oklahoma, June 27, 28, 1973; "Roy Martin Recalls Okemah," in Mrs. Dill's "Scrapbook."

[21] Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, p. 89.

[22] *Okemah Ledger*, June 29, 1922, p. 1 and July 13, 1922, p. 1.

Guthrie's mother barely had time to recover from the house burning and tornado disasters when Clara was killed as the result of burns received after a kerosene stove exploded. Her depression over this tragedy was self-consuming, a condition from which she never fully recovered. Guthrie described her condition: "She got careless with her appearance. She let herself run down. She walked around over the town; looking and thinking and crying. The doctor called it insanity and let it go at that. She lost control of the muscles of her face."[23] Though Guthrie's father was unable to regain the nice things—the house, the part-time maid, the car—he never stopped trying. His mother, unfortunately, was never able to combat her illness. Her breakdown this time certainly aided the gossip seekers. Believing that these depressions were inherited, many Okemah residents thought Clara had committed suicide. "She did it to spite her mother," one Okemah resident recalled the gossip. Such talk would damage any politician's career, and though Guthrie's father was positive politically, he never again held a public office in Okemah, and he lost the race for the Oklahoma Corporation Commission.[24]

While the Guthries were suffering, Woody adopted his father's positive thinking. As a young boy in a booming town, he easily absorbed the ever present excitement in Okemah. The serious and depressing family problems undoubtedly caused him to seek some relief and pleasure in activities in the town. Guthrie showed a great deal of influence from his father when he described a rock war. According to Woody, the "new" oil boom children had no "say so" in how "the gang" was run. Like his father, Woody took the "new" kids' side. Guthrie described this gang as a mini-society with elected officials from president to sheriff to outlaws. "We had to have someone to throw in the jail," an empty piano box, he explained. Beyond the humor, however, was Guthrie's implicit concept that government could work for everyone if it were run by honest men who contributed on equal terms. His father's ideals of individual ownership and his belief in the good of the American Federation of Labor were not far removed from young Guthrie's early thought.

Okemah itself offered Guthrie more than rock wars. After 1918 the town began to change from an agricultural entrepot to a banking and investment center. The question on everyone's mind was no longer the land itself, but what was under it, as oil had been discovered in large quantities. Guthrie found excitement in the town rather than in his home. He stated that his family did not share in the oil boom profits; with a laugh, Guthrie

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[23] Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, pp. 133, 136.

[24] Interview, Mrs. Chowning.

said, "No, we got the grease, we didn't get no oil."[25] Guthrie and the town were excited when newspaper headlines told of the promising influx: "The Oil Derricks Come Marching on in Okfuskee County; Okemah Well Making 500 Barrels—Pipeline Being Laid; [and] Magnolia Pipeline Soon to be Extended to Okemah."[26] His description of the beginning boom indicates the zest of the people:

> Trains whistled into our town a hundred coaches long. Men drove their heavy wagons by the score down to pull up alongside of the cars, and skidded the big engines. . . . They unloaded the railroad cars, and loaded and tugged a blue jillion different kinds of funny looking gadgets out into the fields. And then it seemed like all on one day, the solid-tired trucks come into the country, making such a roar that it made your back teeth rattle.

As Guthrie found himself more a part of this rapid transformation, he described it as a sordid carnival atmosphere. He gave a dim view of the types of oil production people to first come to Okemah:[27]

> The first people to hit town was the big builders, cement men, carpenters, teamskinners, wild tribes of horse traders and gypsy wagons loaded full, and wheels breaking down; crooked gamblers, pimps, whores, dope fiends, and peddlers, stray musicians and street singers, preachers cussing about love and begging for tips on the street corner. Indians in dirty loud clothes chanting along the sidewalks with their kids crawling and playing in the filth and grime underfoot.

According to Guthrie, the population of Okemah increased about five times during this period, going from the original 1,000 to nearly 5,000. Some Okemah residents recalled what this increase did to the settlement. "You would see tents around town," said Mrs. Chowning, "where some men would sleep in the day and others would sleep at night." From this change, Guthrie gained both positive and negative reinforcement. His parents were also influenced, and their money often was mismanaged. "The children," recalled one observer of the Guthries, "always had expensive toys, but necessities were scarce." When Guthrie became more dependent on Okemah for his education and livelihood, he discovered that the town was equally, if not more guilty of mismanagement than his mother and father. The oil discovered beneath Okemah's soil was not the only thing to be revealed. The saying that excessive wealth breeds greed

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[25] Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, p. 116; Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 1.

[26] *Okemah Ledger*, July 17, 1919, p. 1, February 23, 1922, p. 1 and March 2, 1922, p. 1.

[27] Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, pp. 94, 96.

and greed breeds violence was proved in Okemah's oil boom. The long held racial hatred of the community soon exploded with a force equal to any oil gusher.[28]

Violence soon became an intricate part of the oil boom. After a hard day's rigging and drilling, oilfield workers and those feeding off the fast and easy money came to town for a night's entertainment. Gambling, drinking and prostitution were undoubtedly prime pastimes. Guthrie described an election night in oil-boom Okemah:[29]

> A board was all lit up, and the different names of the men that was running for office was painted on it. One column would be, say, "Frank Smith for Sheriff," and the next "John Wilkes." One column would say "Fistfights" and another column would read "Gangfights." A man would come out every hour during the night and write "Precinct Number Two, for Sheriff Frank Smith, three votes, John Wilkes four, Fistfights four, Gangfights none."

Throughout the oil boom, the *Okemah Ledger* in numerous brief accounts reported the activities of the town's less respectable citizens. Lawlessness became a common topic, as reported in its headlines: "Three Men Hold Up Okfuskee Storekeeper; Sheriff Finds Buried Still and Whiskey; Pleads Guilty to Whiskey Offence; [and] Gamblers and Choc Seller Arrested."[30]

The culmination of the fist fighting days of Guthrie's father had come. Though this new violence in Okemah may have been exciting to young Guthrie, it was of a different calibre than the earlier tales of political fisticuffs. The new violence was definitely non-political. The times were such that making money became an end in itself, and the best confidence man often became the richest. During this time, while an early teen-ager, Guthrie donned his father's business suit and attempted to make his own way in the bustling town. As a businessman, however, Guthrie was not as successful as his father. He described his short career as a root beer salesman in a concession stand. Guthrie was instructed by his boss, however, to sell on request the little bottles under the counter. Curious to taste the "rot gut," he sampled one of the bottles. "When I woke up," Guthrie claimed, "I was out of a job." His next venture was in the newspaper business, this time as a street-corner newspaperboy. Guthrie soon discovered that oil-boom workers either could not or would not read the news. He realized, though, that if anything were made to look like something,

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[28] Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 1; Interview with Mrs. Chowning.

[29] Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, pp. 96–97.

[30] *Okemah Ledger*, February 23, 1922, p. 1.

especially something exciting, it would sell. Guthrie's procedure was both profitable and humorous. He would sell all his papers to the local drunks who would roam Okemah's Main Street, shouting out humorous headlines young Guthrie had composed himself. Unfortunately local officials were not totally pleased with this fun business venture. Guthrie described the results: "I spent sixty cents for twenty more papers at the drugstore. 'Listen,' the paper man was telling me, 'th' sheriff is gettin' mighty sore at you. Every night there's three or four drunks walkin' up and down th' streets with about twenty papers yelling out some goofy headlines!'" Guthrie replied: "Business is business."[31] Fortunately, Guthrie never became a cold-hearted business man; if the oil boom taught him anything, it was that within any system that operates with acts of violence and the confidence game, some must win and some must lose. The losers, the blacks and Indians of the town, became Guthrie's prime interest in later Okemah years and in the years that followed after he left his birthplace.

The racial scene of Okemah had its foundation before Guthrie's birth. What he witnessed was a result of years of growing discontent between the races. The *Okemah Ledger* once boasted of the town's near total whiteness. In 1911, the year before Guthrie's birth, the school census was reported as 555 white students and 1 black student. The fact was celebrated by calling Okemah "a banner white town." At the end of the school year, however, the boasting had changed to fear after two blacks, Laura and L. D. Nelson, were lynched six miles north of town on a bridge over the North Canadian River. They were hanged for shooting George Loney, a local rancher, who reportedly caught them in the act of cattle rustling. The fear in the minds of Okemah whites was a result of rumors of black retribution by "sacking and burning" the town.[32] By Guthrie's time, during and after the oil boom, the general feeling toward blacks in Okemah was distrust and fear. Guthrie undoubtedly heard many versions of the lynch-night scene, and he likewise felt the discomfort between the races in the town.[33]

The oil boom was indirectly responsible for some racial tension, for the population of Okemah had increased not only in number but also in racial distribution. Guthrie claimed the town was made up of "one-quarter

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[31] Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, pp. 93-101; Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 1.

[32] *Okemah Ledger*, March 7, 1912, p. 1; "Imaginations Run Wild in Okemah," *Okemah Ledger*, May 25, 1911.

[33] Interview, Mrs. Dill, Okemah, Oklahoma, June 27, 28, 1973; Mr. Glenn Dill, also present at the interview, disagreed with his wife concerning the lynching. Their reactions made the event seem as if it had happened yesterday.

Negro, one-quarter Indian, and one-half white." When asked how they got along, he replied, "No, not what I'd call equal terms. There's been a lot of shooting scrapes and fights. They have some crazy way of looking at the colored situation."[34] The "crazy way" of the white population often involved violence or the threat of violence as the only solution. For the black and Indian in Okemah, hostility was a way of life. Because they were generally not allowed to share directly in the oil boom, they often resorted to taking their share. Again *Okemah Ledger* headlines told the story: "Two Negroes in Jail on Horse Stealing Charge; [and] Indian Caught Stealing Weapons from Sheriff's Office."[35] Fearful of a minority uprising, white retribution was often serious. In a simple case of chicken stealing, "one Negro," Shirley Watson, was tried for the crime. She was sentenced to one year of imprisonment at a trial held approximately one year after the thievery. On the date of the crime, January 22, 1921, her accomplice, Felix Moaning, also a black, had been shot and killed, "caught in the act."[36]

The culmination of Okemah's racial tension came on July 5, 1922, when a group of white-sheeted men paraded in open cars down the main street of the town. A newspaper reporter claimed that the parade plus the $50.00 charitable donation made in the name of the Ku Klux Klan a week before proved its existence in Okfuskee County.[37] The parade was undoubtedly the Klan's warning to the local blacks.

The town had changed from the quiet farming community of Woody's early years. The Guthries themselves had experienced an equally radical transformation. While the oil boom gave Guthrie's father promise of a new and more powerful political office as Oklahoma Corporation Commissioner, the increase in violence and hatred heightened his wife's worry. The Guthries, according to Woody, in order to start fresh and give his mother a change of environment, moved to Oklahoma City in 1923. Guthrie's account of their stay of nearly a year is not specific, but it reveals that his father was unable to find satisfactory employment. Guthrie also made no comment concerning politics; his father's political career had evidently lost its initial promise. Nevertheless, the Guthries returned to Okemah in 1924, hoping to start a business in the new motorcycle industry. Woody's uncle, Leonard Tanner, had convinced his father of going into business with him as a motorcycle dealer in Okemah. When Tanner was

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34 Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 4.

35 *Okemah Ledger*, February 23, 1922, p. 1 and July 17, 1919, p. 1.

36 *Ibid.*, January 12, 1922, p. 1.

37 *Ibid.*, July 5, 1922, p. 1.

suddenly killed, the Guthries once again lost an opportunity to regain their livelihood and status. The town could offer little for the family, for the oil boom was declining. Guthrie described the results:[38]

> I bumped along. Drug along. Maybe that old man was right. I looked in at the lobby of the Broadway Hotel. Nobody. I looked through the plate glass of Bill Bailey's pool hall. Just a long row of brass spittoons there by their self in the dark. I looked in at the Yellow Dog bootleg joint. Shelves shot all to pieces. I looked in the window of a grocery store at a clerk with glasses on playing a fast game of solitaire. Weeds and grass in the door of this garage? Always was a big bunch of men hanging around there. Nobody running to and out of the Monkey Oil Drug Store. They even took the monkey and the cage from out in front. Benches, benches. All whittled and cut to pieces. Men must not have much to do but just hump around and whittle on benches. Nobody even sweeps up the shavings.

Guthrie's description revealed the havoc of overuse. The "grab-it-all" philosophy had almost turned Okemah into a ghost town, and it would take time for it to recover some of its economic vitality. The Guthries, however, never had a chance to recoup financially. Woody's mother soon worsened and the doctor's advice was followed. She was sent to the Central State Hospital in Norman, Oklahoma, leaving Guthrie's father as the sole head of the household. He alone could not provide the security the Guthrie children needed. Ironically, Guthrie's father was the victim of another mysterious fire which nearly took his life shortly after his wife's commitment. Woody supplied the gossip this time: "I always will think he done it on purpose. He lost all his money; he lost his hog ranch; he used to raise the best pure bred hogs in that whole country. He felt like he was doing something good. Working hard." Though Guthrie's father did not die from his burns, he went to Pampa, Texas, to recover at his sister's farm. The children were adopted by the town, although Woody never chose any particular family as a permanent address.[39] He was completely on his own for the first time. In the next several years in Okemah, he would learn a great deal.

Because it had become an Okemah custom to talk about the Guthries, the children then became the center of attention. Woody, who found himself on his own, lived in the old "gang" house and became a junk collector. "We had an old wagon," recalled his partner, Colonel Martin, "which we built ourselves. We didn't do it too well for we had two big wheels in front

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[38] Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, pp. 138–147.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 157; Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 1; interview with Mr. Martin.

and two little wheels in back so all the weight went on the old Jenny. We'd haul our junk and sell it out at Mark's Junk Yard here in town."[40] People began to pity the sight of Guthrie in quest of money. "Woody was a mess," recalled Mrs. Chowning, who first took an interest in him when he began to live on his own. "He used to come to my back door," she said, "and sing a song. We'd have coffee or tea together," For a short time Guthrie was the concern of the more respectable families of Okemah. Mrs. Chowning could have influenced the youth's decision to join the Boy's Glee Club in high school, for she was as early as 1922 one of the directors for the Glee Club theater productions.[41]

In school Guthrie was an unusual student. "He used to go to school early because no one was at home," recalled Mrs. Dorothy Dill of Okemah. "He'd draw funny pictures on the blackboard," she went on, "and all the other students would try to get there early to see what Woody drew." On one occasion he drew a picture of two stick figures running past a fire hydrant with a city in the background. On the lower left hand corner, Guthrie wrote his name in large capital letters. Once proud that his mother could sign her name for social purposes, it was as if Woody now signed his name for attention, a reminder that the Guthrie name still had promise of being respected again.

Guthrie's formal education, though not complete, offered him many opportunities to perform in public. "He was a little showman, a natural performer," one friend recalled. "The teacher never had to tell Woody what to do," Mrs. Dill said, "he'd just get up and begin to sing and dance." Others recalled Guthrie's in-town performances. Whenever money was needed for school functions, the students would borrow the Dossey's wagon and Guthrie would sing and dance on it while others passed the hat. Martin remembered Woody's "ebony bones" which he ordered by mail: "They were about eight inches long and he would rub them together to get music and he would do a jig dance." Even those who remembered him in less than favorable terms admitted his unusual talents. "When we bigger boys went out for football and basketball," J. O. Smith said, "Woody would carry the water. He was a little wirey haired fellow always under foot, always making some kind of music in the back of the classroom."[42]

Though Guthrie performed more than he studied, and spent more time on the street than in the classroom, he found some time for high school

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[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Interview, Mrs. Chowning; *Okemah Ledger*, April 20, 1922, p. 1.

[42] Interview, Mrs. Dill; Guthrie's drawing, Mrs. Dill's "Scrapbook;" Interviews, Colonel Martin and J. O. Smith, Okemah, Oklahoma, June 27, 28, 1973.

academics and activities. The structure and discipline required in high school was likely too much for the parentless boy. In English, Guthrie did barely "C" work for a three year average, while in algebra his grade was closer to the "B" level. Guthrie made up this low grade in English by participation on the staff of *Panther*, the high school newspaper, and as a member of the Publications Club, which was the yearbook committee. These activities were undoubtedly more suited to him than a structured classroom. Nevertheless, typing, like algebra, was easy for Guthrie, and an "A" was his reward. Geography, too, posed no problems for him, for another "A" was added to his record. In ancient and modern history, he did near "B" level work as a total average. Guthrie's only failure came in psychology.[43] As in English, his own personality and past experiences were probably in conflict with preconceived theories. Guthrie had learned that fate, not psychology, was the determining factor in life. It was wiser for him to base theories on the facts of life rather than to create dreams.

School could not give Guthrie enough, for he had lost his family and Okemah's oil boom excitement also had died. However, his memories of lost wealth, status and love were rejuvenated through his close contacts with the two minorities of Okemah, the blacks and Indians. Guthrie found in them a deep respect for their openly expressed cultures. "Woody never missed an Indian stickball game or the annual Corn Dance," said Mrs. Chowning. "Those stickball games," she continued, "were worse than bull fights. They'd just get out there and practically kill one another." Guthrie, who relished in excitement, found a new cause for violence and celebration. He must have been close to the Indians, for according to Mrs. Chowning, "you had to be invited to attend their annual Corn Dance."[44]

The blacks of Okemah, however, became Guthrie's prime interest. From them he not only learned music but also discovered the blues, a way of expressing want, need and loneliness. He confessed his love for the Negroes:[45]

> Ever since I was a kid . . . I've always found time to stop and talk to those colored people because I found them to be full of jokes [and] . . . wisdom. . . . I learned how to play the French harp off a boy shining shoes down there. I was about fifteen or sixteen years old. He was playing the railroad blues. Every day he'd play one; it was the same title over and over; he'd improvise. I never hardly pass an Indian or Negro—I learned to like them.

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[43] Guthrie, "Pupil's Record of High School Credits," Superintendent's Office, Public Schools, Okemah, Oklahoma.

[44] Interview, Mrs. Chowning.

[45] Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 1.

Such Dust Bowl scenes in Oklahoma inspired many of Guthrie's songs

Guthrie "learned to like them" because they too could express in music the feeling he had already developed about life—that poverty, deprivation, injustice and loneliness were often unavoidable. People were victims of these fates.

By 1940, shortly before Guthrie wrote his message of hope to the people of his hometown, he recalled what Okemah had taught him. By 1929, the year his high school transcript was mailed to Pampa, Texas, Guthrie already had seen what the American public was to witness in the Great Depression. The Dust Bowl had worsened Oklahoma's plight, and Guthrie found the rhythm of sadness in Negro music to be a perfect expression of these hard economic times. He described the feeling of this music: "The blues is plain ole being lonesome." He remembered his Oklahoma years. "People where I come from are lonesome for a job, lonesome for spending

money, lonesome for drinking whiskey." The conditions of the blues, Guthrie pointed out were "Being out of work, being lonesome, being in jail." To him the blues was "a complaint, a lament, something wrong when you look around."[46] The lonesome sound of the black harmonica player's "railroad blues" which Guthrie heard as a young boy in Okemah later became his song for all people. The trains which the people of Okemah enthusiastically observed were now leaving, taking with them a good part of the town's spirit.

Guthrie's experiences in Okemah would have been sufficient cause for him to become a cynic: the numerous fires, his mother's illness and his early struggles for self-survival. Surprisingly, however, he maintained a spirit of hope. This spirit was taken directly from his Oklahoma years. His mother's message to her children to "fight for our Papa" became for Guthrie a cause to fight for all people who suffer from hard times. His hope was ever present, and Okemah was always on his mind.

Guthrie's parents attempted to provide him with a comfortable homelife and a middle class way of life. This influence later found expression in Guthrie's many songs and for about children. His "Riding in My Car," for instance, presents a typical scene of a child asking his father to go for a car ride. Guthrie delighted young audiences in this ballad with his car motor and honking horn sounds. In most of his children songs, a warm and loving homelife was presented. After the car ride, in this hypothetical home, the father might sing a lullaby such as "Grassey Grass Grass" in which, without guitar accompaniment, Guthrie tapped out the rhythm in repeated phrases such as:[47]

Grassey grass grass,
Tree tree tree,
Leafie leaf leaf,
One two three.

Secure in bed in a loving home the children would sleep. Guthrie's early years were quite similar.

A man must by necessity earn a living. On a more serious level, Guthrie showed the influence of his father's journalistic and political mind. His father had always presented himself, and others had always thought of him, as a common man with broad backgrounds and interests. Though an ardent politician, he always considered his family, and had "down to earth

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[46] *Ibid.*

[47] Guthrie, "Grassey Grass Grass," album, *The Greatest Songs of Woody Guthrie*, Vanguard VSD-35, Side Number 2.

values." Fate unfortunately denied Guthrie's father the ultimate success he strove for all his life. The common man, dispossessed of his home, became Woody Guthrie's theme.

Oklahoma's Dust Bowl offered Guthrie a tremendous source for trying this idea. After he left Okemah in 1929, he spent several years in Texas living once again with his father. In the early 1930s Guthrie hit the road for California, which he initially considered as the "land of milk and honey." By 1940, however, he had learned that California was not the promised land. His advice to would-be Okies—those who had migrated from Oklahoma to California—was to stay at home and work for better conditions within their native state. He warned Oklahomans of the half-truths spread by popular singer Jimmie Rodgers who in "California Blues" claimed that in California people could "sleep out every night" and drink water that tastes "like cherry wine." Guthrie registered his advice to the would-be Okies in his own ballad "Do Re Me:"[48]

> Well if you want to buy a home or farm,
> That can't do nobody harm,
> Or take your vacation by the mountains or the sea,
> Don't swap your old cow for a car,
> You'd better stay right where you are;
> Well you'd better take this little tip from me,
> Cause I look through the want-ads every day,
> And the headlines on the papers always say oh . . .
> If you ain't go the Do Re Mi, boys, (repeat)
> Well you better go back to beautiful Texas, Oklahoma,
> Georgia, Kansas, Tennessee.

For a victim of the Dust Bowl, to stay in Oklahoma was often impossible. Guthrie offered the homeless sharecropper two alternatives to leaving. Both choices were based on his father's teachings: to stay and fight with your fists, or to stay and work through the system. The two most popular ballads by Guthrie, "Pretty Boy Floyd" and "Tom Joad," reflect these alternatives for the common man. In the ballads, Pretty Boy Floyd was an outlaw while Tom Joad joined the unions for a common cause. Both ballads reflect the extremes of Guthrie's personality and Oklahoma experience.

In "Pretty Boy Floyd," the common man, Charles "Pretty Boy" Floyd, encountered the evil deputy sheriff who, using "vulgar words of lan-

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[48] Guthrie, "Do Re Mi," *The Nearly Complete Collection of Woody Guthrie Folk Songs*, p. 66.

guage," indirectly insults Floyd's wife. The conflict, Guthrie explained, was over a new ruling in town: "They had made a new ruling since Pretty Boy had been to town about the week before about tying your horses—automobiles was getting pretty big about that time." Floyd was a true gentleman and, to protect his lady's honor, grabbed a log chain. "And in the fight that followed he laid that deputy down." Although the deputy had drawn his gun, Floyd was forced to escape to "the trees and timbers on that North Canadian River's shore." From that point on, Guthrie claimed, Floyd became an outlaw because the story of the deputy's death began to grow. Guthrie describes a typical rumor concerning Charles Floyd: "He was worse than quintuplets, with three guns in each hand an a whole bunch more in his pocket."

Woody made "Pretty Boy" Floyd into a twentieth century Robin Hood. Floyd, though an outlaw, is open, direct and honest to himself. He will rob the banks which have robbed the good farmers. His method was a "Wild West" expression:

> Now as through this world I ramble,
> I've seen lots of funny men,
> Some will rob you with a six gun,
> And some with a fountain pen.

Guthrie gave Floyd a peculiar quality. Floyd loved the homesteader much as Guthrie's father praised the "real home-builders." In the ballad, Floyd would "come to beg a meal" from a farmer, and "leave a thousand dollar bill" underneath the napkin as a thank you note. Guthrie claimed that "You'll never see an outlaw drive a family from their home."[49] Like Guthrie's father, Floyd was forced to live a life determined much by chance and circumstance. He was not afraid to fight for his rights and therefore had to pay the price. The ballad, "Pretty Boy Floyd," had an unusual appeal because, unlike a "Jesse James" type ballad, "Pretty Boy Floyd" does not end in a shoot-out with the law winning. Instead, Floyd would, it was implied, continue to live outside the system and at the same time contribute to the needy farmers. As the Guthries tried to live on, as Woody continued to hope, so does the message of "Pretty Boy Floyd."

The outlaw motif was considerably softened in "Tom Joad," a ballad based upon the movie version of John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*. The Joads, a family united around Ma Joad, were a family of dispossessed sharecroppers. Guthrie idealized the two heroes of this ballad,

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[49] Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 3; Guthrie, *The Nearly Complete Collection of Woody Guthrie Folk Songs*, p. 86.

Preacher Casey and Tom Joad, by making their message impossible to reject. Guthrie transferred his own mother's teachings when Tom Joad, a probable self-portrait, speaks:

> Wherever little children are hungry and cry!
> Wherever people ain't free;
> Wherever men are fightin' for their rights,
> That's where I'm a gonna be, Ma,
> That's where I'm a gonna be.

Though Tom Joad joined the organized unions, he did so for a human cause. He would, it was assumed, attempt to create a purer way of life by becoming more socially aware of people's needs. Guthrie, who once fought for the "new kids" because they had no "say so" in how "the gang" was run, now fought for the "new men" who again "had no say so" in how the nation and their lives were run.[50]

Guthrie's concern with the Dust Bowl refugees found expression through two other ballads, "I'm a Jolly Banker" and "Willy Rogers Highway." In both ballads, Woody reflected his father's belief in private rather than governmental ownership of land and homes. In both cases, Guthrie protested the conditions of the Oklahoman by casting blame on a "mysteriously" evil or totally ineffective Federal government. Both ballads were quite satiric in tone with a reminder of the "Ta, Ta, Doc Rev Socialist Windjammer" attitude of Guthrie's father.

In "I'm a Jolly Banker," the banker named "Tom Pranker" acts according to his name:

> I safeguard the farmers, widows and orphans,
> I check up your shortage,
> And bring down your mortgage;
> I'll plaster your home with a furniture loan;
> If you show that you need it, I'll let you have credit,
> Just bring me back two, for the one I lent you;
> I'll come down and help you, I'll rake you I'll scalp you,
> I'm a Jolly Banker, Jolly Banker am I.

Guthrie, who once said "business is business," was only a boy operating in an oil boom where money was plentiful. As a young man trying to get along, he found little room for a "Tom Pranker," a man who had no feeling or compassion. Pranker's only desire is for self-gain and greed. As a banker, Pranker stood as a symbol of the Federal government. Unlike an outlaw,

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[50] *Ibid.*, p. 90; Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, p. 116.

the government could literally rob anyone with a fountain pen. Guthrie satirized the government, and at the same time proclaimed the natural innocence of the "widows, orphans and children."

In similar fashion, Guthrie satirized the Oklahoma hero, Will Rogers, in "Willy Rogers Highway." The tone of this ballad was definitely personal. Guthrie had a share of what was now dust and hunger. He opens his ballad with a direct challenge to Will Rogers:

> My Sixty-Six highway, this Will Rogers road,
> It's lined with jalopies just as far as I can see;
> Can you think up a joke, Will, for all o' these folks
> From New York town down to Los Angeles.

Guthrie continued this challenge in the remaining refrains. These lines reveal a more specific protest:[51]

> Can you make up a joke that'll win them a job?
> Can you grin up a tale that'll feed my folks stranded?
> Did ye tickle Hoover enuf ta build us all houses?
> You hafta go back, Will, and tickle 'em again.

The relief of humor which Rogers gave to the movie audiences of the 1930s seemed insufficient to Guthrie. Although Guthrie had a well-developed sense of humor, he could not find reason to laugh at such Rogers' films as *David Harum*, in which Rogers played a hard dealing but golden hearted banker. In the movie, Rogers was no "Tom Pranker." Instead, he gave the widow her mortgage, paid in full as a Christmas Day present.[52] For Guthrie, the hometown banker as portrayed in this film did not exist. In times of need, Guthrie wanted workable solutions, not charity.

Guthrie found a solution to the needs of economically depressed Americans in the growing labor unions. The defense Guthrie's father gave to the American Federation of Labor in 1912 became in Guthrie a personal campaign. In 1940, he returned to Oklahoma to work for the Oklahoma City local union of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The oilfield workers were on strike for better conditions and Guthrie performed at several of their union rallies. Working for Bob and Ina Wood, he composed his most noted union ballad, "Union Maid." In it Guthrie presents a picture of a working woman, a woman who is not afraid:

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[51] Guthrie, "Jolly Banker" on *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings*, Side Number 3; Guthrie, "Willy Rogers Highway," *The Nearly Complete Collection of Woody Guthrie Folk Songs*, p. 126; Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, p. 101.

[52] *David Harum*, Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma.

There once was a union maid, She never was afraid,
Of goons and ginks and company finks,
And the deputy sheriffs that made the raid.

The union maid, however, was also strong because she has a family united for a common cause:[53]

Get you a man who's a Union man,
And join the Ladies Auxiliary,
Married life ain't hard,
When you got a union card.

Guthrie saw promise in a union of people working for better conditions. During their Okemah years, the Guthries had never found the rewards of a united effort, for fire, wind and death removed their opportunities.

For Guthrie, the family unit was the basis for strength in fighting injustice. Guthrie, like his father, warned people against the dangers of political bossism, and both Guthries called for united action on the part of Americans to fight side by side for a common cause.

Guthrie left Oklahoma in 1929, but his stay in Pampa, Texas, was short lived, and in the mid-1930s he made the trek westward to California with thousands of Dust Bowl refugees. Like the others, whom Steinbeck called "Anonymous People," Guthrie took his Oklahoma heritage; however, unlike the others, he was a talented singer, writer and personality. Guthrie's Oklahoma years served him in two principal ways. He learned many native American ballads from his mother which gave to him a deep respect for American cultural history as recorded through song, and most important, he realized that poverty was only a matter of circumstance. His own deprivations plus the misery he saw around him enabled Guthrie to empathize with his fellow man. From his father, however, Guthrie found inspiration and hope. Also like his father, Guthrie believed in the rights of the common man. Stated simply, Guthrie's contribution to American thought was based on three basic ideals. The right of the common man to seek and maintain ownership of private property was foremost in Guthrie's thought. Ideally expressed, this right would find culmination in a small self-sufficient farm. In addition Guthrie believed in the sanctity of a strong family unit. He maintained that a strong family was a basic means of achieving social reform. The family unit would provide a sense of love and security, protecting the common man from the often inhumane corporate

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[53] Pete Seeger, "Woody Guthrie, Songwriter," *Ramparts*. November 30, 1968, p. 30; Guthrie, "Union Maid," *The Nearly Complete Collection of Woody Guthrie Folk Songs*, p. 94.

structures. Guthrie's third principle was directly inherited from his Oklahoma experience. With the end of the Okemah oil boom and the beginning of the catastrophic Dust Bowl and Great Depression, Guthrie witnessed the downfall of the common man. His belief in the right of every man to earn a living without fear or degradation served him as a guiding principle from the 1930s until his death in 1967.

The later works of Guthrie, when analyzed in terms of his three major beliefs, reveal that he never forsook his Oklahoma cultural heritage. The observant historian can find in the life and works of Guthrie a unique approach to American history in turmoil. Guthrie's interpretations of the Dust Bowl, the Great Depression, the development of the labor unions, World War II and the McCarthy Era are to a great extent from an Oklahoma point of view. As America changed from an agricultural to an industrial society, Guthrie attempted to remind Americans that the agrarian love for a home, a family and a job were still worth preserving. Through the ballad tradition, Guthrie fought a battle against the creation of a society devoid of human compassion. As a veteran of diverse economic periods in Oklahoma history from the Okemah oil boom to the Dust Bowl, Guthrie was able to give his messages of hope to all Americans.

Henry B. Bass
Board of Directors
Oklahoma Historical Society
February 24, 1897–February 12, 1975

Until our own time the presence of Abraham Lincoln in Oklahoma at best had been impersonal and distant. True, his name has been with us as that of one of our counties, and we see him daily on the five dollar currency and our postage stamps. As President he signed into law the Homestead Allotment Act of 1862, which more than two decades later was a vital force in the settlement of western Oklahoma. Otherwise he had made little immediate contribution that could be considered unique to our State.

All this was changed by Heinie Bass of Enid, Oklahoma. To him Lincoln was an immediate and living presence, a person he knew well and an individual with whom he felt much in common. Because of Bass, Lincoln has become a highly personal and living entity for all of us; and we are much the better for it. Each of us knew Heinie well. Each could recount some special event or significant instance where the remarkable and unique personality of this man touched or influenced us.

Henry B. Bass was born in Enid on February 24, 1897. His father, Daniel C. Bass, had been a homesteader when the Cherokee Outlet had been opened some three years earlier. He made the run from the south line of the Outlet—determined to settle in Enid.

Somehow the durable character of the Bass family is exemplified by the circumstance that the cottonwood tree near the point where present United States Highway 81 crosses the boundary of the Outlet, and in whose shade the senior Bass waited the starting signal, yet stands healthy and reflects the same type of vigor and vitality that Daniel C. Bass taught his four sons and three daughters.

Son Henry graduated from Enid High School in 1915. He attended the University of Missouri at Columbia for three years until he entered officers training to become a second lieutenant in the Field Artillery of World War I. Following the war he joined his father in the family business, D. C. Bass and Sons Construction Company. Founded by the elder Bass, the day he settled in Enid, the firm has the distinction of being the oldest general contracting firm in Oklahoma with the longest uninterrupted existence.

Heinie, along with his brother Clarence, made certain that the firm continued and prospered. Many hospitals, courthouses and other public buildings are in service today throughout Oklahoma to attest to the sturdiness of their work and the quality of their craftsmanship. Bass was particularly proud of the many scholastic buildings the firm had built at his old alma mater, the University of Missouri. The company flourishes today, under the direction of Bob Berry, a great-grandson of the founder and a son of Heinie's daughter Barbara.

He was Chairman of the Board of Community Bank and Trust Company of Enid; President of Mosher Development Company, an Enid real

estate development firm. His letters addressed "To Anyone Interested in Enid Real Estate" well reflected his avid interest in the development of the town.

In his professional field he was past President of the Oklahoma Chapter of the Associated General Contractors of America, and served for many years as a member of the Association's National Board of Directors.

Although eminently successful in the business world, his true interests were with the humanities, especially history and above all Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War years.

He was Trustee of the University of Oklahoma Foundation; and was a Director of The Frontiers of Science Foundation, The Midwest Research Institute, the Business Advisory Council, The Oklahoma Methodist Foundation, The Oklahoma Health Sciences Foundation and The Oklahoma Historical Society. He served for many years as a member of the Oklahoma Santa Claus Commission.

He was a member of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, and served as Chairman of the Oklahoma Chisholm Trail Centennial Commission as well as Chairman of the Tri-State Commission made up by the states of Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas.

He has been awarded honorary doctorate degrees by Phillips University of Enid, Lincoln Memorial University of Tennessee, Pepperdine University in California and Oklahoma Christian College in Oklahoma City. In 1968 he received the Enid Distinguished Citizen of the Year Award; on Statehood Day in 1967 he was inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame.

These honors give a sampler of Heinie as a public citizen and are tributes to his civic work and accomplishments. Yet, what of Heinie as a person? It was Henry B. Bass as an individual, warm-hearted and friendly, and a man interested in everything and anything wholesome and good.

He exemplified the often quoted statement of Will Rogers that he had "never met a man he didn't like." He had no reason not to believe people when he was told something and he accepted at face value their statements to him. He had an abiding belief in the inherent goodness of mankind and in the greatness of the earth and the firmament given to man's stewardship.

At the close of World War I he married Roberta Lee Herring, known as Bertie. She and Heinie were truly to each a life's companion, and their half century together was marked in 1969 by a Golden Wedding Anniversary trip around the world. In addition to Mrs. Bass, Heinie was survived by two daughters, Mrs. Guy Berry of Sapulpa, Oklahoma and Mrs. Bill P. Jennings of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. A son, Robert D. Bass, a first lieutenant of Engineers was killed in combat action during World

War II. He leaves, in addition, nine grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

I have often heard Heinie describe himself as a "frustrated author". By this I assume he meant that if he could have had his choice he would have preferred to have won his laurels and to have made his name by writing. He was able apparently to overcome his "frustrations" as he authored four books dealing with various aspects of his life and beliefs. The first *Bob's Europe* revisited the route of his son's service during the war. *Methodism in Enid* covered the history of the Methodist Church in the Enid area and in which growth and development he played no small part. *Building for a Rugged Individualist* dealt with the late H. H. Champlin of Enid, a man for whom he had much admiration and whose home and its construction by the Bass firm was a special joy. Lastly, *The Story of the Bass Construction Company* covered many of the projects the company had accomplished.

This last February Heinie seemed to realize somehow that his recovery from an earlier heart attack was reaching an even plateau. On the late afternoon of February 11, he seemed to grow fitful and unresponsive. Hospitalization was directed; and he was removed to the institution that bears his family name, the Bass Memorial Baptist Hospital.

No doubt a fleeting smile crossed his face sometime during the early hours of February 12, 1975. It was Lincoln's birthday, and he had held on until then. Heinie's thoughts, for the last time perhaps, turned to Lincoln's reading of *Marco Bozzaris*, and with a furtive smile, I believe, his thoughts concluded with these lines:

> his eyelids close
> Calmly, as to a night's repose,
> Like flowers at set of sun.
> For thou art Freedom's now,
> And Fame's one of the few.

George H. Shirk

THE OKLAHOMA STATE FLAG

*By Eula Fullerton**

According to definitions found in dictionaries, a flag is "a piece of cloth, cotton, silk or wool, varying in design usually attached at one edge to a staff or cord and used as a symbol of a nation, a state or organization. A flag is used to indicate nationality; to indicate a division of a nation; or when used by a school, a college or university, or organization, to indicate membership and loyalty to the school, college, or organization." Aside from flag, the word banner is frequently used in speaking of the flag of a college or organization and the word *ensign* is used when speaking of naval or military organizations.

It is doubtful if any of the national flags in use today display the design originally adopted. This can be seen through the development of the flag of the United States.

The true history of our national flag is so cluttered by a volume of myth and tradition that it is all but impossible to establish facts. The stories and legends abound:

Who designed the flag of the United States?
When was it first designated "The Stars and Stripes?"
Who gave to it the name, "Old Glory?"

The story of George Washington's invocation, wherein he mentioned that "The stars were taken from the heavens; the red stripes were from the flag of England; the red stripes were separated by the white stripes to indicate our separation from our Mother Country."

The Betsy Ross Legend is frequently quoted, however, there is no historical record of her making the first stars and stripes. True, she had been paid for making ships' colors; but the claim of her having made the first flag of the United States, at the request of a committee from the Continental Congress, was first made public by a grandson of Mrs. Ross in 1870—and most historians doubt the story of her having made the flag.

The same is true with Oklahoma. The flags of no less than six nations have flown over what is now Oklahoma—France, Spain, the French Re-

* The author wishes to gratefully acknowledge Mrs. A. R. Hickam, Mrs. George F. Fluke, Mrs. Lois Gillis Hall and Mrs. M. B. Atkins for their efforts in the preparation of this article.

public, England, Mexico, Republic of Texas (independent republic), and the United States. In addition, during the Civil War, the Confederate flag flew over much of present-day Oklahoma, and Stand Watie's Cherokee regiment carried a banner bearing as its device the seven-pointed star of the Cherokee Nation.

In 1911, the Third Oklahoma Legislature adopted an official flag for the state containing a white star edged with blue in a red field, with the figure, 46, in blue on the star. It was designed by Mrs. W. R. Clement of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, who previously had brought the matter to the attention of the legislature.

Two years after the adoption of this flag there began a clamor for a new State Flag which reached a climax in 1924, when Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, Executive Secretary for the Oklahoma Historical Society, began an organized campaign to change the original. Thoburn, an historian and an expert in facts, folklore, myths and symbolism of Oklahoma, both white and Indian, urged that the flag should reflect the background of the state, its people, customs and traditions. Deciding that a movement as important as changing the State Flag should be sponsored by a strong and well-informed organization, and, after careful deliberation, the State Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution was selected as the sponsoring group.

Thus, Thoburn contacted Mrs. Andrew R. Hickam, State Regent for the organization, and asked her to accept this responsibility. Agreeing, Mrs. Hickam immediately appointed a committee to plan the campaign with Mrs. O. J. Fleming of Enid as chairman. The committee decided to sponsor a statewide contest asking for designs which would meet the ideas suggested by Thoburn.

Widely publicized, the contest attracted many designs from which the Daughters of the American Revolution Committee selected the most promising and sent them to Governor M. E. Trapp who asked Baird Markham and Charles Barrett to assist him in making a final selection. Eventually, the design submitted by Mrs. George Fluke was sent to a joint legislative committee for final approval. On March 6, the joint committee reported "beg leave to report that we had the same under consideration, and herewith return the same with the recommendation that it do pass."

The *Session Laws of the 1925 Legislature* describe in detail the design of the flag and declare that it "is hereby adopted as the official Flag and Banner of the State of Oklahoma."

The Senate had adopted "Senate Joint Resolution Number 52" by unanimous vote and the House of Representatives cast only one negative vote.

First state flag of Oklahoma

On the sixty-ninth day of the session, March 25, 1925, the resolution as passed was sent to Governor Trapp for his signature; and because the emergency clause was attached, it became law immediately upon being signed by the Governor.

The newly-adopted flag, the "Blue Flag" was first raised over the Capitol on April 2, 1925, six days after the adjournment of the Tenth Oklahoma Legislature.

Immediately following the official adoption of the new design by the legislature, "Joint Resolution Number 52" and the signing by Governor Trapp, Mrs. Andrew R. Hickam, State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, asked Mrs. Louise F. Fluke, the designer, to make a hand-painted flag according to her winning design and following the description given in the *Session Laws of 1925*. Mrs. Fluke used blue flag

silk, measuring three by five feet, with heavy gold cord fringe. On each side of the blue field, she hand-painted the design which had been officially adopted. This flag was used for many years by the State Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, but was retired with honors when it began to show evidence of wear and is now in the possession of Mrs. Fluke, who is living in Oklahoma City.

Mrs. Fluke hand-painted seven other State Flags, each made of blue silk. The first of the seven was ordered by Mrs. Hickam for display in Continental Memorial Hall, National Headquarters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C. Another was ordered by the wife of Congressman William Wirt Hastings for display in the Congressional Club in Washington, D. C. The third was ordered jointly by two Districts of the Oklahoma State Federation of Women's Clubs in Washington, D. C. The fourth flag was ordered by Mrs. C. B. Billington of Shawnee, Oklahoma, for her personal use and was later presented to the Shawnee Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution by a daughter of Mrs. Billington. The Shawnee Chapter had it framed, and, in 1965, presented it to the State Daughters of the American Revolution Chapter at its annual Conference in Ponca City, Oklahoma.

The next three Oklahoma flags painted by Mrs. Fluke were for three institutions in Ponca City: The Carnegie Public Library, Roosevelt Elementary School and the Pioneer Woman Museum.

There were perhaps other hand-painted flags made immediately following the official adoption of the new flag. Ed Fleming, Enid, Oklahoma, has such a flag which was given to him by his mother.

It would seem to be quite appropriate to preserve the first large flag which Mrs. Fluke made, the flag which Mr. Fleming has and any other hand-painted flag which may be found later. Perhaps a spot for such preservation might be found in the Historical Building.

Until 1941, the flag designed by Mrs. Fluke remained unchanged. At that time, the Eighteenth Oklahoma Legislature decided to add the word, OKLAHOMA, in white letters along the bottom border.

CAPTAIN CAHA'S MULES

*By Donald E. Green**

The "Run of '89" was the epic moment in Oklahoma history. It has been depicted by novelist, artist and movie-maker as one of the most romantic events of the American West. Reality, however, has a way of becoming separated from memorable events in the course of time. A great number of those in the newly opened lands on April 22, 1889 were "Sooners" who had entered the territory before noon, and swore in the process of filing their land claims that they had not been in the territory before the appointed time. According to the estimate of the United States Land Office Register in Oklahoma City in 1890, as many as one-third of the settlers were "Sooners."[1] Subsequently, hundreds of perjury cases against "Sooners" were tried in the Oklahoma Territorial courts.

One of the more interesting cases involved a group of more than twenty Bohemian Americans who entered the territory from the South Canadian River early on the morning of April 22. With wagons heavily provisioned and pulled by mules, these "Sooners" drove the thirteen miles or so to the mouth of Mustang Creek on the bank of the North Canadian River before the legal opening. Settlers on fast horses were startled early that afternoon when they encountered the leader "Captain" Anton Caha digging on his claim alongside his mules and heavy wagon. News of the captain's "fast" mules spread rapidly. Unfortunately for Caha, he lost his claim and was sentenced to two years in prison in 1893, but his mules continued to be a source of humor in Oklahoma Territory.

The following is taken from Bono Blade, *Western Songs and Poems* (Wichita, Kansas, 1893). Incidentally, Blade professed to be from Yeldell, Oklahoma Territory.

THE CAPTAIN'S MULES

April the twenty-second
  That great and noted day,
When through the land of promise
  Our horses ran away.

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* The author is an Associate Professor of History at Central State University, Edmond, Oklahoma, and is currently collaborating with Dr. Bob Johnson of Stephen F. Austin University, Nacogdoches, Texas, on a history of Oklahoma Territory.

[1] John H. Burford to John W. Noble, November 22, 1890 in W. F. Harn Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

There were some fast Bohemians
And mules one lovely pair;
They beat the mounted squadron—
Of course they did it fair.

There were men of every color,
Of every race and tribe;
There on the South Canadian,
We started side by side.

Except those loaded wagons
With plunder, grub and tools,
They filed their crew for Mustang,
Led by a pair of mules;

Twelve hundred to the wagon—
This was the average load;
Thirteen miles the distance,
And very rough the road.

In less than fifteen minutes,
If they obeyed the rules—
They only touched in places,
This famous pair of mules.

Dark brown is their color—
Fifteen in their stocking feet;
A person just to look at them
Would think them easy beat.

Their owner got to Mustang
And dug a dozen holes
Before race horses got in sight
Of this fast pair of mules.

There is nothing in the stock line
Has ever been produced;
Nor nothing on the race track
Has ever been turned loose.

Nor nothing found in training
In old Kentucky schools
Can anything like equal
This dashing pair of mules.

Men may work with lightning;
Inventors learn to fly;
The world in editorials
May boast of Nellie Bly;

The specials on their east lines
With Vanderbilts or Goulds,
But none can make the record
Of Captain Cahas' [sic] mules.

If another country opens,
As will likely be the case
And Congress makes a blunder
To have another race,

I'll bow in sweet submission,
And still obey the rules,
But organize a company
And buy the Captain's mules.

1974 MURIEL H. WRIGHT HERITAGE ENDOWMENT

The Publication Committee of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to announce the selection of "The Creek Nation on the Eve of the Civil War" by Andre Paul DuChateau as the recipient of the "1974 Muriel H. Wright Heritage Endowment." The award, which carries a $300 stipend, is presented annually to the author of the article appearing in each volume of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* which best typifies the standards of excellence, in the preservation and publication of Oklahoma history, that were established by Dr. Wright during her years as editor of the journal.

TOWN AND PLACE LOCATIONS. (Oklahoma Department of Highways, Oklahoma City, 1974, Pp. 56. $1.00.)

The Oklahoma Department of Highways has made an important contribution to the historical background of Oklahoma; and its staff is to be commended for continuing interest in the place names of the Sooner State.

For more than three decades the Department of Highways has assumed the responsibility for the preparation of county maps, showing not only roads and highways but also the location of rivers, streams, natural features and place name localities. In the mid 1940s Ralph Hicks, presently assigned to the Local Government Coordination Branch of the Department, produced the first compilation, in alphabetical form, showing a list of all the place names then appearing on the Department's county maps.

Recently John Kidd, Jr. began the research of old railroad maps published by the Corporation Commission and of many other sources to make certain that the list of names was as complete as possible.

This publication, in the form of a gazetteer of all names in Oklahoma, is an important one. The Department of Highways is to be thanked for its work in this field. The list contains some 4,200 entries, arranged alphabetically, with the county of location and the section, township and range of the site. Hundreds of the entries are of places no longer in existence; and the "legal description" of these long-ago places is of great importance.

The volume is a most excellent supplement to the place names literature of Oklahoma.

George H. Shirk
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

WILL ROGERS: HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By Richard M. Ketcham. (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., 1973. Pp. 415. Illustrations. Index. $15.00.)

American Heritage has scored again—this time with a full-length biography of America's best-known humorist, Will Rogers. Magnificently illustrated, cleverly written and beautifully put together, this book will acquaint latter-day generations with the homespun humor of William Penn Adair Rogers, the Oklahoma cowboy who gained an international reputation as a comedian, actor, columnist and social critic. For older readers, it will serve as a nostalgic reminder of those calmer days when the snail's pace of a Model-T seemed fast enough.

Divided into twenty-three chapters, each headed by a pertinent quotation from Rogers, the book follows him from his pre-1900 boyhood days in Eastern Oklahoma to his death in Alaska in 1935. Along the way, the reader is treated to a backstage view of Rogers' many-faceted life—touring Africa with a wild west show, spinning ropes in vaudeville, starring in the Ziegfeld Follies, flying with famous aviators, making movies in Hollywood and needling politicians, first from the stage and later from the pages of the *New York Times* and over the airwaves. Rogers' panoramic life and phenomenal success never seemed to spoil him; he remained at heart an Oklahoma cowboy with deep roots in the soil. His uncanny ability to find humor in the drabbest of situations bespoke those elemental beginnings, and his philosophical meanderings found quick acceptance in a nation still aware of its agrarian origins.

Although this work falls in the "pretty book" category—suitable for coffee table display—it is of some value to the more serious student of American life. Ketcham—an American Heritage editor—has wisely allowed Rogers to speak for himself on a variety of topics, especially in the political realm. Rogers' good-natured but oftimes caustic treatment of politicians in general and Republicans in particular captured the best tradition of political satire. It is significant that he utilized the press, both as source and vehicle, to castigate American politicians for complicating national affairs. His comments on the Great Depression are of special interest as he began to display genuine concern for the "little man" even before Franklin Roosevelt became president. Indeed, Rogers' ability to empathize endeared him to the average American, and no doubt this evoked the national mourning that followed his death. As Ketcham has noted: "What people saw in him was only what they wanted to be themselves."

Historians will also appreciate Ketcham's success in portraying the times in which Rogers lived. True to his subtitle, the author blends his subject into those times by describing significant developments in many areas, whether it be the movies or economics. Helpful in this respect are the numerous illustrations planted throughout the book—no doubt the work of the American Heritage crew listed opposite the table of contents.

The only criticism to emerge is the absence of a bibliography or list of sources. Surely the author drew upon other writings, but, aside from acknowledgements to the staffs of the Will Rogers Memorial in Claremore, Oklahoma, and the Will Rogers State Historic Park in California, one finds virtually no credit to other historians. This is difficult to understand, especially when one considers that the subject at hand openly gave credit to his own sources. After all, Will Rogers often admitted that all he knew

was what he read in the papers. Nevertheless, this is a book worthy of attention from anyone interested in Rogers and his times.

Bobby H. Johnson
Stephen F. Austin State University

THE CONFEDERATE NAVY—A STUDY IN ORGANIZATION. By Tom H. Wells. (University: The University of Alabama Press, 1971. Pp. ix, 182. Appendix, Bibliography. Index. $7.50.)

The Confederate Navy—A Study in Organization by Tom H. Wells concerns a unique and hitherto neglected aspect of the Civil War. This well documented study of the Confederate Navy's organization, or lack of it, provides a better understanding as to why this fledgling force failed to exploit situations which obviously would have worked to the advantage of the Confederacy.

Dr. Wells blames most of the Confederate Navy's shortcomings on Stephen R. Mallory, the man whom Jefferson Davis appointed Secretary of the Navy and, in so doing, develops a logical viewpoint in conflict with the declarations of previous historians.

The short text, about 42,000 words, covers the announced subject well, but one wishes the author had use it as an admirable beginning to an in depth study of Confederate naval operations. Although well written and interesting enough in its content, this is not a book likely to find favor with the general public. Nevertheless, it is a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the Civil War and one which those interested in Naval History will find well worth the reading.

Walter G. Winslow
Captain, USN(Ret)

ESSAYS ON THE AMERICAN WEST, 1972–1973. Edited by Thomas G. Alexander, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, No. 3. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974. Pp. v, 166. $3.95.)

This is a fine collection of seven essays originally presented as part of the Charles Redd Lectures on the American West at Brigham Young University during 1972–1973. Thomas G. Alexander is a well-known contributor to Utah historical publications and in partnership with Leonard J. Arrington is co-editor of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University.

The seven essays will be of interest to professional historians as well as

history buffs. Though weighted heavily in favor of Utah history—five explore facets of Utah's past—the articles provide an interdisciplinary approach to the American West. John L. Sorenson, for instance, professor of anthropology and sociology at Brigham Young University, in "The West as a Network of Cultures," examines the process of conflict and accommodation in Mormon society through the rise of new perceptual or identity groups. He offers a framework for analyzing intercultural contacts which should be useful to the historian. In a well-written essay entitled "Heroes and Villains, Virtue and Vice: American Values in the Literature of the West," Professor Neal Lambert of the Brigham Young University English Department uses Western literature to underscore man's humanity and to discuss the perplexities that arise when human beings confront universal values.

Clark C. Spence, professor of history at the University of Illinois and well-known for his works on the mining frontier, provides a lively and entertaining study of livery stable keepers in "When Money Made the Mare Go: The Day of the Western Livery Stable." Professor Spence is particularly interested in the "little" men and women of the American West—the ignored and unsung heroes who "blended safely into the historic landscape."

In "Silver Reef: Fact and Folklore," Juanita Brooks presents a brief look at mining activities in Utah's "Dixie," while the cattle industry in southeastern Utah is the topic of Charles S. Peterson's "San Juan in Controversy: American Livestock Frontier vs. Mormon Cattle Pool." Turning to an earlier time period, David E. Miller's "Peter Skene Ogden Discovered Indians" provides an early look at American Indians as revealed by Ogden's famous journals.

The most thought-provoking article is Eugene E. Campbell's "Brigham Young's Outer Cordon—A Reappraisal." He disagrees with the long-held thesis that Mormon leaders deliberately planned an outer cordon of villages to control entry into the inland empire between the Sierra and the Rocky mountains. Studying each of the distant Mormon settlements in detail, he asserts, reveals no "master plan." He concludes that the outer cordon concept "was executed only in the minds of historians. It is a historical assumption without a careful investigation of the facts."

If this monograph indicates the quality of future publications, the Charles Redd Monographs in Western History will be eagerly awaited by those interested in untangling the intricacies of the Western experience.

Darlis A. Miller
University of New Mexico

THE COWBOYS. By the editors of Time-Life Books with text by William Forbis (New York: Time-Life Books, 1974. Pp. 240. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $9.95.)

Another in the Time-Life series on "The Old West," this volume captures the thrill and excitement of the cattle industry in the American West. However, instead of the romantic fantasies of the movie industry, Forbis presents an everyday account of a dirty, overworked laborer, whose greatest excitement was either a stampede or a visit to a nearby town on payday.

Though the epic of the American cowboy was in its heyday for only about twenty years—from the end of the Civil War to the mid-1880s—during its greatness approximately 40,000 men were employed in the cattle industry. As a result it occupies one of the most exciting and colorful places in American history. This book portrays the cowboy in his true light. It describes the distinctive dress developed for working cattle; the hardships faced on the open range; the often bitter hatred for homesteaders and sheepherders; the huge extent of the range cattle industry—from the harsh northern plains to the sweltering southwest; and the simple day to day tasks necessary to prepare cattle for market.

Full of color reproductions of paintings by such famous Western artists as Frederic Remington and Charles Russell, as well as numerous photographs gathered from throughout the region, *The Cowboys* presents a graphic record of the range cattle industry in the American West. Though the book itself is of great interest, it is even more useful when included with the other volumes of the Time-Life series on "The Old West."

Jayne E. White
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

THE GOLDEN SPIKE. Edited by David E. Miller. (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and University of Utah Press, 1973. Pp. x, 153. Illustrations.)

History is not, and should not be, the sole province of the professional. In our time we suffer from extreme fragmentation of knowledge and endemic specialization. One of the results may be seen in a generation which is divorced from knowledge of the past, in a society composed of what a friend calls the "goose people" who think with the goose that the world begins anew each day. Today, we share little understanding of the past, the present, or the future.

Books like *The Golden Spike* and the "Golden Spike Symposium" which pawned this publication can be important antidotes which help bring

together the professional historian and the community at large. David E. Miller has herein collected papers, speeches and essays presented at the celebration of the completion of the transcontinental railroad at Promontory, Utah, a century ago. A wide range of organizations and persons participated in these events which culminated in the dedication of the Golden Spike National Historic Site. Such cooperation and this sort of publication can do much to restore the link between history and the community.

While the quality of any ten essays will certainly vary, those included in *The Golden Spike* achieve a remarkable level of interest and competence. Most westerners are railroad buffs at heart and will enjoy the rather informal and certainly brightly personal style of many of these studies. The collection seems to be scholarly, well-balanced and to cover much of the past, the present and the future of railroading. The center portfolio of pictures is fresh and exciting.

Over the years I have attended a number of conferences where first-rate work was presented but most of the papers were spent on twelve people in Conference Room B at the Hilton. The Utah Historical Society and the University of Utah Press have done us all a service by bringing together this superb collection which rescues some real scholarship and some joyful stories from such obscurity and ultimate oblivion.

Rennard Strickland
University of Tulsa

THE AMERICAN WEST IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A SHORT HISTORY OF AN URBAN OASIS. By Gerald D. Nash. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973, pp. viii, 312. Illustrations, Bibliographical Note, Index. $4.95.)

This book fills a noticeable gap in Western history and poses a challenging new thesis. A sweeping survey, it introduces the general reader to "one of the most significant events in twentieth century America—the maturation of the trans-Mississippi West." It answers the question—after the frontier, what? According to Nash, development in the West in the twentieth century was urban rather than frontier; technology and cultural influences combined to supersede in importance environmental factors. The new western urban civilization, the "urban oasis," existed in a dependent or colonial status from 1898 to 1941; the West then became the American pacesetter. After 1941, "it was possible to say that the West today was America tomorrow."

Nash packages much new western material into a smooth, flowing narrative with a touch of informality and humor that is not inappropriate to a

consideration of recent history. He includes useful summaries and places well-chosen illustrations in close proximity to their text references. His capstone conclusion goes beyond the urban oasis thesis to a general pronouncement of "the significance of the West in twentieth century America."

The effectiveness of the book is weakened by a scanty index, a brief bibliographical note (which lists only secondary sources and does not summarize footnote citations) and a number of editorial errors ("Pear Harbor," "gathreed"). The sub-regions, which are an important part of Nash's definition of the West, are unevenly represented among examples given. In Nash's West, California looms larger than life, while the Plains states are given a very low profile.

The author's orientation toward economic history is reflected in his selection of "authentic" western heroes: Fred A. Harvey, A. P. Gianninni and Henry J. Kaiser; and in his attention to industrial statistics. One may be puzzled by a book which includes the facts that the State of Washington produced three billion board feet of lumber in 1902, and that California brought in two hundred million pounds of sardines annually during World War I, but does not include Frank Lloyd Wright in a discussion of twentieth century western architecture.

Specialists in western history will criticize the sweeping generalizations, the overwhelming thesis and the precise turning point (1941). They may even quarrel with the author's definition of five sub-regions. On the other hand, many scholars will welcome Nash's invitation to test his generalizations.

An important, refreshingly thought-provoking book, *The American West in the Twentieth Century* should find wide use in western history courses and will provide an important reference point for all subsequent studies of the twentieth century American West, indeed—of twentieth century America.

Martha Mitten Allen
Southwestern University

JENNISON'S JAWHAWKERS. By Stephen Z. Starr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973. Pp. xiii, 405. Illustration. Maps. Bibliography. Index. $12.95.)

Though some two thousand regiments fought beneath the Union flag during the Civil War none had so bad a reputation as the Seventh Kansas or worked so dilligently to preserve it. That cavalry unit's most prominent commander, Colonel Charles Rainsford Jennison, was likewise one of the

most explosive and exasperating personalities to ever call Kansas his home. Combining the biographies of these two bodies against the backdrop of the great crisis of the nation Stephen Z. Starr has created a unique and rewarding book.

The hostile shots laid on Fort Sumter in 1861 were hardly heard in Kansas amid the intramural civil war that had been ongoing for at least five years previous along that state's common border with Missouri. Jayhawking, the indiscriminate plundering of goods, was the accepted, and detested, method of harassing enemies in that locale. When the enmity so familiar in this area became national in scope it did not take much persuasion from an aggressive abolitionist such as Charles Jennison to fill a unit of like-minded men. At first leading them as a militia organization dubbed the Mound City Sharp's Rifle Guards, Jennison quickly managed to maneuver full federal status for his unit as the Seventh Kansas. That companies in the regiment were led by the likes of John Brown, Jr., the notorious middle-border cutthroat Marshall Cleveland and Susan B. Anthony's brother Daniel gives but a slight indication of the bent of the unit. To grasp the full impact of the Seventh Kansas the reader must follow in their footsteps amid the havoc they wrecked and the lives they ruined as they flushed the "nigger drivers" before their banner of the Lord in Missouri, and later in Mississippi.

Charles Jennison emerges from this book as an over-assertive, opportunistic brigand in blue—and Starr treated him fairly by objectively evaluating the sources! Brutality and robbery were the guiding principles of the total war he taught his men to wage be they the Seventh Kansas or one of his later units, the Red Legs or the Fifteenth Kansas. No matter their name, under his tutelage they all became feared and unrespected outfits. Twice court-martialed by superior officers, Jennison was finally dishonorably discharged from the Army in 1865 for fraud and willful neglect of duty.

An exciting and fast paced writing style is only one of the attributes of author Stephen Z. Starr, Director of the Cincinnati Historical Society. The research in this book is exact and comprehensive. Best of all the author ventures his expert opinion on controversial matters in a fair and unbiased manner. This is no recitation of facts, but a compelling assessment of a deadly serious egomaniac and the unit he reared to become the universal villain of all the Union regiments.

Unfortunately, there is a major flaw in the book. Certainly the Seventh Kansas' history is worth a $13.00 price tag, but the publisher's craft is lacking. The review copy of the book lacked pages 280–344, two full chapters and

then some. That the publisher inserted in its stead pages 81–112 for the second time does not remedy the situation.

Regretable as the careless gouging of sixty-four pages may be, *Jennison's Jawhawkers*, with omissions, remains an alluring and dynamic book of considerable worth. It should remain for some time the model for future Civil War regimental histories.

Robert C. Carriker
Gonzaga University

THE LAST AMERICANS: THE INDIAN IN AMERICAN CULTURE. By William Brandon. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974. Pp. 553. Bibliography. Index. $12.95.)

Many of the historical works published recently have emphasized the contributions of the various minority groups in America's past. Some have been mere polemics, others have been the product of cultural or ethnic biases and a few have been balanced studies which placed the minority's role in proper perspective to the broader scenario of American history. William Brandon has produced a work of the latter mien with *The Last Americans*, an overview of the history of the Indian from their arrival in the Americas to the present. He has written a book about the people and the land, and he brings both to life.

The book opens with a historiographical essay, emphasizing the various historical "schools" that have interpreted the customs which were uniquely Indian. This list includes such illustrious names as Francis Parkman, Jean Jacques Rosseau and Friedrich Engels. Brandon concludes that the importance of previous works lays not with the preciseness of their analysis, but with their recognition "that the Indian world may really have been a genuine, influential civilization worth taking seriously. . . ."

After the introduction the narrative begins with the coming of men to the virgin Americas and their desemination southward. Roughly one-third of the book's 499 pages are given to the discussion of the various Indian groups as they were before the coming of the Europeans. The author includes here much geological, anthropological and archaeological material which provides a stable base for the remainder of the book. Brandon emphasizes that the Indians were in the Americas a long, long time, and he stresses that many movements which modern writers have attributed to complex and profound reasons may simply have been the unreasoning drift of man over the lengthy Pre-Columbian period.

The final two-thirds of the book is consumed with the story of the meeting and the clashing of the races. This book is not meant to shake the foundations of scholarly interpretation. It is meant to show the American Indian in relation to other Americans. In this it is near perfect. Writing of the Spanish conquest of the New World, Brandon offers the reader an insightful glance into the thoughts of both Indian and Spaniard. The author finds something to abhor in each, but he also finds something to admire. He writes of both the humanitarianism of Bishop Juan de Zummarraga and the cruelty of the Welser concession in South America.

The entire book is a delightful excursion into the world of the American Indian. Brandon writes of the Indian as a subject for a study of culture and civilization. This is demonstrated in his chapter concerning the Aztec entitled "Nation's of the Sun." Brandon's Aztec are not of the standard mold. They are not the well-known, bloodthirsty martinets that many writers have made them. Rather they are people. People faced with the task of coping with the problems of the world around them. Surely the Aztec were capable of atrocities, and Brandon makes no excuses for them. None is needed, he contends, for the Aztecs, like modern man, often chose the course most favorable to their own cause.

William Brandon is a highly talented writer. He is well-versed in his profession. He writes with clarity and precision. Few writers have captured the essences for Spain's failure to maintain its empire better than Brandon when he writes, "Rivals shouldered their way into the New World, and Spain, gorged, awkward with fat, could not hold them off," or have shown the significance of the opening of the New World more dramatically and poetically than, "Columbus's great discovery had burst upon a Europe in full flower of Renaissance, and nothing would ever be the same again." Brandon's descriptive powers are immense, as demonstrated by his portraiture of the site of Los Angeles as it was in 1602: "The land ran down in golden hills from the mountains to the sea, with green groves of oaks in the folds between and poppies red on the slopes in their season."

The Last Americans is a good book. It will be severely criticized by many who will question various points of interpretation and proclaim it "popularized history." And rightly so. But it serves a useful purpose for both the layman and student. It is an excellent introduction for both into the exciting and enchanting world of the first Americans. As George Hyde once wrote, it is "a reading book, not a treatise."

Carl Newton Tyson
Oklahoma State University

RED WORLD AND WHITE. By John Rogers. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973. Pp. xvii, 153.)

This short book is rich in ethnographic data. Way Quah Gishig, who tells the story of his boyhood, has a talent for vivid description. The reader is able to learn much about Chippewa life and culture in the late nineteenth century.

The main significance of this Chippewa boy's story is recognized in the title. It is a case study of what cultural conflict does to a single boy. His opening sentences relate how Way Quah Gishig was taken from his family at the age of six and sent to boarding school. He did not return for six years—a familiar story to Native Americans.

Way Quah Gishig did not simply face a different culture. He was confronted by a white society bent on the destruction of his way of life. His experience reveals that government policy in the late nineteenth century was not just assimilationist. It bordered on cultural genocide. The objective was to be accomplished by near totalitarian means whereby children were removed from parental control, forbidden to speak their native languages and denied the practice of their religion. Even their names were changed.

Scholars have written much concerning the alleged good intentions of the policy-makers. Whatever the intentions, the results are well documented. The government engaged in actions that were psychologically and socially destructive. These are directly related to the social and mental health problems that still afflict so many reservation inhabitants.

For Way Quah Gishig, the school was the agent of this policy of cultural destruction. When he came home, he began to rebuild a sense of identity and learn the Chippewa ways. Each time, however, he was forced to return to school and learn, as he said, from the world of the book rather than from nature. He and his parents were given no choice: "This was what the white man said I should do and I could do nothing but obey." The government's policy succeeded in some respects with "John Rogers," as his teachers called him. Way Quah Gishig became confused and was never quite at home in either culture. The book ends with him searching for his heritage in a visit to a father he really does not know.

Red World and White should prove useful in the classroom. Indian students can use it to understand their own cultural adjustments. White students can benefit from its easily readable insights into the psychological tensions inherent to the assault of white culture upon an Indian youth in the last century.

David A. Nichols
Huron College

FROM THE MISSOURI TO THE GREAT SALT LAKE: AN ACCOUNT OF OVERLAND FREIGHTING. By William E. Lass. (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1972. Pp. xv, 312, Illustrations, Maps, Notes, Bibliography, Index, Appendix. $7.95.)

Overland freighting has generally been regarded as one of the most prosaic aspects of western transportation. Freighters and bullwhackers were unromantic and consequently are little remembered in the cast of frontier characters. Yet, the impact of overland freighting on the economic development of the trans-Mississippi West was significant, although relatively short-lived.

Professor William E. Lass traces the history of overland freighting on the central and northern plains during the three decades after 1848. He not only discusses freighting along the Platte River to such points as Denver and Salt Lake City, but also deals with Montana freighting and the Sidney-Black Hills trade of the 1870s. His major emphasis concerns freighting's economic impact on the outfitting towns of Kansas and Nebraska. Even in years when there was ample business and large government contracts, competition between Leavenworth, Omaha, Plattsmouth, Nebraska City and other outfitting centers was usually intense. Competition from alternate forms of transportation coupled with the cyclical boom-bust nature of frontier economics not only contributed to the erratic quality of the freighting business but also to the checkered fortunes of these towns.

Lass' analysis of the economic dynamics of overland freighting includes an examination of the role played by government supply contracts, mining booms and busts, and the Civil War and Indian wars in stimulating or retarding overland freighting. He also investigates the importance of competition from other forms of transportation and communication. His discussion of freighting's adaptation to the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad is especially illuminating. Although the fortunes of better known freighting firms such as Russell, Majors and Waddell constitute an important part of the study, he also deals with a host of smaller, lesser known freighters.

Lass does not neglect the social aspects of overland freighting. The book contains a detailed description of trail life, explaining how the trade was organized and how bullwhackers used the tools of their trade. He vividly explains why bullwhackers were held in such low esteem. Their status was in large measure due to their "sweat-soaked, sometimes vermin-infested hair and clothing," and their predilection toward filth.

The book is enhanced with several easy to read maps, charts and carefully selected illustrations depicting scenes, portraits and the memorabilia

of overland freighting. A lengthy appendix of short biographical sketches of representative freighting personalities brings together much useful information. The book is both scholarly and well written.

David H. Miller
Cameron College

BLACK NEW ORLEANS. 1860–1880. By John W. Blassingame. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1973. Pp. xvii, 301. Illustrations, Bibliography, Index, Appendix. $9.95.)

Professor Blassingame's *Black New Orleans*, a revised doctoral dissertation, is a masterpiece of research and composition. The New Orleans described here was unique among southern cities. Still, it should serve as a yardstick by which to measure the other life of blacks in other contemporary cities.

Perhaps the most potent impression one gets from *Black New Orleans* is that so many of the events of the last twenty years were previewed in that New Orleans. According to Blassingame, "Two of the most important and desirable free black institutions, the church and the family, were controlled and manipulated by whites." (p. 13) Although some of the devices are different, the situation is much the same today. Again, he states that the path to independence and freedom for blacks was "consistent labor," but that through acts of racial discrimination, they were unable to achieve these ends. (p. 59) Little has changed. Now, like then, blacks were the last hired, the first fired and excluded from unions. (p. 60) Then, like now, the taste of freedom brought a stronger desire for freedom. "We can and must show ourselves as men," and "we will dare maintain . . . [our rights] even if we do have some broken heads," (p. 182) blacks demanded and action came. Laws were passed. But like the reluctant businessmen of the 1960s, whites claimed that their businesses would suffer if blacks were treated equally. And when blacks tried to exercise their legal rights, they were treated like the sit-in youth in Oklahoma City in the late 1950s and throughout the South in the 1960s. (p. 185) Page after page, the reader feels as if he were reading the script for this generation.

As fine a work as this is, it is not without its faults. First, one could do less with military history and more with historical evaluations of social values and race relations. Occasionally Blassingame engages in overstatement and the presentation of unprovable or contradictory theses. For example, he claims that slave women "lost all feelings of sexual morality or of chastity." Yet, "The Negro male had a typical nineteenth-century view of woman." Did not their contact with each other generate or resurrect those feelings?

While declaring that "Most blacks realized that ignorance was the greatest threat to their freedom," Blassingame also declares that the greatest threat was economic insecurity. Further, the author judges that white race hate was much the result of the psychological effects of having lost the Civil War and the blackman's demand that whites respect black manhood. Although this could be true, Blassingame fails to prove it satisfactorily. Psychoanalysis for masses is always questionable, especially when dealing with sex motivation. It may sound logical to say that sexual attraction was due to the mystic beauty of opposite races, but in the absence of hard evidence, it is unwise to perpetuate what is probably a myth.

This reviewer should add a comment on structure. Blassingame's inclusion of an appendix is welcomed. Population, employment, family and mortality tables are quite revealing. It is unfortunate, however, that his editor decided to place such informative footnotes after the appendix.

Black New Orleans is hardly less valuable because of its weaknesses. It still stimulates the reader to ask questions about life as it was and as it is. This reviewer, at least, believes that this work is an open invitation to look at other contemporary cities. Perhaps then some clearer picture of black America will emerge and racial understanding will be advanced.

Jere W. Roberson
Central State University

INDIAN HERITAGE, INDIAN PRIDE: STORIES THAT TOUCHED MY LIFE. By Jimalee Burton (Ho-chee-nee, Cherokee). (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974, Pp. xvi, 176. Illustrations. Bibliography. Appendix. $12.50.)

Pride in her Indian heritage is genuinely reflected by Jimalee Burton in this book. She portrays the positive aspects the Indian culture has and continues to contribute to society. After reading this book you will be justly proud if your birthright entitles you to identify as Indian.

Misguided historians have categorically misplaced the true Indian image, and failed to recognize his contributions to mankind. The Indian people have been confronted with the very real possibility of losing forever his language, religion and legends. Mrs. Burton's book is a valuable contribution to preservation of the great heritage of the Indian. The Indian legends are so vividly described in this book that one senses an actual reliving of these colorful customs, traditions and communications with the Great Spirit.

Mrs. Burton's ancestry stems from the Cherokee people, who now reside in Eastern Oklahoma, but her childhood was spent on a trading post in Western Oklahoma frequented by Plains Indians. The experiences shared in this book take you from Kiowa Sun Dances in Western Oklahoma to British Columbia, where large totem poles carved only by the tribes of the Northwest Pacific Coast tell in symbols the history of the people, and on to the pyramids in Central America where one can gaze out over a vast area of crumbling walls and buildings decorated with fantastic carvings in the most intricate of patterns. Her extensive travels through the Western Hemisphere lead to discovery of "mysterious connecting links suggesting that there was intercourse among the continents of the world in ancient times."

Jimalee points out the Indian's foundation is as old as time. Schooled in the laws of nature and with a profound belief in their creator they were endowed with the ability to do great things. Their knowledge of architecture, astronomy and horticulture has withstood the test of time. Their presence is felt today in the world-reknown achievements of men like W. W. Keeler, Will Rogers and Sequoyah, who have reached the epitome of perfection in their individual pursuits, and serve as stepping stones to our Indian youth.

The wisdom of ecological balance is an inherent trait of the Indian. He practiced conservation methods with the buffalo herds. In slaughtering the buffalo, the Federal government cut off the food supply of the Indian, and was able to gain complete domination of him.

The continued domination of the government and contention that they are unlearned savages has exposed him to the utmost degradation. Many governmental regulations have been promulgated with the idea that the Indian must be protected when in reality, the only thing being protected was some bureaucrat's paycheck. Most regulations have been a sword of destruction rather than a shield of protection. Through all this the Indian has fiercely clung to his pride and comforted himself before the Great Spirit.

The Kiowa legend told wherein the sacred White Buffalo brought corn to the Indians as a gift from the Great Spirit seems analagous to the gift Ho-chee-nee has brought to her people in this beautifully written book on their behalf. The Indian prayers and unique artwork coming from the heart of a beloved Cherokee are inspirational. She has succeeded in fulfilling the purpose for which her book was intended—to give the Indian pride in his heritage.

Robert O. Swimmer
Vice-Chief of Cherokee Nation

FARMING IN THE MIDWEST, 1840–1900. Edited by James W. Whitaker. (Washington: The Agricultural History Society, 1974. Pp. 226. Index.)

In May 1973 the Agricultural History Society, Iowa State University and the United States Department of Agriculture sponsored a symposium which focused upon Midwestern farming in the nineteenth century. The program and comments presented at that conference by geographers, economists, agronomists and historians on such diverse topics as spatial geography, land policy, farm-making costs, crop development, tenancy, foreign investments, marketing policies and scientific research form the basis for this volume.

As in most compilations of this sort, the quality and the significance of the articles vary. Among the best is Paul W. Gates' discussion of the disposal of public lands. In his description of the devious tactics utilized by speculators, lawyers and government land agents, Gates shows how the original intent of establishing settlers on farms and ranches of adequate size in the federal homestead legislation was not fulfilled. In another excellent presentation Robert E. Ankli convincingly challenges the frequently quoted $1,000 capital requirement needed to establish a midwestern farm in the 1850s. By citing the 1860 manuscript census returns, he declares that many forty-acre operations succeeded with no more than a $500 capital investment. In another interesting article, two agronomists, K. S. Quisenberry and L. P. Reitz, trace the story of Turkey wheat from its introduction by Mennonite immigrants from Russia in the 1870s to its emergence as the dominant wheat variety on the plains.

The subject of farm tenancy received considerable attention at the symposium. Donald L. Winters' study of lease agreements found in county records in Iowa led him to conclude that the great variety of agreements made by landlords and tenants indicate that tenancy was a positive factor in the development of the plains agricultural system. Both the good and bad aspects of tenancy are portrayed by Homer Socolofsky in his delightful description of the antics and actions of William Scully, a roguish Irishman whose ownership of 225,000 acres in Illinois, Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska led to his assumption of the title, "America's most extensive landlord."

Two basic weaknesses mar the value of this volume. The general reader of history will find some articles prepared by specialists much too technical to understand. In his discussion of living historical farm sites, Paul B. Frederic uses jargon which only a trained geographer would comprehend. Furthermore, unless one is knowledgeable of quantification techniques, "A Sample of Rural Households Selected from the 1860 Manuscript Cen-

suses" by Fred Bateman and James D. Frost is useless. The other major difficulty lies in the nature of the compilation itself. Several of the papers are excerpts from larger studies, and thus leave the reader with many unanswered questions.

However, in spite of such drawbacks, this compilation is a valuable addition to the expanding literature of American agricultural history. Hopefully, this symposium will serve as a prelude to the preparation of a more comprehensive study of Midwestern farming.

Garry L. Nall
West Texas State University

☆ FOR THE RECORD

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

January 23, 1975

The January quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order at 10:00 a.m. by President George H. Shirk. Executive Director Jack Wettengel then called the roll. Those answering were Mrs. George L. Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, O. B. Campbell, Joe W. Curtis, Harry L. Deupree, M.D., W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Nolen J. Fuqua, Denzil D. Garrison, Dr. A. M. Gibson, W. E. McIntosh, Dr. James Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, Jordan B. Reaves, Miss Genevieve Seger and H. Merle Woods. Those members who had asked to be excused were Henry B. Bass, E. Moses Frye and John E. Kirkpatrick. Also in attendance were Society member Colonel Clarence F. Himes, former Administrative Secretary Elmer L. Fraker and Mr. and Mrs. Fred Olds of the Oklahoma Territorial Museum.

Mr. Shirk asked that the members pause a moment in memory of Representative Lou Allard who died on November 2, 1974, after a lengthy illness. Mr. Allard had been a member of the Board since 1961 and was an active supporter of the Society in the House of Representatives. His passing leaves a second vacancy on the Board.

Mr. Wettengel reported that ninety applications for membership had been received, seven of them for life memberships. The life members are Philip E. Daugherty; Timothy M. Larason; Mrs. Nona G. Miller; Dr. John W. Morris, former annual member; Gerald R. Sober; Michael Condon Thomas, also a former annual member; and Richard S. Warner. With his letter of application, Mr. Thomas had written a generous offer to assist the Society which Mr. Wettengel read to the Board members.

Mr. Wettengel had been requested at a previous meeting to update *The Chronicles* mailing list of state schools. He said that this work had been completed and 200 defunct schools had been removed from the mailing list.

A report of the Revolving Fund 200 and the Life Member Endowment Fund for the period was presented by Treasurer Bowman.

At this moment, a visit to the Board meeting was made by Governor David Lyle Boren. After greeting each person in the room personally, Governor Boren read an Order of Appointment filed for record January 23,

1975, wherein he appointed George H. Shirk as State Historic Preservation Officer for the State of Oklahoma. Mr. Shirk accepted the appointment, pledging to work faithfully for the maximum benefit of the statewide preservation program.

Vice President Phillips introduced Bob Mitchell, Governor Boren's legal aide, who accompanied the Governor to the meeting.

President Shirk thanked the Governor for his interest in the Society. Governor Boren said he had grown up in the same block and under the tutelage of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Muldrow, and, therefore, his interest in the Society is a personal as well as professional one.

Mrs. Bowman continued her report after the Governor's departure, announcing that a Certificate of Deposit had been made with The First National Bank and The First National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City in the amount of $1,345.68, at five and one-half percent interest. This bequest was made to the Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society by the late Board member, Morton Harrison.

Mr. Phillips gave a brief report of the work of the Society's Newspaper Division during the past quarter, noting that several prominent researchers had made use of the facilities of the Division.

Mr. C. E. Metcalf, Historic Sites Director, was asked to give the report for his Division.

He stated that he spends three to four hours a day reviewing sites throughout the state for possible conflict where construction is planned by local, state or federal government. This review not only examines sites already recognized as historically significant, but must determine whether or not an archaeological study should be made to ascertain the possibility of the existence of a site as yet unknown.

Mr. Metcalf announced that Phase II, restoration of the interior, of the South Barracks at Fort Washita had been completed. Restoration work is progressing at the Chickasaw Council House, the Choctaw Chief's House and at the Atoka Confederate Cemetery Park. Additional work is necessary at the Carnegie Library, the Sod House, Murray-Lindsay Mansion, Frank Phillips Home and Fort Supply.

Work is continuing on the supplement to the Cumulative Index for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, and on the revised edition of *Mark of Heritage*, according to Mr. Shirk, Chairman of the Publications Committee. He stated that Dr. Fischer had edited manuscripts on each of the territorial governors of Oklahoma, which series will appear in the Spring, 1975 issue of *The Chronicles*. Mr. Shirk said that Dr. Kenny A. Franks had made arrangements for noted historians to be guest editors as an annual feature of *The Chronicles*. Dr. Gibson will edit the Spring, 1976 issue.

Mr. Shirk told the Board members that Mr. C. W. "Dub" West had written a book entitled, *Fort Gibson, Gateway to the West*, and had presented the Society Library with a copy. For his outstanding work, Mr. Pierce moved to commend Mr. West; Mr. Boydstun seconded and the motion carried. Mr. Pierce was asked to present the certificate to Mr. West. Those interested in purchasing a copy of the book were advised they could write to Mr. West, P.O. Box 1331, Muskogee, Oklahoma, 74001. The cost is $9.50.

Dr. Fischer, Museum Committee Chairman, announced that Accreditation was granted by the American Association of Museums in November, 1974. Nearly four years were required to meet the specifications. Of the more than 5,000 museums in the United States, only 320 have received this distinction.

The Junior League volunteers continue to give many hours of work in the conservation program of the Museum, and according to Dr. Fischer, are giving money and equipment to establish a basic conservation laboratory.

A motion was made by Dr. Fischer to authorize the Museum Committee to transfer title to the widow of the original donor of a Spanish pistol which is of no historical significance. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger and passed. The Board declined to place certain artifacts from the Tompkins collection on the disposal list.

The efforts of the Honey Springs Battlefield Commission to acquire more land were discussed by Chairman Boydstun. Mr. Boydstun asked Mr. McIntosh, who has been appointed by the Commission to negotiate land acquisitions, to describe these efforts.

Mr. McIntosh displayed a large map of the battlefield, and pointed out the tracts of land owned by the Society, those tracts being negotiated and land which the Society would like to acquire in the future. Eventually, the Commission would like to buy 2,600 acres to preserve and present the story of this significant site. Approximately 500 acres are now owned by the Society. The need for legislative support was defined, for without sufficient appropriations the goals cannot be achieved. Representative Vol Odom, who was instrumental in obtaining the first appropriation, is gravely ill at this time and unable to assist in this program.

The reluctance of many land owners to sell their property was described in detail by Mr. McIntosh. Various reasons were given: loss of old age pension, family members wishing to keep the land, land owned by several generations of the family, etc.

A discussion followed regarding the views of the Board in leasing the Honey Springs property owned by the Society for grazing purposes. The

ultimate plan for the site was examined—how much of the land would be a formal park area, how much would be restored to its natural state. After some deliberation, Mr. Phillips moved to let the Commission lease the land for grazing; Mr. McIntosh seconded the motion; and the majority approved.

The Library Committee, with all members in attendance, met prior to the Board meeting and discussed a project which will be presented to the Executive Committee before presentation to the Board. Mr. Curtis, Chairman of the Library Committee, also acknowledged receipt of a check in the amount of $1,345.68 from the Morton Harrison estate to the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Garrison moved that the Board authorize Mr. Curtis to invest this gift and to treat it as it was intended by Mr. Harrison—for the Society's library. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion and it was approved.

Miss Susan Pena has joined the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society in the Education Department, according to Mr. Foresman, Chairman of the Education Committee. This has enabled Mr. Bruce Joseph, Director, to visit more state schools and as a result three schools have joined the Society's Heritage Club program.

Traveling desk-top exhibits and study packets for teachers on blacks in Oklahoma, Sequoyah and the Five Civilized Tribes are being prepared which are proving effective in creating an interest among students in the history of Oklahoma.

Mr. Foresman announced plans for a ten-week series of Sunday afternoon concerts made possible in part by a $500 grant from the Oklahoma Arts and Humanities Council. These will be held in the auditorium of the Historical Building which has been remodeled recently.

Mr. Wettengel extended an invitation to all Board members from Mrs. Martha Blaine, Indian Archivist, to visit the archives. More than 300 researchers and writers were assisted in this facility during the past quarter.

Mr. Shirk reminded the Board members of the arrangements which were made to commission Mr. Fred Olds to paint a portrait of Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, former Administrative Secretary of the Society. Mr. Phillips unveiled the finished portrait and told Mr. Fraker the Society was grateful for Mr. Fraker's great pride in Oklahoma. A remark of former Board member Robert A. Hefner was recalled, "You have to die to get hung [in the Museum]." Mr. Fraker was assured that this occasion was the exception.

Mr. and Mrs. Olds were introduced to the Board.

The gold watches presented to Senator and Mrs. Dewey F. Bartlett by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia were displayed by Mr. Shirk. The General Services Administration has transfered ownership to the Oklahoma His-

torical Society. The watches had been stored until recently in the vault of the United States Treasury Department in Washington, D.C. On January 13, 1975, Mr. Shirk picked up the watches from the General Services Administration, signing a Receipt for Property which described them in detail and which stated that:

> It is understood that I am personally accountable for the property listed above and that I shall be held financially liable for loss or damage unless otherwise relieved by appropriate survey action.

Mr. Shirk and Mr. Wettengel then certified that:

> . . . on Thursday, January 23, 1975, the above items were transmitted from George H. Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, to Jack Wettengel, Executive Director.

Miss Seger moved to accept the watches and Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion. Motion carried.

Mr. Wettengel reviewed the Society's appropriations bill as introduced, Senate Bill 73, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1976. In the bill, funds for General Administration and Operation of the Wiley Post Historical Building are in two line items from the General Revenue Fund; one in the amount of $303,035 for salaries, the other in the amount of $80,051 for operations. Funds for the Historic Sites and Museums over the state are in two line items from the Tax Adjustment Fund: $240,382 for salaries, and $177,176 for operations. Also provided in the bill is $150,000 from the Revenue Sharing Fund for Capital Improvements, making the total of all funds $950,644. This method will provide for more efficient use of funds than in the past when impractical restrictions would be placed on one phase of the Society's operations and excessive funds would be available where they were not needed. Mr. Phillips pointed out that Governor Boren is unalterably opposed to line item projects. The Society will be given a lump sum of money for these requirements. In this new concept, additional bills will have to be introduced for special projects, rather than an ever-increasing list of line items added to the bill without adequate means to administer them properly.

Mr. Phillips stated that the Governor has requested the Society to reduce its outlays, working within the budget agreed upon.

A motion was made by Miss Seger, seconded by Dr. Morrison, to submit to the Attorney General a check from Mr. Harold V. Brown in the amount of $210 to the Society in payment of the Turkey Track Ranch marker. This check was returned to the Society marked insufficient funds. Mr. Shirk told the Board that this matter has been called to Mr. Brown's attention a number of times, but he has refused to pay. The motion passed.

Mr. Shirk explained to the Board a recent National Park Service audit of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The outcome of the audit led to a better understanding of the procedures required of the Society by the Federal government in administering matching funds granted for various preservation projects.

Board members were also informed of the plans for the development of the State Capital Press Building in Guthrie. This building has been included in the National Register of Historic Sites. It was built in 1902 and the first daily newspaper in Oklahoma Territory was published there. It became a large commercial printing shop, and still has unique equipment capable of producing many types of printing.

Money to purchase the building came from newspaper publishers and individual citizens over the state, and funds borrowed by the Guthrie Chamber of Commerce. Historic documents and papers are also a part of the building's contents and will require a great deal of work to clean, sort and catalog.

Mr. Shirk advised the Board members that Governor Boren has designated the Historical Society as the developer of the State Capital Press Building and that the Governor is also interested in the growth of Guthrie as a historic district.

A resolution was read to the Board by Mr. Phillips pledging the Society's assistance in the development of a Printing Museum in the State Capital Press Building. Mr. Muldrow moved to approve the resolution; it was seconded by all the members of the Board and approval was unanimous. Mr. Shirk did not participate in the vote because of the fact that his name appeared in the resolution.

The broad plans for implementing the resolution were outlined by Mr. Shirk. He said federal funds for fiscal year 1975 in the amount of $323,416 will be available for the next three years to be divided among sites across the state.

Mr. Shirk concluded the discussion of the matter of the Society's preservation program by referring to the visit of Governor Boren as an approval of the efforts of the Society.

The election of two new members to the Board was next on the agenda. Those nominated were Herschal H. Crow, Jr., Dr. Odie B. Faulk, Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt and Larry R. Wade. Sponsors spoke of the qualifications of the nominees. The members were then asked to vote for two members, the memberships going to the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes, providing each received a majority. The votes were tallied and Mr. Shirk announced that Senator Crow and Mrs. Nesbitt had been chosen to fill the vacancies on the Board.

Mr. Shirk pointed out that the Society's constitution provides that if no nominations are received by the Secretary to fill the positions on the Board of those members whose terms expire in January of each year, the Secretary may then cast one vote to re-elect such members. Additional nominations were not received; Mr. Wettengel cast one vote, and thus Mr. Muldrow, Mr. Foresman and Dr. Fischer were reelected.

A request had been handed to Mr. Shirk prior to the Board meeting from Colonel C. E. Chouteau, President of the Chouteau Memorial Association, wherein he asked that the Board delay action on transferring the Chouteau Memorial to the Oklahoma Historical Society from the Tourism and Recreation Department, as had been rumored. No such action had come to the attention of the Society.

Mr. Reaves displayed a sabre given by the Mountcastle family to Mr. Boydstun for the Confederate Memorial Hall. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle was a Board member of the Society. A picture of Stonewall Jackson and a bayonet were also given.

Meeting adjourned.

GEORGE H. SHIRK, PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the three-year cooperative efforts of State Preservation Officer George H. Shirk, State Coordinator Kent Ruth, a group of citizens and organizations of Guthrie, and the Oklahoma Historical Society successfully concluded approval of a Historic Area of Guthrie, Oklahoma, as a Federal Historic Site; AND

WHEREAS, this same cooperative effort has successfully completed designation of the State Capital Press Building in Guthrie as a Registered Historic Site; AND

WHEREAS, interested citizens and organizations of Guthrie have announced a plan to purchase the State Capital Press Building and present same to the State of Oklahoma to be developed and established as a Newspaper and Printing Plant Museum; AND

WHEREAS, the State Capital Press Building is one of the state's old and historic structures containing early-day printing equipment and is a recognized Historic Site of our State of Oklahoma:

NOW THEREFORE, be it resolved by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, in session this 23rd day of January, 1975, that

this Society pledge its cooperation and such assistance as it may legally render, and which its resources permit, to the development and establishment of a Printing Museum in the building in Guthrie known as the State Capital Press Building.

Approved this 23rd day of January, 1975.

H. MILT PHILLIPS, VICE PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL, SECRETARY

GIFT LIST FOR FOURTH QUARTER, 1974–1975

LIBRARY:

The Lindleys and Allied Families by Horace Lindley.
Donor: Author, Lubbock, Texas.

Tulsa County in the World War (I), compiled by William T. Lampe, 1919. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Southwestern Bell Telephone Directory, February, 1932.
Donor: John W. Delaney, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Perry—Pride of the Prairie by Robert E. Cunningham.
Donor: Perry Chamber of Commerce, Perry, Oklahoma.

An Attempt to Reconstruct A History of Kingfisher College, edited and compiled by William Claude Vogt, 1908.
Donor: Mrs. George Bowman, Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

The Upshaw Family Journal, Vol. I, 1974.
Donor: Mrs. John Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Marriage Records of Okmulgee County, Oklahoma 1907–1922, Vol. I, compiled by Mrs. V. L. Ball, 1974.

Cemetery Records of Okmulgee County, Oklahoma, Book I, 1974.
Donor: Earl E. McKendree, Jr., Okmulgee, Oklahoma.

Hicks Newsletter, Vol. III, October, 1974, Issue 10.
Donor: Ruth Foreman Updegraph, Norman, Oklahoma.

Lafayette County, Mississippi Marriage Bonds Books One Through Five 1848–1881, compiled by Mrs. G. L. Eatman, 1971.
Donor: Gene Brewington, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Born Grown—An Oklahoma City History by Roy P. Stewart and Pendleton Woods, 1974.
Donor: John W. Ervin, Fidelity Bank, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of telephone directories, Oklahoma and out of state.
Donor: Lucille Bicknell for Central State University, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Collection of back issues of *True West*; *Old West*; *Frontier Times*; and *Gold!*.
Donor: Mrs. C. E. Cook, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

A Record of Marriages—Morgan County, Missouri, 3 July 1881 to 23 February 1888. Copied and compiled by Ilene Sims Yarnell, 1974.
Donor: A Memorial Gift in Honor of Kirtley J. Morris, November 27, 1890–April 24, 1973 by compiler.

Born Grown—An Oklahoma City History by Roy P. Stewart and Pendleton Woods, 1974.
Donor: Co-authors, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Herald Design—Its Origins, Ancient Forms and Modern Usage by Hubert Allcock, 1962.
Donor: Mrs. Helen Ingle Ezell, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Polk's Oklahoma City Directory, 1957; also 1961. 1973 Indian Calendar.
Donor: John W. Delaney, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Review, Vol. IV, Nos. 16 and 17 Guthrie, Oklahoma, December 15, 1900. Photocopied edition on Enid.
Donor: Mrs. Dalton Rinehart, Geary, Oklahoma.

Some Interesting Menard County Homes by Matilda J. Plews.
Early Columbia—The Beginning of a Small Kentucky Town by Ruth Paull Burdette.
Donor: Mrs. Henry Brown, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

Ringwood, Oklahoma (Major County) *80th Anniversary 1894–1974*, compiled by Mrs. Glen E. Rush (Rena Hays Rush), 1974.
Donor: Author, Ringwood, Oklahoma.

Listing of Oklahoma City Bicentennial Commission Members.
Directory of American Scholars—A Biographical Directory, Vol. I—History, 1969.
Quarterly Supplement to the *Oklahoma Bar Journal*, June, 1974.
Oklahoma Boat and Water Rules, Regulations and Safety Laws of Department of Public Safety, 1974.
Oklahoma County Bar Association Yearbook and Directory of Attorneys, 1973–1974.
Point of Honor—Its Past, Its Potential by S. Allen Chambers, Jr.
Outdoors, October, 1974.
Hoofprints, Vol. 4, No. 2, Autumn–Winter, 1974.
Rebel Yell, December, 1974, Vol. 4, No. 11.
Zoo Sounds, Vol. 10, No. 6, December, 1974.
"National Rates For Jurisdictional Sales of Natural Gas Dedicated to Interstate Commerce on or After January 1, 1973, For the Period January 1, 1975, To December 31, 1976;" Docket No. RM 75–14 of United States of America, Federal Power Commission Order Instituting National Rate Proceeding, December 4, 1974.
Following seven publications of The Newcomen Society of America:
BancOhio Corporation—Since 1929 Ohio's Leader in the Multibank Holding Compact Concept, 1973 by Philip F. Searle.
"Wealth of Good Learning"—The Story of Colorado School of Mines, 1973 by Guy T. McBride, Jr.
National Trust Company, Limited—A 75th Anniversary Address 1898–1973 by E. H. Heeney.
"The Spoiler's Hand—The Rage of Gain"—Social, Political and Environmental Considerations of Land Use, 1973 by Don W. Lufkin.

Lord Corporation—A Story of Innovation, Invention and Learning, 1973 by Thomas Lord.
American Gas Association, by F. Donald Hart.
Serving the Nation's Needs for Diversified Financial Services—The Story of The TI Corporation (of California) by Ernest J. Loebbecke, 1973.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Tri-State Trader 1968, 1969—Surname/County Index.
Donor: Ms. Kathleen E. Fowler, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of writings by Thomas P. Wilson in *Minnequa Historical Society Bulletin* of Pueblo, Colorado: Spring, 1938; Summer, 1938; December, 1938; Fall, 1940; Spring, 1941; Christmas, 1941 and "In My Relic Room."
Donor: Richard Haynes, Dallas, Texas.

"Story of Norman—Surveyor and Site" by John Womack, June, 1974.
Donor: John Womack, Noble, Oklahoma by George H. Shirk.

Oklahoma's Blending of Many Cultures by Lu Celia Wise—Oklahoma's Official Bicentennial Commission Publication, 1974.
Donor: Author, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Microfilm: Anti-Horse Thief Association, Fairview, Oklahoma Chapter.
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Florida from Jack Haley, Assistant Curator of Western History Collection, Manuscript Division of University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma.

Descendants of Job Pendergrass (1754?–1831) of Orange County, North Carolina, by Allen Pendergraft, 1974.
Donor: Author, Sedona, Arizona.

A History of the Norman Garden Club, 1924–1974, by Ruth Updegraff, Editor.
Donor: Author and editor, Norman, Oklahoma.

The Cabinet Journal of Dudley Ryder, Viscount Sandon by Christopher Howard and Peter Gordon; Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research Special Supplement No. 10 University of London, November, 1974.
Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. XLVII, No. 116, University of London, November, 1974.
Donor: Director of University of London Library and Goldsmiths' Librarian.

Glimmer on the Hill by Eunice E. Heizer, 1973.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Fred Livengood, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Official Membership Roster 1974/75 of ALPCA (Automobile License Plate Collectors Association).
Donor: Joe Todd, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

PHOTOGRAPH SECTION:

Panoramic: Salesmen of the Oklahoma Oil and Refining Company on Tour of Inspection of their Property El Dorado, Kansas Field.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Abner E. Norman, 1874—Man for whom Norman, Oklahoma was named.
Donor: John Womack, Noble, Oklahoma by George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Fort Washita: Site of post well showing location of water barrel and drain, color print, March, 1974.
Fort Washita: Ruins of chimney at officer's quarters, color print, March, 1974.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Capitol Hill's Kimbrough-Jones Drug Store and Jeff W. Beaty Jewelry Store ca 1920s.
Donor: The Beaty Family, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Tulsa, Oklahoma residential street scene ca 1921–1922. Ace Leonard King and Wilson King Dairy Delivery wagon, horse-drawn.
Donor: Mrs. L. W. Johnson, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Early Oklahoma City's Main Street looking west showing original old Oklahoma County Court House next to former Montgomery Ward.
Mercantile Building of Oklahoma City on Hudson, 1973.
Brown's "Little Store" on Main Street ca 1890, showing Mr. Brown behind the counter.
Oklahoma Station's Santa Fe Railroad street scene ca 1889 looking north.
Two photographs of Yukon Express interurban Line Electric Company.
Terminal Building, Oklahoma City, 1917.
Street Car loading at the Old Britton Station north of Oklahoma City, 1900.
Conductors and crews marching on Broadway in front of Lee-Huckins Hotel in 1917.
Group of Oklahoma City railroad conductors taken ca 1915–1917.
Donor: Lynn Jenkins, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Main Street, Purcell, Indian Territory, October 21, 1897.
Railroad Turntable Roundhouse and Railroad crew at Purcell, Indian Territory ca 1897.
Donor: Donald J. Martin, Provo, Utah.

MUSEUM:

Quilting frames and supports, owned and used by Mrs. Mary Ford, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Source: Mrs. Orda F. Wilcox, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Nameplate from Catholic Chancery, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Source: United States Government, General Services Administration, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Lion faces from frieze of old City Hall, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Source: Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Documents, two, sales sheet from Oklahoma Live Stock Commission Company and proof of Choctaw citizenship by blood of George W. Turnbull.
Source: J. E. Dennis, Milburn, Oklahoma.

Documents, four, charters, certificate, Constitution for the Ancient Order of United Workmen, ca 1898–1907, belonged to donor's father.
Source: Mrs. Patricia Allen Carey, Midland, Texas and Colonel Charles Allen, Jr., Sun City, Arizona.

Skylab III artifacts, two flags, photograph and shoulder patch.
Source: Colonel William R. Pogue, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Houston, Texas.

Programs and brochures used at transfer of "Old Central;" two shovels used in ground breaking ceremonies by Restoration Committee.
Source: Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Commemorative plate, "Oklahoma/1907," "Frankoma," one of the last plates with signature of John Frank.
Source: Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Clothing, belonged to Blanche Schafer Hiatt, ca 1878–1955. Items were given to donor to be given to the Museum by William A. Hiatt, Charlottesville, Virginia.
Source: Mrs. Joseph T. (Angela B.) Pisciotta, Arlington, Virginia.

World War II clothing; sport coats, early 1950s; purse and shoes, early 1960s.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. Howard A. Sykes, Liberal, Kansas.

Photograph, Gail Thorpe, age three.
Source: Mrs. H. A. McCormick, Yale, Oklahoma.

Photographs, reproductions of original photographs owned by Betty and Henry Irwin, reproductions made by Phillips Petroleum Company.
Source: Phillips Petroleum Company, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Barber chair which belonged to Frank Phillips.
Source: Subscription donors, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

American broad axe head, used to construct log houses in the Chickasaw Nation.
Source: Charles Smith, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Revolver, Smith and Wesson, patented 1901, belonged to Douglas H. Johnston, who was a governor of the Chickasaw Nation.
Source: Bernard LaFevers, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Allotment patents and Homestead patents relating to the Chickasaw Nation.
Source: Mary John Russell, Wapanucka, Oklahoma.

Photographs, two, of John Gibson Phillips.
Source: Mrs. John G. Phillips, Dallas, Texas.

Photographs of Oklahoma, ca 1908–1913; clothing which formerly belonged to the daughter of Governor Benjamin F. Overton of the Chickasaw Nation; program and paper relating to the Chickasaw Nation.
Source: Towana Spivey, Milburn, Oklahoma.

Bedroom suite which belonged to Frank Phillips.
Source: Mildred Phillips Gray, Lake Charles, Louisiana.

Picture, one, hand-drawn pastel, original, signed Belle Davenport, 1894, belonged to donor's mother.
Source: Mrs. Doug Trotter, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Collections of books from two pioneer families' libraries; oak secretary and chair used in the Douglas H. Johnston home.
Source: John and Margaret Lokey, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Ink well found in old Chickasaw Council House years ago by donor.
Source: Barbara Hamilton Saxon, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Books, twelve, pertaining to Oklahoma history and booklet entitled "Alice" (Crossing the Bar), compiled by William H. Murray.
Source: Mrs. Blanche Clark, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Date nails, from Rock Island Railroad, ca 1920–1931.
Source: Milton Arthur Obuch, Sayre, Oklahoma.

Photograph, H. H. Dodd, donor's husband's uncle, who was the first county superintendent of schools after statehood.
Source: Mrs. Bea Dodd, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Photograph, "The New Truss Suspension Bridge over Skeleton River, thirteen miles north of Guthrie, 249 total length, 180 feet main span." Donor's father, patented this bridge and built several in Logan County.
Source: Mrs. Lela Stafford, Norman, Oklahoma.

Wedding gown, 1907, worn by Mrs. Lymon J. Gray; photograph of Mrs. Lymon J. Gray in her wedding dress.
Source: Mr. Lymon J. Gray, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Clothing worn by Dr. J. L. LeHew, Sr. and child's straw hat; Physician's Certificate, 1897; crockery churn.
Source: Dr. and Mrs. Elton LeHew, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Branding iron made by donor's grandfather; anvil, brought to Oklahoma in 1889 by donor's father.
Source: Mr. Charles Gerlach, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida.

Newspaper clipping, "Historic Spots," seven paragraphs about Governor Cyrus Harris; photograph, Lorene Hoetater, a full blood Chickasaw, 1960.
Source: Mr. Jinks Elledge, Mannsville, Oklahoma.

Photographs and picture postcards, thirty-three pioneer pictures of Tishomingo and the area before and shortly after statehood.
Source: Mr. Russell Chapman, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Wedding dress worn by Charlotte Van Horne ca 1886, in wedding at Fort Sill Chapel.
Source: Mrs. A. C. Van Horne, Glencoe, Illinois.

Curtains, lace.
Source: Mrs. Leo Chappell, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Wedding coat and wedding slacks.
Source: Mr. John R. Hill, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Sofa and two chairs, Victorian, given to donor's mother in 1903.
Source: Ms. Frances Kennedy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Book, Atlas: *Standard Atlas-Payne Co. Okla.*, copyright 1905.
Source: Mrs. Ruth Downey Prentiss Peters.

Portrait, oil, of donor's father, painted by Don's Portrait Studio from a photograph taken ca 1916.
Source: Mrs. Florence Phelps Smith, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Settee, cane back, walnut.
Source: Mr. John K. Clemons, Cushing, Oklahoma.

Prints, limited edition print of Jerome Tiger paintings: "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," "Observing the Enemy," "The Guiding Spirit;" Book, *Indians of the Southeast: Then and Now*, by Jesse Burt and Robert B. Ferguson, 1973.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Silberman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Record cabinet; piano stool; stand table, chairs, two; dressing table with mirror; rocking chair; secretary's desk; assortment of books.
Source: Mr. Murray Lindsay, Lindsay, Oklahoma.

Fragment of a rock from the Laurus Littrow Valley of the Moon; flag, silk, State of Oklahoma, carried to the Moon aboard the space craft America during the Apollo XVII mission, 1972.
Source: Office of the Governor, State of Oklahoma.

Pen and box, used by Governor Charles N. Haskell to sign Act removing State Capital from Guthrie to Oklahoma City. Given to donor's father in appreciation for his work on the committee to move the Capital.
Source: Harrison Levy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Dresser and mirror, gaming chair, upright piano and bench, first sold in Oklahoma City by Jenkins Music Company ca 1905.
Source: Mrs. Vernon (Irene) Beals, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Library table, table scarf made by Tom Kight's mother, day bed; dresser.
Source: H. Tom Kight, Jr. and Mildred Hohimer Kight, Claremore, Oklahoma.

Art work by Fred Olds, "Alexander Posey," "Bill Pickett" and "Sam Bass."
Source: Oklahoma Historical Society, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

INDIAN ARCHIVES:

Garard, Campbell, Rush, Kiddy and Cromwell Cherokee genealogical material compiled by donor.
Donor: Mrs. Joe B. Hanna, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Foreman Cherokee genealogical material compiled by donor.
Donor: Mrs. Paul W. Updegraff, Sr., Norman, Oklahoma.

Appraisal of the Creek Cession in the Indian Territory, State of Oklahoma as of August 7, 1856 prepared by Roscoe H. Sears and H. J. Garrett.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. H. J. Garrett, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Keepers of the Council Fire: A Brief History of the Wyandot Indians by Robert E. Smith.
Donor: Author.

Texas Libraries, Winter, 1973 and Spring, 1974.
Donor: Texas Library and Historical Commission, Austin, Texas.

Xeroxed copy of "Presbyterian Dedicating E. E. Thompson Memorial Chapel Sun," *The Ponca City News*, April 9, 1939.
Donor: Orville O. Jenkins, Dallas, Texas.

Gi-Dee-Thlo-Ah-Ee, Of the Blue People Clan by Mary Ann Eslinger.
Donor: Author.

Seminole Indians of the State of Florida and Oklahoma v. U. S., Docket Nos. 73, 151 and 280: Order.
Northern Paiute Nation, et al., v. U. S., Docket No. 87-A: Order.
Sac and Fox Tribe of Oklahoma, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 95: Final Award.
Blackfeet and Gros Ventre Tribes v. U. S., Docket Nos. 279-C and 250-A: Order.
Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 236-G: Order.
Aleut Tribe, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 369: Opinion.
Bay Mills Indian Community, Sault Ste. Marie Bands, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 18-F: Opinion.
Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 186: Findings of Fact.
Pueblo de Zia, Pueblo de Jemez, and Pueblo de Santa Ana v. U. S., Docket No. 137: Findings of Fact.
Six Nations, et al. v. U. S., Docket Nos. 84 and 300-B: Order.
Iowa Tribe, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 135: Order.
Ottawa Tribe, et al. v. U. S., Docket Nos. 304 and 305: Order.
Annual Report of the Indian Claims Commission, 1974.
Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D. C.

Letters dated in the 1870s–1890s.
Donor: Myrtle Creason, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

October 25, 1974 to January 23, 1975

Anderson, Mrs. Raymond	Cyril
Ashmore, Anthony D.	McAlester
Aughtry, Leonard B.	San Antonio, Texas
Barbre, Mrs. R. L.	Tulsa
Barnes, Mrs. Nancy	Oklahoma City
Barnes, William F.	Dallas, Texas
Beauchamp, Mrs. R. L.	Indiahoma
Beck, W. J.	Wilburton
Bell, Mrs. Harvey	Hydro
Bell, Robert J.	McAlester
Bennett, Owen	Oklahoma City
Bradley, Susan W.	Oklahoma City
Bridges, Mrs. G. R.	Walters
Brocksmith, Edward G.	Tulsa
Buckley, Jack Main	Oklahoma City
Caldwell, I. M.	Oklahoma City
Cameron, Michael H.	Prairie Village, Kansas
Chaney, Jack S.	Muskogee
Channell, G. M.	Bromide
Choice, Al	Ponca City
Cole, Mrs. Howard J.	Oklahoma City
Cunningham, A. J.	Norman
Dameron, C. G.	Oklahoma City
Darrow, Leroy	Oklahoma City
Douglas, Mrs. S. Glenn	Stillwater
Droll, John G.	Midwest City
Eddy, Leonard M.	Moore
Eldridge, Sim	Cushing
Evans, Rees T.	Oklahoma City
Evans, Dr. Walter H.	Tucson, Arizona
Gauge, Mrs. William E.	Oakland, California
Gibbs, Parksine	Oklahoma City
Gilbert, O. R.	Willard, Ohio
Goble, Danney	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Griffith, Brunetta B.	Rush Springs
Grosscurth, Beverly S.	Oklahoma City
Hamm, Mrs. Wanda R.	Oklahoma City
Harmon, Ben, Sr.	Haskell
Holder, Roy R.	Marietta
Holmes, Helen Freudenberger	Guthrie
Johnson, Wilfrid	Ponca City
Keitz, Raymond H., Jr.	Oklahoma City
Kelly, Mrs. George	Oklahoma City
Kickingbird, K. Kirke	Washington, D.C.
Krepps, William J.	Oklahoma City
Lanier, Ron	Ardmore

Lester, Mrs. Sharon L.	Talihina
Lovoi, Paul S.	Tulsa
Lynn, E. H.	Checotah
Maraz, Yvan	Bournens, Switzerland
Martin, Colonel James W.	Fort Sam Houston, Texas
Maxwell, Leona McWilliams	Seminole
McClure, Ray	McLean, Virginia
McNickle, Melvin F.	Oklahoma City
Megee, General V. E.	Austin, Texas
Molina, Jean E.	Oklahoma City
Moore, Mrs. A. M.	Durant
Mouss, E. F.	Henryetta
Noland, William G.	Yukon
Norris, Earl	Midwest City
O'Shea, Ted R.	Tulsa
Parman, Frank	Norman
Parr, Mrs. Glen	Oklahoma City
Porter, John	Edmond
Raines, David E.	El Reno
Ross, William J.	Oklahoma City
Schneider, Ada E.	Coyle
Self, Ruth	Westville
Siebert, Theodore R.	Checotah
Silberman, Arthur	Oklahoma City
Simpson, Zelma Alene	Edmond
Sinclair, Harold B.	Oklahoma City
Stephens, A. A.	Oklahoma City
Stratton, Mrs. E. L.	Choctaw
Swimmer, Robert O.	Oklahoma City
Thomas, Paul E.	Harrah
Thompson, Robert J.	Tulsa
Threlkeld, Roberta	Muskogee
Townes, Mrs. John B.	Seminole
Trousdale, C. E.	Oklahoma City
Walker, Mrs. A. E.	Newkirk
Wilson, Robert A.	Oklahoma City
Wilson, Thomas V.	Oklahoma City

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

October 25, 1974 to January 23, 1975

Daugherty, Philip E.	Oklahoma City
Larason, Timothy M.	Oklahoma City
Miller, Mrs. Nona G.	Enid
Morris, Dr. John W.	Norman
Sober, Gerald R.	Ponca City
Thomas, Michael Condon	Oklahoma City
Warner, Richard S.	Tulsa

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

THE MURIEL H. WRIGHT HERITAGE ENDOWMENT

The "Muriel H. Wright Heritage Endowment" is presented annually to the author whose contribution to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* best typifies the standards of excellence in the preservation and publication of Oklahoma history which Dr. Wright established during her years as editor of the journal.

Contributions to the "Muriel H. Wright Heritage Endowment" are tax deductible and are deposited, for convenience of administration, with the Oklahoma City Community Foundation, Inc. Those wishing to contribute should complete the following and return it, along with a check or money order, to: "Muriel H. Wright Heritage Endowment," Oklahoma City Community Foundation, Inc., 1300 North Broadway, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73103.

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To insure the deductibility of the gift, please make the check or money order payable to the Oklahoma City Community Foundation, Inc., for the "Muriel H. Wright Heritage Endowment." Do not indicate payment to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Give Oklahoma As A Gift

A membership in the OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

and

A subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*

Simply clip the coupon below and return it to: The Oklahoma Historical Society, 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105. In approximately ten days the recipient will receive an engraved card notifying them of your gift.

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THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territor newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfishe May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research i Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical record pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahom in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summe autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarl articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical note and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Edito and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. Th quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in researc in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others intereste in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a sub scription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular sub scription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine $1.50 un less otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondenc relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historica Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article VI, Section 5—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma* shall publish the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Society; and shall pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history, including necrologies, reviews, reprints of journals and reports and other activities of the Society. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE COVER Removed from the Spiro Mound excavation site, this polished human effigy ceremonial pipe of a kneeling man was carved from bauxite. Excavated by archaeologists from the University of Oklahoma during an expedition partially financed by the Oklahoma Historical Society, the largest mound of the Spiro group was 281 feet long, 110 feet wide and 39 feet high. Because of the wealth of knowledge gained from the examination of the Spiro Mound site, it has been described as one of the most important archaeological finds in North America. The pipe is currently on display in the East Gallery of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Photograph by R. J. Richards.

STEWARDS OF THE PAST

*By Robert E. Bell**

According to a small booklet issued by the University of Missouri Extension Division we are all "stewards of the past:"[1]

> Everyone alive today is a steward of the past. The choice is ours—whether we will preserve the manuscripts, objects, and other sources of information from which future generations may learn about those who proceed us—or whether, intentionally or through neglect, we allow our heritage from the past to be destroyed. If we do not preserve this information, all future generations will have lost forever the ability to experience and profit fully from the past. We must exercise a stewardship over these resources with vigor and with a sense of urgency.
>
> We cannot postpone our responsibility. We cannot wait until it is more convenient or until there might be more funds from which to make appropriations, for *there is no more time.*

As "stewards of the past," however, we are individually and collectively a total failure. On a national scale the continuing loss of historical and archaeological records is so enormous that it appears unreal and fantastic. Yet, this is true, and it can be documented by thousands of examples. Some archaeologists estimate that by the year A.D. 2000 there will be no archaeological sites remaining, except for those few preserved for research or museum out-of-door exhibits. This is equally true for historic structures and localities.

This destruction of our historical and archaeological resources takes place in a variety of ways, but the ultimate roots of the problem lie in the current population explosion and an apathetic public. Increases in population create demands for utilization of new lands for purposes of transportation, living accommodations, centers for consumer products, agriculture and a host of other activities which alter the landscape. Modification of the landscape, in the cities as well as rural areas, is destructive to these irreplace-

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* The author is currently head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[1] Charles R. McGimsey, III, Hester A. Davis and Carl Chapman, *Stewards of the Past* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, n.d.), p. 3.

able resources. The general public is so apathetic that there is no public outrage when historic structures are being razed or when an Indian mound is leveled by bulldozers. Yet, this destruction continues daily in the construction of highways, building of reservoirs and waterways, housing developments, urban renewal, construction of factories, expanding airports, logging, strip mining, land leveling, chisel plowing, vandalism and numerous other activities.

The total impact of these losses remain difficult to assess because for most states, including Oklahoma, there is no complete inventory of the available historical and archaeological resources. We have only a partial or incomplete inventory available, and this is being rapidly depleted. Michael J. Moratto in trying to assess the losses in six western states—California, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Utah and Washington—estimates that roughly forty-eight per cent of all archaeological sites have already been destroyed. Of the more significant sites—larger and with longer occupations—perhaps seventy per cent are gone or greatly damaged. On the basis of what evidence he could accumulate, Moratto estimates that the current destruction rate in these six western states is approximately 2,900 sites per year. This would be a loss of eight sites per day. Using the basis of these six states proportionally for all of the United States, a loss of 48 sites each day or 17,520 sites annually would be indicated. This is probably a low estimate because of population differences between the six western states and the balance of the United States; moreover, the destruction rate is certainly increasing with the passage of time.[2]

The Arkansas Archaeological Survey has made some effort to assemble information upon the continuing losses in Arkansas. Changed methods of land utilization have been especially destructive, and for an area of southeast Arkansas alone Janet L. Ford and Martha A. Rolingson note that out of 85 recorded Indian mounds, 72 have been destroyed or are badly damaged. Considering the 352 sites on record some 262 sites, or about seventy-five per cent, had been damaged or were destroyed at the time of their study.[3] The situation for eleven counties of northeast Arkansas is even worse. Destruction caused by land clearing with bulldozers, land leveling and grading, irrigation and drainage ditches, chisel plowing, etc. has intensified within the past few years. Larry D. Medford comments that "The absolute

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[2] Michael J. Moratto, "Archaeology in the Far West," *The Missouri Archaeologist*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (1973), pp. 21–23.

[3] Janet L. Ford and Martha A. Rolingson, *Investigation of Destruction to Prehistoric Sites due to Agricultural Practices in Southeast Arkansas* (Fayetteville: Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series No. 3, 1972), p. 30.

A possible burial mound dating around 500 A.D., which has been torn apart by relic and treasure hunters. Site is on Spring River in Ottawa County.

destruction of all prehistoric sites in northeast Arkansas is soon to become a fact, possibly within as little as ten years."[4]

This situation is not only true of small and relatively unknown sites, but also for large and well-known archaeological remains. Concerning the famous Cahokia site in Illinois, probably the largest and most significant Indian archaeological site located within the United States, Melvin L. Fowler comments:[5]

> Those of us working at the Cahokia site in Illinois during the past decade have seen this destruction taking place in an unrelenting manner. Fifty years ago perhaps nine-tenths of the site area of approximately 6 square miles was relatively undisturbed, whereas today less than half of that area is open land. During the past 5 years we have seen the total destruction of several

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[4] Larry D. Medford, *Agricultural Destruction of Archaeological Sites in Northeast Arkansas* (Fayetteville: Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series No. 3, 1972), p. 75.

[5] Melvin L. Fowler, "Midwestern Prehistory, Cognitive Dissonance and Conspicuous Assumptions: An Essay," *The Missouri Archaeologist*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (1973), p. 45.

hundred acres and the construction of supermarkets, shoe stores, gasoline stations and houses on land that could have been saved. The sites surrounding the Cahokia site itself have disappeared at an equally alarming rate. Studies of the settlement support system of Cahokia have only a few years of practicability.

This crisis situation is not only present in every state in the United States, but it is also the dilemma of most foreign nations as well. The situation in Great Britain is well expressed in the following quotations:[6]

> What fantastic scale of values in our society lies behind the relief with which, in the 1969 *Report*, it is recorded that only 266 listed buildings were destroyed in 1969 compared to 400+ in 1966, and that the annual loss of historic buildings has been reduced, according to Ministry of Housing estimates, by at least 35 per cent. Nevertheless, how long can this attrition go on?
>
> At the moment there are about 8,000 scheduled monuments. Even these protected sites are being destroyed or damaged at an astonishing rate. A survey in 1964 of three different areas of Wiltshire showed that of the 640 scheduled sites of ten years previously, 250 had been completely destroyed or badly damaged, and a further 150 less badly damaged—that is, in ten years only about 240 out of 640 protected sites had remained unscathed and many had been totally destroyed. . . . In South Dorset, where the Commission (1970) recorded 871 round barrows, less than 10% were undamaged in 1963, and the undamaged number is now probably less than 5%. In other words, the prime field monuments of one of the most important areas of Bronze Age Britain have been practically obliterated in our generation.

Are these losses and destruction only taking place elsewhere or are they also characteristic of our state—Oklahoma? The answer is yes. Oklahoma is suffering similar losses in terms of our historical and archaeological resources equal to any other locality. The total amount of destruction is difficult to estimate, but we are losing significant sites constantly as a result of all types of construction activities, vandalism and looting. Many efforts are being made to conserve or mitigate the destruction of these resources. The Oklahoma Historical Society through the Oklahoma Historic Sites Commission attempts to have sites listed on the *National Register of Historic Places*. This provides recognition and protection under certain circumstances. The United States Army Corps of Engineers, Tulsa District, incorporates archaeological surveys and research into their planning for reservoir construction and waterway improvements. The Oklahoma Highway Department employs an archaeologist to assist in planning and the

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[6] P. J. Fowler, *Archaeology and the Landscape* (London: Baker, 1972), pp. 105, 116–117.

Prehistoric burials looted and strewn at a site on Lake Texoma in Marshall County.

avoidance of destruction of archaeological resources in their construction programs. The Arkansas Louisiana Gas Company financed a survey of the Anadarko Pipeline Project and, whenever possible, altered the route in order to save threatened archaeological sites. Other agencies, both federal and state, are becoming more and more cognizant of this need and requirement to conserve our historic resources.

In spite of these efforts, nonetheless, the destruction of our resources continues constantly. Vandalism and looting take a specially heavy toll. Almost every Indian mound in Oklahoma has been damaged by relic collectors to some extent, and many of them have been totally destroyed. Ancient village sites and burial grounds are pitted with holes dug by individuals seeking a few trinkets, either for personal collections or for sale. Even modern cemeteries or graves associated with early historic figures of the state are not immune from this vandalism. In revisiting archaeological sites within the state, one can observe these losses first hand in many instances. An Indian mound which has been leveled in clearing for a housing development; rock shelters which have been destroyed by relic collectors digging for arrowheads; burial grounds that have been destroyed through a desire to obtain an Indian pot; and village sites which are damaged by

numerous pot holes, trenches or earth disturbances. Once the digging has been done, the area has been destroyed for all times; the sites are irreplaceable. This is thievery of the worst sort. It not only steals from each of us, but it steals the knowledge of our past from all future generations.

This vandalism is commonly the result of week-end outings and is somewhat limited in scope; in other cases digging and destruction are continued for several weeks or months with the result being total destruction of the site. Such destruction is done only to obtain artifacts, without any consideration of the associated information or the ability to properly record data. The digging produces artifacts, but destroys the associated information which provides understanding and interpretation of the past. While the artifact has importance, it is the associated data that are valuable. The vandal or relic collector, in digging into historic or archaeological sites, destroys this associated information and prohibits us from ever understanding the artifacts as clues to the way of life of those who used them.

What is to be done about this situation? Are we to remain apathetic and simply ignore or lament this loss of our cultural heritage, or are we willing to make some effort toward conserving these assets? There are some things that each of us can do either individually or as members of a group.

Make some effort to become familiar with the historical and archaeological resources located within your immediate region. Once these are identified one can keep alert to any possible activity which may endanger the resource or subject it to damages or destruction. If the site is threatened, make some effort to contact the proper authorities regarding the situation so that some action may be taken. Sites located on federal lands or state owned lands are protected by legislation which are subject to enforcement by local police officers. In the case of sites located on private lands, the owner should be convinced of the importance of remains under his jurisdiction and urged to conserve them for the future. In all cases the landowner is most important as he has control over what happens to the site and is usually close by so that he can prohibit digging or vandalism.

Whenever construction activities are underway within your region, particularly those involving land surface disturbances, inspect the area to see if historical or archaeological resources are being destroyed. Unidentified sites are often discovered in this way and although destruction may be unavoidable, some salvage operations may be possible if it is known that a site is involved. In such cases contact either the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City or the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey in Norman. Even if nothing can be done, some records of the situation can be obtained.

At times when legislation is being considered by either state or federal representatives concerning historical and archaeological conservation, it would be helpful to write and urge their support for the legislation involved. Both state and federal lawmakers are becoming more and more concerned with this problem, but it will help them to know that the people share this view.

This unwarranted destruction of our cultural heritage will continue, but we must make every effort to reduce this loss as rapidly as possible. We must remain vigilant and alert to safeguard these resources—we are all "stewards of the past."

"A CORPS OF CLERKS:" THE BUREAUCRACY OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN INDIAN TERRITORY 1866–1907

*By H. Craig Miner**

Emerging from the archives into a city of statutes like Washington, D.C., the student of the late nineteenth century Indian Territory searches in vain for a stone image of that individual who, if the bulk of his paper legacy is any indication, was the central figure of his time, the department clerk. Why should he not stand on a pedestal representing the origins of the modern style; filling out oil leases, slashing at his enemies with a sharpened pencil, charging with fixed spectacles into a range of filing boxes—a hero when heroes were gone.

But the sculptor has ignored him, and the historian, either from shame or from sloth, has followed suit and written of anachronisms from Little Big Horn to Wounded Knee. The late nineteenth century, with documentation measured by cubic feet rather than pieces, gets a cursory final chapter in tribal histories. Indian Territory, where the majority of the native population was located during the industrial age, has attracted a no larger quota of serious literature than the bibliographies of the George A. Custer incident. The clerk and his ward, the non-feathered Indian—the pencil pusher and the derby-hatted tribesman—need to take their places in history's set of images least that panoply be dangerously incomplete. If they are not interesting it is because we do not know them. The assimilation experiment, to transform semi-savages into Gilded Age businessmen, was the late nineteenth century's hope for a permanent solution to a problem which had been met only by a series of holding actions. Upon the appointive Indian Territory "Bureaucracy of Industrialization" rested a responsibility so germane and therefore so politically volatile that elected officials were reluctant to shoulder it.

The patient does have flesh, but limitations of length forbid here all but a description of the main bones of a skeleton. For this purpose the thought of Indian Territory residents toward the bureaucracy as it affected business may be grouped under four heads: complexity, hierarchical organization, abstraction and rule-orientation and necessity and function.

One can argue that a complex bureaucracy was needed as a countervailing power to a complex corporate system of business. The Indians did not see it that way. With their oral tradition and dependence on personal acquain-

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The Union Agency in Muskogee in the Creek Nation whose clerks were handling 1,000 pieces of mail daily by the end of the nineteenth century

tance over written contract, they found both corporate and governmental complexity forbidding. Consequently there developed a class of professional dealers with the bureaucracy who acted as middle-men for Indians who wanted ready cash and were unwilling to speculate on the bureaucratic futures market. These "grafters" and "shysters" were universally condemned by the tribes who seemed ashamed of dependence on them. The blame went to the "web" of red tape, often compared in the Indian press to a tangled spider's web.[1] What they saw was confusing enough: The Union Agency at Muskogee, in the Creek Nation, received twelve letters a day in 1880 and the agent was asking for one clerk to aid him; by 1900 seven clerks were needed just to sort the mail which amounted to 1,000 pieces daily.[2] What they imagined to be going on in Washington suggested that there

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[1] *Purcell Register* (Purcell), October 9, 1903.

[2] John Tufts to R. E. Trowbridge, July 25, 1880, Union Agency, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; *St. Louis Republic*, (St. Louis, Missouri), May 13, 1906.

must be a deceptive intent in this unconscionable complexity. We are, said one territory resident "simply aboard a ship without a rudder, without a sail, without propelling power."[3]

The ship image suggested the sense of drift which was a function of complexity. There was a feeling among some that the bureaucracy hid responsibility and operated as a closed system according to a logic the ordinary man could not understand. The Secretary of the Interior had the Patent Office, the General Land Office, the Pension Office and numerous "miscellaneous" items to occupy his time in addition to the Indian business of which Indian Territory was only a part. Could the "file of clerks" through whom business documents passed on their 1,500 mile journey to Washington be blamed for dealing in "hot tips" now and then or for passing along distorted information in an attempt to perpetuate their positions?[4] The Secretary of the Interior mechanically signed 500 items a day, and, even given an honest intent, many believed that "those government land sharks could carry away the whole territory from the face of the earth, and [the secretary] would not know that any injury had been done."[5] One resident noted that he had once been an hour and a half getting out of a maze, but that that experience was as "simple as ABC" compared to his present situation.[6]

There was some well-publicized information supporting the view that bureaucratic complexity was a cover for simple fraud in the interest of industrialists. One Choctaw brief in the ten year fight in the seventies over compensation to the tribes from the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad expressed suspicion:[7]

> Is this Missouri, Kansas and Texas a missionary society. . .? Are its agents . . . missionary pioneers . . . that a claim should be entitled to respect in their mouths, which, in the mouth of anybody else, would be preposterous and absurd?

Cheyenne and Arapahoe agent John Miles was believed to be in on a "ring" of agency employees which got a kickback from cattle operators during

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[3] Statement of Bird McGuire, February 19, 1904, United States House of Representatives, *Statehood for Oklahoma* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 246.

[4] Testimony of Robert Owen and A. Grant Evans, United States Senate, *Affairs in the Indian Territory* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), pp. 398–402; 375–378.

[5] *Watchman* (St. Louis, Missouri), Ethan Allen Hitchcock Papers, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[6] Testimony of John Thomas, United States Senate, *Affairs in the Indian Territory*, p. 410.

[7] B. F. Grafton, *The Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations vs. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway Company, and the Union Trust Company. . .Reply to Argument for Respondents*, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

the 1880s in return for assuring approval of leases by Indian Councils.[8] Union Agent Robert Owen, himself a Cherokee citizen, was attacked by the Indian press for using his official position to speculate in illegal townsites as an agent of the Kansas and Arkansas Valley Railroad.[9] Most roundly attacked was the Dawes Commission. Tams Bixby, its head, was also an officer of the Canadian Valley Trust Company, one of a number of organizations which in the early twentieth century took leases on recently alloted lands in Indian Territory and subleased these to oil corporations. Bixby's trust company was located in the same building as the Dawes Commission, and it was claimed that the public and private offices once switched locations, causing illiterate Indians, seeing Bixby, to think they were signing allotment certificates, when they were in fact agreeing to leases.[10] In addition Bixby was said to play upon public misunderstanding of the complexities of the bureaucracy by advertising for bids on "typewriters, towels and feather dusters" which were bought economically while mules, horses, etc. were bought at outrageous prices in neat little deals with area businessmen.[11] He had, wags declared, given new meaning to President Grover Cleveland's statement that "a public office is a public trust."[12]

While there is enough evidence of this sort in Indian Territory history to bring back some of the now-outmoded criticism of the role of the agent and to suggest that the solution to the complexity problem suggested by many Indians, giving more authority to agents in the field, was chimerical, it must be noted that in each of these cases the Interior Department made a prompt investigation and remedied the situation. Commissions with carefully drawn rules took up the matter of railroad compensation.[13] Major General Phillip Sheridan, tipped off by independent cattle operators, made for the department an investigation of the cattle situation and concluded that respect for government officials was being lost by "loose and unskillful

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[8] B. H. Campbell to Hiram Price, April 22, 1883, and P. H. Folsom to Hiram Price, December 16, 1884, *ibid.*

[9] Robert Owen to J. D. C. Atkins, August 6, 1887, *ibid.*

[10] *Kansas City Star* (Kansas City, Missouri), August 31, 1903; *Chicago Record-Herald* (Chicago, Illinois), August 27, 1903.

[11] Oddly enough, this seemingly outrageous story about feather dusters and mules is confirmed by checking the Dawes Commission accounts. Miscellaneous Account, April 17, 1900, Dawes Commission Letterbooks, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[12] *Herald* (Gloversville, New York), September 16, 1903.

[13] J. S. Stanley and D. F. Harkins to J. Q. Smith, April 18, 1877, and S. W. Marston to J. Q. Smith, March 19, 1877, Union Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

management."[14] Owen was dismissed shortly after the townsite scandal and replaced by the editor of the newspaper that broke the story. This man, Leo Bennett, then went on, in the face of corporate threats to his position, to try to "ventilate the swindle" which the Choctaw Coal and Railway Company was operating by fraudulently leasing coal lands.[15] Bixby was dismissed as head of the Dawes Commission after an extensive investigation.[16] The *Muskogee Phoenix* in 1900 concluded that criticism of the department for hiding collusion with industry behind a cloak of complexity was the creation of "tenderfoot publishers, . . . disappointed politicians, chronic scholds, the curbstone grafter, . . ." and other "pigmy critics" with "puny plaints."[17]

Hierarchical organization, the strict bureaucratic chain of command, seemed only to funnel the difficulties into an already overloaded agency office and then on to even busier men in Washington. The Secretary of the Interior, at the apex of the pyramidal organization, not only could not handle his responsibilities, he should not if the American federal system were to be maintained. There were, to be sure, a few Indians who were resigned to centralized control at a distance. Dennis Bushyhead, a Cherokee chief, declared in 1891 that the system of government could not be more blamed for its abuses than the system of medicine for "quack" doctors.[18] More, however, took the tack of Owen who believed the blame lay in "that frailty of human nature" which made a man believe he could govern others at a distance. Businessmen thought it a "humiliation and disgrace" to "bow their heads before these Department clerks," while Indians protested against being "tied up in swaddling clothes" by their powerful guardian.[19] It was popular to compare the Secretary of the Interior with the Czar, or to pit Indian Territory bureaucracy unfavorably against the tin-soldier dictatorships of South America. "The administration by a corps of clerks . . . at Washington D. C. . . . of the private business of 85,000 people," seemed to one territory preacher of the gospel, "un-American and absolutely senseless." An oil man agreed

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[14] B. H. Campbell to Hiram Price, May 5, 1883, and Report of P. H. Sheridan, August 7, 1885, *ibid.*

[15] Leo Bennett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 10, 1890, in United States Department of the Interior *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), pp. 96–98.

[16] *Leavenworth Times* (Leavenworth, Kansas), August 18, 1903. The investigation was started by S. M. Brosius of the Indian Rights Association and quickly picked up by the department.

[17] *Muskogee Phoenix* (Muskogee), June 5, 1903.

[18] D. W. Bushyhead to Dr. M. Frazee, June 2, 1891 in *Telephone* (Tahlequah), June 18, 1891.

[19] Testimony of Robert Owen, United States Senate, *Affairs in the Indian Territory*, p. 398.

Cherokee agent, Robert Owen who believed that the failure of the Federal bureaucracy in Indian Territory lay in "that frailty of human nature" which made a man believe he could govern others at a distance

that, "this one man power violates every precedent and tradition of our national life."[20]

Again the corporation was the whipping boy. Not only, it seemed, did the agents and clerks hide business connections in a maze of complication, but the secretary himself, chief of the hierarchy and therefore wielder of unprecedented power, was likewise corrupted. Secretary of the Interior, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, who presided in the last days of the tribes, was most viciously pilloried both by businessmen and Indians. The Commercial Clubs of Indian Territory at a meeting in 1905 denounced him as "incompetent, weak and childish" in words "calculated to raise the hide."[21] Merchants in the Creek Nation threatened civil war if Hitchcock continued to collect the tribal taxes.[22] In addition, a Senate Select Committee composed of his enemies heard, in 1906 a stream of witnesses screened by the Commercial Clubs, and they came to a conclusion strongly condemning the bureaucracy as anti-progressive.[23] Meanwhile a Creek Indian paper referred to J. George Wright, Indian inspector and Hitchcock's chief lieutenant in the territory, as "the great 'what-is-it' of carpetbaggerdom, the frosty dude of the official family of Indian Territory." Local humorists described the secretary as Mr. "It's Cocked" who "didn't have no safety notch and couldn't stood cocked."[24] Hitchcock toured Indian Territory in 1903 and tended strictly to business. Yet, instead of commending him for seeking on-the-scene information the Indian press

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[20] Testimony of A. Grant Evans, and Testimony of J. W. Zevely, *ibid.*, pp. 276, 600.
[21] *Muskogee Phoenix*, June 7, 1905.
[22] *Oklahoman* (n.p.), June 10, 1905, Ethan Allen Hitchcock Papers, National Archives.
[23] William Flinn to E. A. Hitchcock, January 31, 1907, *ibid.*
[24] Unmarked volume on tour of territory, *ibid.*, p. 37. *Okemah Journal* (Okemah), n.d.

noted that the secretary was "frigid" and took it that he was both a tool of the corporations and an intemperate man as well as he rode in the private car of Adolphus Bush, the St. Louis, Missouri brewer.[25] Even a casual reading of Hitchcock's private hearings with Theodore Barnsdall whom he and Theodore Roosevelt thought was monopolizing the Indian Territory oil field on behalf of Standard Oil is enough to convince the researcher that this image of the secretary was grossly unfair.[26] Yet, the press of his own state, backed by industrialists chafing at the rules, called him "an ignorant, narrow-minded bigot, a sycophant of power."[27]

The traditional picture of Indian-government relations would not allow the bureaucracy to be rule-oriented. The image we have is of the Indian fighting for the rules, the abstract treaty rights, against an opportunistic government with a pragmatic situational ethic. True, in Indian Territory there was a great cry that the Indian's soul was being destroyed to have his body—"Lo the poor Indian whose untutored mind/Sees God in clouds and hears him in the wind." Yet, the mixed-blood "progressives" claimed that this simple-minded defense of outdated privileges was a characteristic of the full-blood minority only, and the "New Indians," as one journal called them, were upset at the tendency "to wrap all who have Indian blood in their veins in a blanket and adorn them with paint."[28] These "Indians" could not decide which was more simplistic and reactionary in its insistence on a closed system of rules based on non-updated principle, the full-bloods or the Interior Department bureaucracy. Uniform bureaucratic rules, wrote a Cherokee in 1882, failed to take progress into account. He believed that the territory should be administered on "business principles" rather than "fine spun theories [and] vague speculations."[29]

This is not to suggest that the picture of the trusting Indian and the opportunistic government is invented. On the contrary it has been documented by careful historians. But upon closer examination one finds that the quotations used come from full-bloods on the one side and from the United States Congress on the other, not from the "progressive" mixed-

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[25] *Muskogee Evening Times* (Muskogee), May 7, 1903.

[26] United States Department of the Interior, *Hearings Before the Secretary of Interior on the Leasing of Oil Lands and Natural Gas Wells in Indian Territory and Territory of Oklahoma* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906). For an evaluation of the results, see, E. A. Hitchcock to Theodore Roosevelt, August 22, 1906, Ethan Allen Hitchcock Papers, National Archives.

[27] *Watchman*, September 3, 1903.

[28] "The New Indian," *Nation* (July 21, 1904), p. 47; Testimony of John Bullette, United States Senate *Affairs in the Indian Territory*, p. 1323.

[29] S. S. Stephens, *The Indian Question Discussed by Spencer S. Stevens of the Cherokee Nation*, Western History Collection, Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

bloods and the department bureaucracy. Therefore, we need to be more careful when we speak of "government" and when we speak of "Indians."

It is Congress which fits the traditional image of "government" in regard to Indian rights and industrial growth. Note a sample of that body's Indian Territory decisions: the 1866 treaties allowing intrusion by railroads, the conditional grants of land to industries in regions ostensibly controlled by tribal governments, the 1882 decision no longer to ask Indian permission for railroad rights of way, the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, the decision in 1890 to affirm the Choctaw Coal and Railway leases—one made with an eighteen month old girl—over the objections of the agent and the 1898 Curtis act pointing to dissolution of tribal sovereignity.[30] These suggest business accommodation. Then sample the acts of the bureaucracy, which far from merely reflecting the will of Congress, was often unsure what that will was: the 1870s railway compensations commissions, the 1884 decision to allow the Cherokees a cattle tax, the 1887 investigation of illegal lobbying methods by the Cherokee Strip Livestock Association and the 1906–1907 Standard Oil investigations.[31] These suggest a reverse prejudice, an anti-corporate stance if anything. The businessman certainly thought so. "Any absurd story from an Indian will be considered by the Department," declared the *Oil City Derrick*, "but oilmen are on the blacklist . . . . They are simply wards . . . just like the Indians."[32] Congress, being subject to the popular will, preferred that specific decision as opposed to vague pronouncement on politically sensitive issues, such as Indian rights versus industrial growth, be handled by professional and expendible clerks. It can be argued, therefore, that the "Corps of Clerks" was pro-business to the point of being neglectful of abstract rules only when breaking rules created by Congress, and that with regard to rules generated internally by it was studiously abstract and rigorously consistent. The public could view it either way depending on its prediliction.

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30 Craig Miner, "The Struggle for an East-West Railway into the Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVII, No. 2 (Spring, 1969), pp. 560–581, for detail on the railway question. The Choctaw Coal and Railway situation is well explained in Leo Bennett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 2, 1890; John Lowrey and Johnson Hijo to T. J. Morgan, August 28, 1890, and E. D. Chadick to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 24, 1890, Union Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

31 The cattle lobby investigation is best detailed in Letters, Robert Owen to J. D. C. Atkins, April 29, 1887, and September 24, 1887, *ibid.*; for the tax, see H. Price in United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1884* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), p. xxxix; for the Standard Oil investigations, see E. A. Hitchcock to Theodore Roosevelt, September 26, 1906, Ethan Allen Hitchcock Papers, National Archives.

32 *Oil City Derrick* (Oil City), April 2, 1906, *ibid.*

Quite apart from the question of how the bureaucracy functioned with regard to corporations, of the merits of complexity, of the pitfalls of hierarchy in a democracy, there was the broader question of whether such an economic and political planning agency as the Interior Department's Indian Territory bureaucracy was necessary or appropriate at all. In an age which mouthed Social Darwinist phraseology, the implication that any man needed special protection or privileges in a free economy seemed dangerous, even if for a time strictly limited to the Indian who was in some sense not defined as a man at all. The Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania press, reportedly subsidized by Standard Oil at $1.00 a line, declared:[33]

> If these Indians are citizens of the United States they should be treated as such. It is incompatable with the principles of a free government to look upon them as incompetents and defectives, and treat every man who desired to develop their oil and gas properties as a robber and a scoundrel.

Businessmen as early as the 1870s were facing with the Indians the distressing tactics of a welfare state. Many Indians, tribal citizens perhaps only by marriage and as racially Caucasian as Grover Cleveland, speculated wildly, and if they lost a business gamble quickly staged what territory businessmen called the "baby act,"—they appealed to the Interior Department claiming that again the innocent Indian had been duped by the "Robber Baron" and asking that the pieces be reset for another game.[34] One disappointed operator declared:[35]

> Now do you imagine you can legislate forethought into a man? Not in a million years . . . . Gentlemen you are trying by your policy to reverse the laws of nature. . . . The Indian will have to find his own level. . . . You can't knock it into him. . . . There is only one place he can get it . . . and that is in the school [of] . . . experience and hard knocks . . . against the edges and corners and things in this world.

The "progressive" Indian agreed, and joined the white businessman in the attack on the clerks. Indian Territory newspapers resented the condescending attitude of Eastern journals and suggested that reformers leave the Indian alone and tend to the urban slums:[36]

> Mr. Lo will take care of himself. He will also take care of you if you will give him half a chance. While you are monkeying around here trying to

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[33] William Flinn to E. A. Hitchcock, January 31, 1907, *ibid.*

[34] Samuel Crawford to John M. Thurston, *In Re Cherokee Oil and Gas Company* (Washington: Gibson Brothers, 1901), pp. 5–8.

[35] Testimony of C. M. Bradley, United States Senate, *Affairs in the Indian Territory*, p. 688.

[36] *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), October 10, 1903.

save the skin of your brother in red, you are liable to loose your own epidermis.

The Indian welfare state, they declared, was necessary only for the "ignorant full-blood"—the phrase was almost an idiom—and should not be allowed to become general in either Indian Territory or the nation.

Weber some time hence indicated that the study of bureaucracy should be central in modern history, and Robert Wiebe has theorized that adjustment to bureaucratization should be the primary organizational category for the study of the late nineteenth century. The Indian Territory assimilation experiment, and its accompanying bureaucracy was in many ways a model for structures and attitudes that became national by the time the region achieved statehood in 1907 and have been employed in assimilation experiments because of the poor, of ethnic minorities and of political dissidents. It is standard history now to believe that there was never a purely laissez-faire government, yet the "Corps of Clerks" in Indian Territory truely did represent, as one businessman put it, "a new wrinkle in modern government."[37] The bureaucracy, like the corporation, had a singularly inaccessible institutional physiognomy—"no body to kick or soul to damn." Responsibility could be hidden in the hierarchy, suggestions of change could be smothered in complexity and the "native hue of resolution" could go begging in the "pale cast" of department rules. It may be said that people in Indian Territory were the first to know the world as we know it, the abstract world in which sensation must be sought in artificial situations, the world of fewer "edges and corners and things."

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[37] *Oil City Derrick*, April 2, 1906.

PEACEFUL PROGRESS: AN ACCOUNT OF THE ITALIANS OF KREBS, OKLAHOMA

*By Kenny L. Brown**

The coal strike of 1919 became one of the most costly labor disputes ever to occur in Oklahoma. Obeying a directive of the United Mine Workers, 8,000 miners walked out on November 1, 1919, and refused to work for 37 days, eventually costing the economy of the state some $10,000,000.[1] Governor J. B. A. Robertson responded to this emergency with resolute, if somewhat high-handed, action. He pledged to reopen the mines under the direction of the state if necessary, imposed martial law in those counties affected and called out the National Guard to police the area. The governor was particularly concerned with punishing the leaders of the strike and blamed much of the dispute on "foreign agitators." He estimated that about forty percent of the miners were foreign born and requested authority from United States Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer to deport all aliens who interfered in the operation of the mines. If this authority would not be granted, Robertson declared that he would simply jail all foreign agitators in the state penitentiary or escort them to the state line with a warning not to return.[2]

Perhaps Governor Robertson's concern to provide fuel for the people of Oklahoma partially justified his drastic action, but his hasty assumption that "foreign agitators" were to blame for his troubles was simply ludicrous. This exaggerated suspicion of foreigners was part of the nationwide hysteria known as the "Red Scare." It initially developed between 1900 and 1915 when millions of eastern and southern Europeans flooded into America. They were generally uneducated and poor, and they had strange customs; hence, they were suspect in the eyes of many Americans. During World War I this animosity intensified as it became directed toward the "dreadful Kaiser" and his "Huns." Though the war came to an abrupt halt in 1918, the hatred continued. "Bolshevists," "reds" and "radicals" became the new enemies. Foreigners, particularly southern and eastern Europeans, were thought to be those most likely to harbor radical tendencies. Thus many Americans became the victims of xenophobia, the irrational fear of for-

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[1] *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), December 14, 1919, p. 1.

[2] *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City), November 5, 1919, p. 7.

eigners. Owing to this atmosphere, restrictions were placed on immigration in 1921 and the number of foreigners admitted to this country was reduced to a mere trickle.

Were the restrictions justified? Were European immigrants bringing radical beliefs and organizations with them to the United States? Most authorities agree that the immigrants were not as radical as contemporaries seemed to think, but they offer little empirical proof of the law-abiding and generally moderate behavior of the foreign born. Because Oklahoma also experienced this problem, it offers a microcosm of America as a whole—especially among the immigrants working in state coal fields. Did their actions warrant the suspicion of native-born, "Anglo-Saxon" Oklahomans?

The Italians constituted the largest single group of immigrants in the coal fields of Oklahoma.[3] They also came from a country which was torn by leftist agitation during the same period as the "Red Scare" in the United States. Therefore, the Italians offer a prime example for the study of radicalism among the non-native population in Oklahoma. Did they have a subversive influence or bring dangerous ideologies to Oklahoma? These questions will be answered by looking first at the background, character and extent of radicalism in Italy. Then a comparison will be made with the social organizations and political responses of the Italians in the principal Italian community of Krebs in Pittsburg County. Such a comparison should demonstrate the extent to which the Italian population was influenced by old-country radical tendencies.

Italy has had a long history of violence and anarchism. It began with unification in the 1850s and 1860s and reoccurred with varying degrees of intensity until the take-over by Benito Mussolini in 1922. The belated unification of the country was completed in 1870, with the acquisition of Rome. Yet, the new nation was not at all what the founding fathers had envisioned. The old class structure of the pre-national days persisted. The *latifondi*, or land owners, and the *signori*, or professionals and semi-professionals, dominated the masses of landless peasants. This situation had developed in the days of foreign control, and under the new Italian government it would continue. Another grievance was the inequity which existed between Northern and Southern Italy. Most of the land in the South was owned by northern Italians, and most of the governmental expenditures went to the North, but a disproportionate amount of taxes were levied on the South.[4]

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[3] United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), pp. 468–478.

[4] Christopher Seton-Watson, *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism, 1879–1925* (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1967), pp. 12–18, 22–29.

The suppressed peasants and industrial workers had few alternatives, and many turned to violence to improve their situation.

Poor economic conditions likewise caused many Italians to resort to radicalism. Agriculture constituted the largest sector of the economy but provided neither sufficient food nor adequate employment for the population. During the 1880s, Italian farmers could not compete with cheap imported grains, particularly rice and wheat. As a result, many turned to the cultivation of vineyards, but overproduction and phylloxera made those ventures unprofitable. Conditions improved between 1896 and 1914 due to the gradual introduction of advanced farming techniques, yet farmers remained inefficient and poverty-stricken.[5] Most of these were tenant farmers who were not able to produce enough food for their families. Bread, wine, minestrone and a little meat made up the average diet. Farm dwellings were so inadequate that peasant families often slept with their animals for warmth in the winter.[6]

Industrial progress came very slowly and incompletely to Italy. In the dominant industrial areas, the northern provinces of Lombardy, Tuscany, Liguria and Piedmont, significant expansion occurred between 1896 and 1908, when conditions improved substantially.[7] However, the growth was not sufficient to support the unemployed who were flooding the cities from the agricultural regions.[8] Furthermore, urban living conditions were only slightly better than those on the land. The industrial worker labored twelve to fourteen hours a day and went home to a dwelling that, by American standards, would be called a shack.[9]

In response to this hopeless poverty, both agricultural and industrial workers formed unions. In 1864, a law had been passed which made all labor unions virtually illegal, a situation which was not changed until 1889.[10] Nevertheless, workers joined mutual aid societies which had been established by 1860. These societies were designed to provide non-political assistance to members who needed help in some emergency. They originally had been established by conservative philanthropists who desired to teach the peasants thrift and self-reliance, thereby avoiding strikes and political

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[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 288–289.

[6] Shepard B. Clough, *The Economic History of Modern Italy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 142.

[7] Seton-Watson, *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism*, p. 285.

[8] Lawrence Frank Pisani, *The Italian in America: A Social Study and History* (New York: Exposition Press, 1957), pp. 46–47.

[9] Clough, *The Economic History of Modern Italy*, p. 143.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

upheaval.[11] But the mutual aid organizations did not remain apolitical; instead they gradually developed into trade unions. These appeared among the industrial workers in the 1870s and then among the agricultural workers in the 1880s. Eventually the unions developed into the General Confederation of Labor, which was established in 1906.[12]

One of the most useful tools of the labor unions was the strike, and with more frequent strikes came increasing violence. Only 634 strikes occurred between 1860 and 1878, but after attitudes and laws became more lenient, the number of strikes increased substantially. There were 126 in 1895; 1,042 in 1901; and 1,891 in 1907. Violent disorders accompanied the strikes in Sicily in 1893 and 1894; Milan and other cities experienced enormous bloodshed in 1897 and 1898. Similar instances of violence increased in number and intensity after 1900 when the government became even more permissive.[13]

The Socialist party of Italy instigated many of the labor disturbances, and Italian socialism had been very active and violent from the beginning. Many of the leaders of the unification movement had socialistic tendencies and developed philosophies which were prototypes of socialism. After unification, the shaky governmental structure and the social inequality provoked a violent anarchist movement—Bakuninism. Michael Bakunin was a Russian anarchist who sought to destroy existing political institutions in order that a new proletariat-dominated society could emerge. Throughout the 1860s and 1870s he competed with the German socialist Karl Marx for control of the working classes. Bakunin traveled throughout Europe, spreading his gospel of anarchism. His support was strongest in Italy, and his brand of anarchism was particularly attractive to the peasants, who responded with several attempts to overthrow the government. For example, in 1874 a few peasants unsuccessfully attempted to capture Bologna and overthrow its government. A similar "revolution" occurred in 1878 in the agricultural towns around Naples. Two priests joined the cause, and their villages were occupied by the Bakuninists before the authorities brought them under control. By the 1880s, however, anarchism had become far less significant, because the revolts were invariably unsuccessful, and many Italians turned to more moderate socialism in response to their conditions.[14]

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[11] Wayland Hilton-Young, *The Italian Left: A Short History of Political Socialism in Italy* (London: Longreens, Green and Company, 1949), p. 5; Seton-Watson, *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism*, p. 27.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 157–158; Clough, *The Economic History of Modern Italy*, p. 155.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 152–156.

[14] Hilton-Young, *The Italian Left*, pp. 7–16.

The Italian Workers party was founded in 1882 and became the tool of both industrial and agricultural workers who sought for change through labor unionism and reform through parliament. When the government tried to suppress this, the agricultural unions of the Po Valley and Marxian intellectuals united to form the Socialist party in 1892.[15] The new party became a mosaic of differing opinions and methods. Until the turn of the century, the more radical elements of the party were in control. As many of the living and working conditions were improving, many Socialists turned away from the radicals and toward the reformists and syndicalists. These two factions exchanged control of the party throughout the first decade of the twentieth century. The strikes which the syndicalists promoted were often bloody and fierce, indicating the party had retained some of the Bakuninism of the early days. Encouraged by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the Socialists terrorized Italy during and after World War I. The turbulent tide of socialism was finally countered by Mussolini's Blackshirts in 1922, when Fascism temporarily destroyed the socialist movement with the same violent tactics that had often been the trademark of the socialists themselves.[16]

In discussing the violence and radicalism of the Italian background, one unique organization cannot be overlooked—the *Mafia*. Although the *Mafia* was not characteristic of the mainstream of Italian socialism, it did grow out of the same poverty and misery which gave rise to radicalism in general. The terrorist society developed in Sicily, where conditions were right for a criminal response, for the social inequities were more glaring here than in any other section of the country. The *Mafia* was a network of small criminal groups which operated independently of each other. The leaders were members of the rural middle classes—tenants who sublet farms to peasants and opportunistic merchants who bought grain at a cheap rate and loaned money for an enormous interest. Their henchmen were the criminals, peasants, rural police and minor officials of the island. These men would blackmail property owners into paying for "protection." If a would-be client refused to pay for this "protection," he often discovered that a number of his cattle had disappeared, his crops had been stripped or he was threatened with physical violence.[17] Indeed, the *Mafia* was a vivid example of a violent response to the intolerable living conditions of Italy.

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[15] Seton-Watson, *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism*, pp. 94–95, 158–160.

[16] Hilton-Young, *The Italian Left*, pp. 31–147.

[17] Seton-Watson, *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism*, pp. 73–74.

TABLE 1

Immigration to the United States from Italy, by year, 1880–1920

1880 = 12,354	1891 = 76,055	1901 = 135,996	1911 = 182,882
1881 = 15,401	1892 = 61,631	1902 = 178,375	1912 = 157,134
1882 = 32,159	1893 = 72,145	1903 = 230,622	1913 = 265,542
1883 = 31,792	1894 = 42,977	1904 = 193,296	1914 = 283,738
1884 = 16,510	1895 = 35,427	1905 = 221,479	1915 = 49,688
1885 = 13,642	1896 = 68,060	1906 = 273,120	1916 = 33,665
1886 = 21,315	1897 = 59,431	1907 = 285,731	1917 = 34,596
1887 = 47,622	1898 = 58,613	1908 = 128,503	1918 = 5,250
1888 = 51,558	1899 = 77,419	1909 = 183,218	1919 = 1,884
1889 = 25,307	1900 = 100,135	1910 = 215,537	1920 = 95,145
1890 = 52,003			

SOURCE: U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957), pp. 56–57.

TABLE 2

Number of permanent Italian-born settlers compared with total number of Italian immigrants

Permanent settlers	*Total Immigrants*
1860 = 11,677	1860 = 13,793
1870 = 17,157	1870 = 25,518
1880 = 44,230	1880 = 81,277
1890 = 182,580	1890 = 388,586
1900 = 484,027	1900 = 1,040,479
1910 = 1,343,125	1910 = 3,086,356
1920 = 1,610,113	1920 = 4,195,880

SOURCE: U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957), pp. 56–57, 66.

Emigration was another alternative for Italians discouraged by the miserable living conditions and the pressure of overpopulation on the depressed economy.[18] Emigration began with northern Italians migrating to neighboring European countries, but by the 1880s, southern Italians from Balisicata, Calabria, Campania, Abruzzi and Sicily had joined the exodus to Brazil and Argentina and then to North America a decade later.[19] The

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[18] Eliot Lord, John J. D. Trenor and Samuel J. Barrows, *The Italian in America* (New York: B. F. Buck, 1905), p. 40.

[19] Denis Mack Smith, *Italy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969), p. 240–241; Seton-Watson, *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism*, p. 314.

emigration started as a trickle then grew into a flood. The annual average between 1861 and 1870 was 121,040, but between 1901 and 1910 the average was 602,669. Thereafter the number dropped significantly.[20]

Italian immigration into the United States started slowly; only 12,354 entered in 1880. This influx increased significantly after 1900, the top years being 1907 with 285,731 and 1914 with 283,738. Although the number of newcomers was great, many did not become permanent residents of the United States but later returned to their homeland.[21] Those that remained, congregated primarily in the cities of New York and neighboring states. For example, the 1900 census indicates that a majority of the Italians lived in cities with more than 25,000 inhabitants.[22] Yet, many others went to other areas in the United States, where they found employment on construction projects, in industries, on railroads, as ditchdiggers and in mines.[23]

The coal mines of Indian Territory attracted many of the Italian immigrants. Government officials had known of coal deposits in the area as early as the time of the relocation of the Five Civilized Tribes in the 1830s, but the first white man to take advantage of these resources was J. J. McAlester, owner of a general store at the juncture of the Texas Road and the California Trail in the Choctaw Nation. McAlester came to the area because he had previously seen a geologist's notebook which indicated that the richest deposits of coal lay near the road junction. In 1872, McAlester took a wagonload of this top-grade bituminous coal to officials of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad at Parsons, Kansas. The high quality of the coal and McAlester's persuasion induced the officials to build their railroad to the town which later became McAlester. The M.K.&T. Railroad was the first customer for Oklahoma coal; eventually this railroad and others would come to own most of the mines in the area.[24]

The first mines at nearby Krebs were opened in 1874, and others got under way as railroad services were extended and as capital was invested. Lehigh, Coalgate, Phillips, Dow, Bache, Hartshorne, Henryetta and other towns boomed as production gradually climbed to more than 3,000,000 tons per years by 1907.[25] But the labor supply was a problem from the

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20 Clough, *The Economic History of Modern Italy*, p. 381.

21 United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957), pp. 56–57, 66.

22 United States Senate, "Distribution of Immigration, 1850–1900," 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document 756*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 426.

23 Pisani, *The Italian in America*, pp. 87–88.

24 United States Senate, "Bituminous Coal Mining," 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document 633*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 14.

25 Address of Carl Albert, Speaker, United States House of Representatives, at the Oklahoma Historical Society, April 26, 1974, Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

beginning. Few white men lived in Indian Territory, and the Indians were less than enthusiastic about mining. As a result, company agents were sent to other coal fields in the United States to recruit miners, most of whom were immigrants. In 1873 and 1874 the first immigrants were brought in from Pennsylvania, including English, Irish, Scots and Welshmen. A few southern and eastern Europeans, including Italians, also arrived with these first groups. Some of the early immigrants were paid to visit their homelands and persuade their friends to return with them under contract to work in the coal fields of Oklahoma. After this practice was outlawed by the Foran Act of 1885, the majority of immigrants came to the coal fields of Oklahoma after having been employed earlier in other areas of the United States.[26]

The number of Italians in the coal mining communities rapidly increased throughout the 1890s. By 1910, the continually fluctuating population of Italians was estimated to number between 2,500 and 10,000. They were scattered throughout every coal mining community in the area, the largest colony of about 1,000 persons living at Krebs.[27] These Italians followed the national pattern—the majority of early arrivals were from northern Italy, while the later immigrants came from southern Italy.[28] A substantial number of the first Italians in Krebs came from the Austrian Tyrol.[29]

When the Italians first came to the area, assimilation posed a problem. The northern Italians were generally held in higher regard than the southern Italians, being better educated, more easily Americanized and more willing to associate with other groups. Nevertheless, they were relatively slow in adapting to American ways and were strongly influenced by a few of their own leaders. The southern Italians spoke little English and were extremely suspicious of Americans. They generally lived in "colonies," refused to deal with American merchants and kept their children out of the public schools.[30] Both groups faced a caste system that placed them below the Americans and the immigrants from the British Isles.[31] Thus,

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[26] United States Senate, "Bituminous Coal Mining," 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document 633*, pp. 15, 61.

[27] United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Population*, p. 468; United States Senate, "Bituminous Coal Mining," 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document 633*, pp. 17, 19–22.

[28] St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Marriage Records, November 1887 to January 1924, Krebs, Oklahoma.

[29] Constitution and Bylaws of the Christopher Columbus Society of Mutual Aid, Krebs, Indian Territory, 1897, Manuscript Collection, Oklahoma State University Library, Stillwater, Oklahoma, pp. 7–8.

[30] United States Senate, "Bituminous Coal Mining," 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document 633*, p. 106.

[31] Address of Carl Albert, Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Constructed in 1903, St. Joseph's Catholic Church was a religious center for the Italians in Krebs

the attitudes of both the Italians and the Americans, at first, slowed the complicated process of assimilation.

Life was hard in the coal mining communities of Indian Territory. Few houses were available when the first mines were opened in the sparsely settled Choctaw country. As a result, the miners depended almost totally on the "company." They were required to live in company houses and were paid in scrip which could be used only to buy products at the company store.[32] The houses usually were one story, one family dwellings, containing

[32] Frederick L. Ryan, *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), p. 35.

from three to five rooms. Poorly built with cheap lumber, these homes were in constant need of repair and were little more than shacks. However, as permanent settlements sprang up around the mines, the workers were given an option of living in company houses or homes of their own choosing. Drawing scrip for pay also became voluntary and was resorted to only when a miner ran out of money between paychecks. Italian immigrants proved to be so frugal that they rarely drew their pay in scrip.[33]

Even under the restrictions of the company system, the living conditions of the miners were tolerable and in most instances an improvement over those in Italy. Gradually, the harsher conditions ameliorated as the towns grew and water systems and other conveniences were added. More importantly, after the Curtis Act of 1898 opened town plots for sale to the white men in the Choctaw Nation, the miners began to buy their own homes and property. Subsequent allotments to the individual Indians opened surplus land to purchasers, and many immigrants took advantage of these opportunities. The Italians eventually came to own more land than any other immigrant group.[34] Coming from a country where available property was scarce, Italians immediately took advantage of their first opportunity to buy land. Generally, they prospered. Some bought or established businesses, but the majority simply worked in the coal mines and frugally saved their money. In 1905, it was estimated that more than $50,000 was buried under the town of Krebs.[35] Whereas opportunities had been scarce in Italy, they abounded in Indian Territory.

The quality and variety of their food probably offers the most vivid contrast between living conditions in the old country and in Oklahoma. In Italy, the peasant's diet was meager, consisting of dark bread, minestrone, mush, wine and very little meat, while in Oklahoma, small bakeries provided an ample amount of white bread, and meat was included with almost every meal.[36] The simple necessity for nourishment was fulfilled, basic needs could be met and economic mobility could be attained. This marked improvement in living conditions had the effect of moderating any radical tendencies among the Italian immigrants, if indeed, they had ever been present.

If the Italian miners recognized any major grievance in their new home, it was in the conditions under which they worked. The early immigrants of

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[33] United States Senate, "Bituminous Coal Mining," 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document 633*, pp. 64–65.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[35] Lord, *The Italian in America*, pp. 108–110.

[36] Interview, Charles Fassino, McAlester, Oklahoma, March 1, 1974.

the late 1880s found wages higher than those in the East, but this advantage was offset by the hazardous working conditions.[37] After a settlement with operators in 1903, the basic wage was set at $2.45 per day.[38] This was higher than wages in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, but miners in Oklahoma worked fewer days during the year. A miner was fortunate if he worked 200 days in a year. The working days were long, difficult and hazardous, and laborers often worked standing in water. The coal veins in the area usually averaged only four feet in height, and often these narrowed to two feet or less. As a result, the miner stooped or actually worked on his knees most of the time. If the miner was being paid by the ton, the coal he laboriously extracted was sifted over a screen, and only the lump coal was weighed in order to compute his pay.[39]

Miners originally were classified as either "workers" or "helpers." By 1900 mechanization and specialization brought about several new classifications: weighmen, tophands, master mechanics, hoisting engineers, slope engineers, firemen and others. As the new techniques were introduced and as the mines grew deeper, accidents increased in frequency.[40] Along with these new hazards were the old dangers of roof cave-ins, falling coal and explosions.[41] For the most part, the absence of adequate mining safety laws in Indian Territory were responsible for these accidents. The operators were generally free to follow their natural inclination to emphasize cheap production over safety, and this increased the danger and discomfort of the work.[42]

The conditions were so perilous that in 1906 it was reported that one man was killed for every 73,000 tons of coal mined in Indian Territory. This accident rate was much worse than neighboring coal producing states, and one of the worst in the nation.[43] After statehood, accidents still were frequent in spite of safety legislation and close inspection. Chief mine inspector Pete Hanraty claimed that Oklahoma had the most dangerous

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[37] Ryan, *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities*, p. 29.

[38] United States Senate, "Bituminous Coal Mining," 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document 633*, p. 63.

[39] Ryan, *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities*, pp. 29, 59, 107.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[41] Stanley Clark, "Immigrants to the Choctaw Coal Industry, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1955–1956), p. 448.

[42] Ryan, *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities*, p. 29.

[43] United States Senate, "Report of the Select Committee to Investigate Matters Concerned with Affairs in Indian Territory," 59th Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Report 5013*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), p. 1830.

mines in the United States.[44] Italians died in many of the mining disasters, and in a single year, July 1, 1909, to June 30, 1910, seventeen Italians were involved in fifty-one fatal accidents in Oklahoma.[45] If the Italians were prone to radical and violent responses to their grievances, these appalling working conditions would have been sufficient in themselves.

The Italians reacted to the living and working difficulties of their new home in the coal fields of Oklahoma. One of the first responses to their new surroundings was the formation of the Christopher Columbus Mutual Aid Society in Krebs.[46] The organization is one of the strongest examples of similarity between those institutions in Italy and those in Oklahoma. Though any member of the society had the right to express himself on political or religious subjects as long as it was in the best interests of the society, it was a non-political and non-religous organization, much like the early mutual-aid societies in Italy. The group also served certain fraternal and social functions. Authors of the constitution proclaimed that the club should "facilitate the relation among Italians as members of but one family." A yearly dance and picnic was sponsored by the society. However, the society was primarily established as a mutual aid organization which was designed to provide economic benefits for its members.

The society was organized on May 13, 1881, after the need for group benefits became apparent. The Italian community consisted primarily of a floating population of unmarried men or married men who did not have relatives in the area.[47] When these men became ill, they usually had no one to provide for them, and the fact that they were missing work only added to their difficulties. Consequently, a number of these men formed the society which they designed to provide insurance and sick benefits for those in need.[48]

Those who applied for membership in the organization had to meet several qualifications. Only men born in Italy or sons of Italian fathers could

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[44] Pete Hanraty, "Paper Read by Pete Hanraty, Chief Mine Inspector of Oklahoma, Before the Mine Inspectors' Institute of the United States, at Scranton, Pennsylvania," State of Oklahoma, *Second and Third Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines* (Oklahoma City: Chief Inspector of Mines, 1910), pp. 11–14.

[45] State of Oklahoma, *Second and Third Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines*, p. 149.

[46] Unless otherwise indicated, the information concerning the Christopher Columbus Mutual Aid Society is taken from the *Constitution of the Society Christoforo Colombo* of Krebs, Indian Territory, Manuscript Collection, Oklahoma State University Library.

[47] United States Senate, "Bituminous Coal Mining," 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document 633*, p. 20; Interview, Charles Fassino.

[48] *Ibid.*

The meeting hall of the Christopher Columbus Mutual Aid Society, the fraternal and social center of the Italian community in Krebs, Oklahoma

join provided they spoke the Italian language. Membership was open to men between eighteen and fifty years of age who had been residents of Krebs for at least three months. If an applicant met all the requirements and was invited to join, he was then required to give background information on his life and to present a medical certificate to the members.

The society was financed by admission fees, monthly dues, contributions and fines. Drawing from these revenues, the organization provided both sickness and death benefits. Five dollars per week was paid to those members who became ill, and if the illness proved to be serious and involved a period of time longer than six months, the recipient was paid one-half of the weekly compensation. A permanent committee was assigned to visit sick

members and to report on their condition to the society, and a doctor was designated for those members needing care. If a member died, his wife received $40.00 to pay expenses. If a member lost his wife—"only by death not otherwise"— he received $20.00, and if the funeral was in Krebs, the society accorded funeral honors. Because the organization's main concern was to provide for members who needed aid, expulsion or fines were imposed on those who made fraudulent claims for benefits. The Christopher Columbus Society became a useful agency to fulfill the needs of many of the Italians in the community. By no means a radical organization, its prototype was the mutual aid society which flourished in the early days of the Italian state. But while the organizations in Italy became strongly political, the one in Krebs did not. It confined itself instead to dealing constructively with the living conditions in the immigrants' new home.

The dangerous working conditions called for more aggressive tactics and a different kind of organization. The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, the first important American labor union to affect the area, was organized nationally in 1869 and came to the coal fields of Indian Territory in 1883. Initially the organization made no effort to attract southern and eastern Europeans to join, as their presence in Oklahoma kept wages low.[49] However, some Italians became involved in the strike of 1894, which the Knights of Labor had called to protest the operators' imposition of a twenty-five per cent reduction in wages. The Choctaws who owned the rights to the coal were losing money from the strike and persuaded the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to send troops to expel the striking miners. Approximately 350 striking miners were forced from their homes at gunpoint and shipped to Arkansas by rail. There were Italians among them, and the Italian government protested their expulsion to the American State Department. Many of the miners who were deported immediately returned to their homes in Indian Territory but were forced to accept a twenty per cent reduction in their wages.[50] Shortly thereafter the Knights of Labor ceased to exist in Indian Territory and the nation as well. Internal dissension and unfavorable public opinion forced laborers to turn elsewhere for their leadership.

Soon the more efficient and better organized United Mine Workers of America replaced the Knights of Labor in the mining fields. Founded nationally in 1890, the first local in Indian Territory was established at Krebs in 1898. As with the Knights of Labor, the English speaking miners

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[49] Ryan, *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities*, p. 28–29.

[50] Clyde Hamm, ed., *Labor History of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: A. M. Van Horn, 1939), pp. 6–11.

became the leaders of the new union and were at the forefront of most of the labor disputes. The Italians showed much more interest in the union than the other southern and eastern Europeans, and many held minor offices or were on the pit committees which helped settle disputes at the mines. However, the general attitude of most Italians was one of indifference; they joined simply because it was necessary.[51] Often a new miner in the area would be approached immediately and sternly asked if he was going to join the union, or if he was going to scab.[52] Under such pressure to conform, the Italians generally chose to join the union. In 1909, eighty-seven per cent of the dues-paying members of Local Number 2327 in Krebs were Italians.[53]

In trying to gain concessions from the operators, the miners utilized collective bargaining through union representatives. Union officials, armed with provisions of contracts which had been signed by the operators, traveled extensively in representing the miners in many disputes. Sometimes the officials settled arguments between members within the various locals. For instance, Howe Local Number 2028 called upon their representative to settle a dispute between those miners who wanted to be paid by the ton and those who wanted to be paid a daily wage. At other times, miners who were unjustly fired asked the sub-district representative to help them get reinstated. The most important task of the union official, however, was to investigate the charges of the miners who complained of poor working conditions. For example, one miner at Local Number 2327 in Krebs was annoyed at having to drive a certain mule which was so "notorious for her stinking qualities" that the driver was unable to eat dinner after spending a day working with the animal. In this case the local representative was unable to find a provision in the contract which would disallow working with a stinking mule. Usually, however, the union officials had to deal with more serious complaints.[54]

The United Mine Workers also used the strike weapon in their efforts to improve working conditions. The prolonged strike that occurred between 1898 and 1903 brought several benefits for the miners, as did subsequent strikes in 1910, 1916, 1919 and 1920.[55] There was little actual violence during these strikes and particularly was this true among the Italians. Even the

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[51] United States Senate, "Bituminous Coal Mining," 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document 633*, p. 67.

[52] Interview, Dominic Ross, Krebs, Oklahoma, April 5, 1974.

[53] Records of Local Number 2327 of the United Mine Workers, Krebs, Oklahoma, Manuscript Collection, Oklahoma State University Library, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

[54] Correspondence records in the Samuel Boydston Collection, Western History Collection, Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[55] Ryan, *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities*, p. 108.

coal operators agreed that the Italians and other southern and eastern Europeons were less extravagant and insistent in their demands.[56] In fact, if any radical action appeared in the mining area, it was usually instigated by the immigrants from the British Isles rather than the natives of Italy.[57] Thus, it can be concluded that the violence which characterized the labor disputes of Italy was not to be found in the union movement of Oklahoma. The miners generally restricted themselves to collective bargaining and relatively peaceful strikes to gain benefits from the operators.

The Socialist party of Oklahoma offered another possible alternative for disgruntled miners to express their grievances. In territorial days, the Socialists were active in two regions: the tenant farming areas of central and western Oklahoma Territory and the coal mining district of Indian Territory.[58] After statehood, those two sections became the sources of strength for a relatively strong Socialist party. Socialists concentrated enormous effort in Oklahoma, and some of their most able and clever organizers gained large followings.[59] Owing to their efforts, the party became one of the strongest in the nation. In 1910 the Socialist party of Oklahoma had 5,842 dues paying members—more than any other state.[60] Oklahoma subsequently recorded a higher percentage of Socialist votes than any other state, with 16.4 per cent in 1912 and 15.6 per cent in 1916.[61]

The strongest element of the party was that which consisted of tenant farmers. Most of these members had turned to socialism after the Populist party failed to meet its goals. The farmers' influence distorted the party into an agency which crusaded primarily for agricultural reform in the old Populist tradition.[62] The party was far more concerned with the real issues of the state rather than philosophical or distant conflicts between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the Socialists of Oklahoma did not totally ignore the basic goals of socialism, and pledged to seize the powers of the government for the immediate betterment of the workers in a classless society.[63]

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[56] United States Senate, "Bituminous Coal Mining," 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document 633*, p. 67.

[57] Address of Carl Albert, Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[58] Howard L. Meredith, "A History of the Socialist Party in Oklahoma," unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1969, p. 47.

[59] Nathan Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828–1928* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), p. 232.

[60] David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955), p. 34.

[61] Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828–1928*, p. 232.

[62] Meredith, "A History of the Socialist Party in Oklahoma," p. 20.

[63] Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America*, pp. 35–36.

Although of secondary importance, some planks in the Socialist platforms appealed to the miners in eastern Oklahoma. One section of the party platform of 1912 demanded that mine inspectors be elected by the organized miners rather than being elected by the general public or appointed by the governor. The platform also demanded state ownership of certain industries, including the coal mines. In addition its provisions for the unemployed and its condemnation of the use of police power in strikes must have appealed to the miners.[64]

Voicing such demands as these, Socialist leaders spoke at mining camps throughout Oklahoma and drew a large following. Socialist ideas were not new to the miners who had been acquainted with these doctrines in other mining regions. In fact, many of the labor leaders became Socialist candidates and received substantial support from the mining regions.[65] The party had strong organizations in the coal mining counties, with committeemen representing most of the precincts.[66] In 1914, twenty-six per cent of the votes were cast for the Socialist gubernatorial candidate in Pittsburg County. In Coal County, candidates of the Socialist Party consistently placed second in the electoral contests of 1914.[67]

It is difficult to determine the precise extent of Italian involvement in the Socialist party, but a substantial number seem to have become involved in the party or at least voted for Socialists in the elections.[68] In 1914, the Socialist senatorial candidate, Patrick Nagle, received ninety-three votes in Krebs, just seven votes less than the Democratic front-runner, Thomas Gore, and well ahead of the Republican candidate. The proportion of votes for other offices was similar; indeed, the Socialist party was the second strongest in Krebs during that election year.[69] Taking into account that most Italians were not citizens, it is still safe to assume that a portion of these votes in Krebs were cast by Italians, as they made up more than one-half the population of that city. Regardless of the extent of participation, the Italians involved with the Socialist party, as with the labor union, were usually led by the Anglo-Saxon element.[70] Furthermore, the history of the Socialist

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64 "Platform and Campaign Book of the Socialist Party of Oklahoma for 1912," Vertical Files, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

65 James R. Scales, "Political History of Oklahoma, 1907–1949," unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1949, p. 150.

66 "Platform and Campaign Book of the Socialist Party of Oklahoma for 1916," Vertical Files, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

67 General Election Returns, November 1914, Oklahoma State Archives, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

68 Interview, Charles Fassino.

69 General Election Returns, November 1914.

70 Ryan, *The Rehabilitation of Oklahoma Coal Mining Communities*, p. 87.

One of the coal mines McAlester area in which many Italian immigrants were employed

party in Oklahoma reveals few instances of violence. The only important example of a resort to violent action was the farmers' revolt of 1917, known as the "Green Corn Rebellion." This disturbance was brought about by America's involvement in World War I, and there was no foreign element involved in the insurrection. Unlike its Italian counterpart, the Socialist party of Oklahoma avoided extra-legal coercion and chose instead the electoral and legal alternatives that were open to them. If the Italians brought violent radicalism to Oklahoma, it did not appear in the Socialist party.

The career and activities of a prominent Italian Socialist leader, Emilio C. Marianelli, further illustrates this temperate and moderate attitude. He was born in Iron Mountain, Michigan, in 1888, the son of Nazzareno and Margherita Marianelli from Sigillo in Perugia, Italy.[71] Although American

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[71] Giovanni Schiavo, ed., *Italian-American Who's Who*, (New York: The Vigo Press, 1946), p. 266.

born, he lived in Italy as a child and received some of his education there.[72] After returning to the United States while still a boy, he worked as a miner at night and attended Wyoming Seminary at Kingston, Pennsylvania, during the day. He was well acquainted with the hardships of a miner's life.[73]

After graduating from Wyoming Seminary, Marianelli enrolled in the Dickinson School of Law in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. There he developed a friendship with Albert Exendine, a Delaware Indian from Oklahoma who had been an All-American end on the football team at the famed Carlisle Indian School.[74] The two friends graduated from law school in 1912 and established a joint practice in Anadarko, Oklahoma, where Exendine's influence was expected to attract clients. However, the practice proved to be less than satisfactory, and the young lawyers began looking for a new and more advantageous area. Hearing that substantial numbers of Italians lived near Krebs, Marianelli visited the area, found it promising and persuaded his friend to open their new office in nearby McAlester.[75] Although they chose McAlester to open their office, many of their clients lived in Krebs and other Italian communities. Whereas Exendine had not been able to attract a sufficient quantity of Indian patrons, Marianelli succeeded in drawing a number of Italian clients, as the Probate Court Records of Pittsburg County testify.[76]

Until his departure from McAlester in 1927, Marianelli was affiliated with the Socialist party. Immediately before World War I, he and Exendine were instrumental in aiding the prominent Socialist advocate, Oscar Ameringer, in establishing a statewide Socialist newspaper, *The Oklahoma Leader*.[77] Marianelli had planned to run for Attorney General on the Socialist ticket in 1918 but was drafted to serve in World War I. His description of army life shows him to be far from the stereotype of the socialist radical. Rather than denouncing the war as a product of capitalist imperialism, or advocating the use of wartime confusion to advance the socialist program, Marianelli reported that he was actually "enjoying" army life and making a success of it. He had been promoted to the rank of sergeant and was dealing with military insurance matters for soldiers in France.[78] After returning home, Marianelli became a charter member of the American Legion post in

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[72] *Ibid.*; Oscar Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940), p. 309.

[73] Schiavo, *Italian-American Who's Who*, p. 266.

[74] Interview, Charles Fassino; Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken*, p. 309.

[75] Interview, Charles Fassino.

[76] Probate Court Records for Pittsburg County, 1915–1920, Office of the Court Clerk, Pittsburg County Courthouse, McAlester, Oklahoma.

[77] Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken*, p. 309–310.

[78] *Oklahoma Leader* (Oklahoma City), November 7, 1918, p. 5.

McAlester—an organization hardly sympathetic to radicalism—and a deacon in the First Baptist Church of McAlester.[79] He remained active in both these organizations for the rest of his life, further confounding the socialist stereotype. After unsuccessful bids for state office on the Socialist party ticket, Marianelli moved to Pennsylvania in 1927, where he carried on a vigorous law practice until his death in 1972.[80]

Southern Baptist and Legionaire, Marianelli was a typical Oklahoma socialist. Like others in the mining region, he became interested in the Socialist party because it promised reforms in the mining industry. His position as Chief Counsel of the United Mine Workers of Oklahoma in the 1920s and his subsequent assumption of a similar post in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, indicate that he was concerned and dedicated to the miner's cause.[81] To be sure, he was a Socialist, but to label Marianelli a "radical" would be a mistake.

Although the Italians in the area of Krebs rarely caused disturbances, one exceptional episode of violence erupted in 1909 which was associated with the activities of the "Black Hand." The "Black Hand," as distinct from the *Mafia*, consisted of small, unrelated criminal gangs, usually from the same province in Italy. They threatened other Italians and signed their extortionate demands with a small figure of a black hand.[82]

At least three men were involved in an attempt to blackmail prominent members of the Italian community in 1909. The conspirators had repeatedly threatened Joe Nellis, a store owner in Krebs, warning that they would kill him if he did not pay them $1,000. Nellis refused, and his store was dynamited at 1:00 a.m. on March 31, 1909.[83] A few days later, Nellis received another note which ordered him to deposit $1,000 in a coke oven at the Degnan and McConnel plant at nearby Alderson, Oklahoma. Nellis notified the sheriff who sent two deputies to take care of the matter. Concealing themselves in a small shack, they pounced on a man when he attempted to retrieve Nellis' ransom from the coke oven. Three other Italians were later arrested, and it was discovered that they, all Sicilians, had ties with individuals near Chicago, Illinois, and, as a result, an interstate conspiracy was suspected.[84] These three men later were indicted, but the fourth person

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[79] Interview, Charles Fassino.

[80] *Ibid.*; Obituary of Emilio C. Marianelli from the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

[81] Schiavo, *Italian-American Who's Who*, p. 266.

[82] Joseph L. Albini, *The American Mafia: Genesis of a Legend* (New York: Appleton, Century and Crofts, 1971), pp. 191–95.

[83] *McAlester News-Capital* (McAlester), March 31, 1909, p. 1.

[84] *Ibid.*, April 5, 1909, p. 1.

arrested, a "northern Italian lad," was released after authorities had determined that he was not involved in the blackmailing scheme.[85]

The episode of the "Black Hand" in Krebs was unique. It involved outsiders and was a striking exception to the usually peaceful atmosphere of the Italian community. The indignation of the people in the area against the violent tactics of a handful of conspirators shows that criminal actions would not be tolerated.[86] The "Black Hand" could find no foothold in Krebs.

With this single exception few instances of disruptive criminality or radicalism can be found among the Italians in the area of Krebs. Here they established a peaceful and beneficial mutual aid society, joined a temperate and constructive labor organization and, in some instances, supported a reasonable and reformist Socialist party. They accepted gratefully the better life and increased opportunities of their new home, and identified themselves with the American system. Unlike many of their fellow countrymen who settled in large eastern cities, the Oklahoma Italians assimilated readily and completely. Many subsequently moved to midwestern and northeastern industrial centers after the mining industry began to wane in the 1920s. But those who remained became ranchers, farmers, teachers, businessmen and public officials. These "foreigners," so maligned and suspected during the "Red Scare" were in reality hard working, sensible and loyal Americans.

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[85] *Ibid.*, June 17, 1909, p. 1.
[86] Interview, Charles Fassino.

DELEGATES OF THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES TO THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS

*By T. Paul Wilson**

On October 2, 1862, Elias Cornelius Boudinot, a mixed-blood Cherokee, gingerly took a seat in the Confederate House of Representatives in Richmond, Virginia. His continued presence would depend on that body's acceptance of his proffered credentials which identified him as the duly elected and certified representative of the Cherokee Nation. Boudinot's lawful occupancy of the congressional chair was confirmed October 9, following a positive resolution to that effect from the House Committee on Indian Affairs.[1] Within nineteen months two additional Indian delegates joined the Cherokee represenative in the Confederate capital at Richmond. Robert M. Jones, a Choctaw, served as the Chickasaw and Choctaw representative and Samuel Benton Callahan discharged the same duties for the Creek and Seminole tribes. These men's congressional careers constituted the first instance of Indian participation in a white government's legislature. In spite of the unique character of this circumstance, little has been written concerning the three delegates' activities.[2] Their efforts deserve more attention; Boudinot, Jones and Callahan made a significant contribution to the Civil War history of Indian Territory.

Full Indian participation in the Confederate government through a congressional delegation was embodied in the treaties signed by the Five Civilized Tribes in 1861. According to these documents, the combined Creek and Seminole tribes, the Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes and the Cherokee tribe were allotted one delegate each in the Confederate House of Representatives to serve two year terms. The person elected jointly by the Creeks and Seminoles had to be twenty-one years of age and a member of

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[1] United States Senate, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," *Senate Document No. 234*, 58th Congress, 2d Session (7 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), Vol. V, pp. 502, 513–514.

[2] Although mentioned briefly in many books and articles, the only discussion of any length about the Indian delegates is found in Kenny A. Franks, "The Implementation of the Confederate Treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LI, No. 1 (Spring 1973), pp. 31–32. The names of Boudinot, Jones and Callahan do not appear in the standard history, *The Confederate Congress* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960), by Wilfred B. Yearns, while Annie Abel's classic study, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919), pp. 298–299, states that only the Cherokees and Choctaws sent delegates to Richmond.

either nation. In addition to the same age and similar citizenship provisions, the representative of the Choctaws and Chickasaws was to be alternately chosen from the two tribes with the added stipulation that a Choctaw be elected initially. After meeting the age and citizenship requirements the Cherokee delegate, along with the other nations' representatives, was also subject to automatic disqualification if he had ever violated the laws of his tribe. The Confederate Indian agents were to determine the times and places of election, except in the Cherokees' case in which the principal chief prescribed those particulars. Vacancies resulting from resignation or death would be filled by special elections from the tribal affiliation of the delegates whose terms were expiring.[3]

The treaties also outlined the precise status of the Five Civilized Tribes' legislators once seated in the Confederate House of Representatives. They were to be entitled to the rights of delegates chosen from Confederate territory.[4] However, the Indian representatives were not destined to enjoy the privileges of office—introducing and voting on bills—as other regularly elected members to the Confederate House. In his eagerness to attach the western Indian tribes to the South's cause, Albert Pike, the Confederate treaty commissioner, had promised more than he could deliver. President Jefferson Davis entertained serious reservations concerning the parts of the Pike-negotiated treaties that guaranteed ultimate statehood and congressional representation. Upon submitting these treaties for action by the Confederate Senate, Davis characterized the statehood and delegate provisions as "not only impolitic but unconstitutional." He suggested that the House of Representatives alone possessed the authority to determine the powers which Indian delegates would exercise in the South's legislature.[5]

The Confederate House had not yet resolved the matter of Indian delegates and their status when the first two of them, Boudinot and Jones, appeared respectively on October 2, 1862, and on January 17, 1863. This circumstance strikes a peculiar note. President Davis had submitted the treaty proposals along with his recommendations in December, 1861, and the Confederate House had debated the provisions involving Indian legisla-

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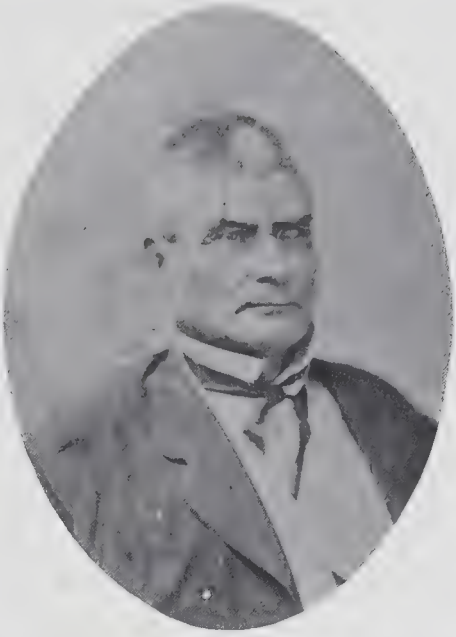
[3] United States Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (4 series, 70 volumes, 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 435, 443, 452–453, 456, 520–521, 527, 679–680, 687; Franks, "The Implementation of the Confederate Treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LI, pp. 31–32.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] James D. Richardson, comp., *The Messages and Papers of Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy* (2 vol., New York: Chelsea House, 1966), Vol. I, pp. 149–150; Kinneth McNeil, "Confederate Treaties with the Tribe of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, No. 4 (Winter, 1964–1965), p. 417.



Elias C. Boudinot, the Cherokee representative, and Robert M. Jones, the Choctaw-Chickasaw representative, were the first Indian delegates to arrive at the Confederate Capitol in Richmond, Virginia

tors as early as October 2, 1862. Yet, the act providing for the election of delegates to the Confederate House of Representatives was not passed until May 1, 1863, while the law describing the mode of filling vacancies, passed January 5, 1864, was originally introduced in the House by Boudinot himself.[6] One authority explains the delay in taking action as the result of disbelief on the part of the Confederate Congress that the Indian nations would actually realize the importance of their representation rights and act upon them.[7] The accuracy of this appraisal cannot be ascertained from extant records; perhaps the Confederate legislators were simply preoccupied with more pressing business.

Whatever the explanation for delay, it remained for the Confederacy's lower house to establish the duties and privileges of the Indian representa-

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[6] United States Senate, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," *Senate Document No. 234*, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. I, pp. 590–591 and Vol. III, pp. 420, 520–521; Circular containing an Address and Acts of Congress, September 29, 1864, Confidential Correspondence of General Samuel B. Maxey (December 18, 1863–October 16, 1864), Samuel B. Maxey Collection, Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

[7] Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, p. 180.

tives. According to the resolution passed October 9, 1862, the five nations' delegates could propose and introduce measures for the benefit of the tribes. They were also allowed to address the House on any other legislation which might substantially affect Indian Territory, but on no bills or resolutions would the Indian legislators be allowed to cast a ballot. Obviously, the Confederacy was not prepared to extend completely equal status to the representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes. Nevertheless, on a daily basis, the delegates could exercise a greater degree of power than officially stipulated. Boudinot on one occasion requested a temporary suspension of the rules to allow him to introduce a bill not directly concerned with his own tribe, the Cherokees. Additionally, the House augmented the responsibilities of the Indian legislative contingent by reacting favorably to a motion placing a tribal delegate on the Committee on Indian Affairs as a corresponding member.[8]

If the somewhat anomalous positions of non-voting delegates were to be effectual, men of intelligence and tact were required. Much depended on the character and abilities of the first delegate to appear in Richmond. Boudinot, the Cherokee representative, entered the Confederate Congress as one of the two youngest legislators; he was twenty-seven years of age, only two years beyond the constitutional minimum for House members. His earlier life and career revealed similar precocities. Born near Rome, Georgia, on August 1, 1835, Boudinot lost his father four years later and came under the care of his uncle, Stand Watie. The latter sent his nephew in the company of his mother to Manchester, Vermont, where young Boudinot matriculated and received his basic education. By the time he entered college, the three-eighths Cherokee youth was described as "dark, handsome and proud of his Indian blood."[9]

At the age of twenty-one Boudinot journeyed west, where as a citizen of the Cherokee Nation, he owned a farm and had cattle interests. In New England he had enrolled in a civil engineering course only to switch to law, which he continued studying in Arkansas. Admitted to the bar in 1856, Boudinot presented cases in state and federal courts while interesting himself in local Democratic politics. By 1860, he listed his occupation as journalist, serving as editor of the Fayetteville, Arkansas, *True Democrat*. Boudinot voted for secession, although he owned no slaves, and was elected secretary of the Arkansas Secession Convention that voted to join the Confederate

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[8] United States Senate, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," *Senate Document No. 234*, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. I, p. 591, Vol. V, p. 514 and Vol. VI, pp. 276, 520, 529.

[9] Muriel H. Wright, "Notes on Colonel Elias C. Boudinot," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, No. 4 (Winter, 1963–1964), p. 384.

States of America. Watie enlisted his nephew's aid in organizing the First Cherokee Mounted Rifle Regiment in which Boudinot held the rank of major under his older kinsman's colonelcy. The regiment saw action against Federal forces at the Battle of Chustenahlah in Indian Territory; Boudinot was soon advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Lame in one knee from reinjuring a boyhood hurt during the 1861 winter campaign, Boudinot resigned his commission to campaign successfully for the office of Cherokee delegate to the Confederate Congress.[10]

Of Boudinot's activities during October, 1862, at Richmond in the House of Representatives, little was recorded. On the day the young mixed-blood repeated his oath of office, the House enacted a bill providing for the Indian delegates' pay and traveling expenses.[11] Boudinot would need this money as he soon returned to the Cherokee Nation to consult with his constituents, the first of several arduous trips by horseback to and from Richmond. The youthful legislator heard plenty of complaints voiced by members of his own and the other Five Civilized Tribes. Most of them centered on the gap between the Confederate treaty promises and their fulfillment. This disgruntlement had already prompted President Davis to send his Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sutton S. Scott, on a western tour to assure the tribes of the Confederacy's good intentions. Scott, in an address to his Indian charges, attempted to explain the difficulties that the Richmond government faced in meeting its obligations. He emphasized the positive gains acquired by the Five Civilized Tribes from their allegiance to the South, excused the government's shortcomings on the grounds of the exigencies of war and noted encouragingly that they were "allowed delegates in Congress whose exclusive duty consists in watching over and guarding your interests."[12]

Before journeying to Richmond in January, 1863, Boudinot wrote Watie about the chief interests and need of money of the Cherokees at that juncture of the war effort. He had delayed his departure for the Confederate capital while awaiting military developments and while gathering information on

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[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 385; Thomas B. Alexander and Richard E. Beringer, *The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress: A Study of the Influence of Member Characteristics on Legislative Voting Behavior, 1861–1865* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972), pp. 29, 356–357; John D. Adams, comp., *Elias Cornelius Boudinot* (Chicago: Rand McNally Company, 1890), pp. 17–19. No biography of Elias C. Boudinot has been written. The above account of him was compiled by John D. Adams of Little Rock, Arkansas, as a memorial to Boudinot immediately following his death on September 27, 1890.

[11] United States Senate, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," *Senate Document No. 234*, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. V, pp. 513–514.

[12] United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1863* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), pp. 342–343.

the demoralized and despondent conditions in the Cherokee Nation and Indian Territory. This information he intended to utilize in obtaining funds due the Cherokee tribe, money sorely needed to bolster the Indians' flagging hopes for a successful conclusion of the war. Boudinot asked Watie as the Southern Cherokee chief to direct the Southern tribal legislature to adopt a resolution authorizing him as an agent to receive money. Watie accomplished this, and his nephew arrived in Richmond during February, prepared to channel financial aid home as rapidly as possible.[13] He soon discovered the inherent difficulties of attempting to pry funds from a government already facing pecuniary distress. His best efforts to the contrary, Boudinot was unable to obtain any financial relief during the winter and spring months of 1862–1863. During these frustrating days, nevertheless, he managed to make his presence known in the Southern Congress. On February 20, 1863, he submitted a memorial to the House of Representatives containing his views on the Confederacy's Indian policy; the document, however, was not read aloud, but was referred directly to the House Committee on Indian Affairs. Later in the spring, on April 1, Boudinot introduced a bill, which was eventually passed, establishing the regulations for holding elections of Indian delegates to the House of Representatives. That same day the young Cherokee legislator offered a supplemental provision to an act organizing a judicial system for Indian Territory. Both of these actions bore legislative fruit, for the bills were passed; but neither was ever implemented by the Confederate government.[14]

Trouble awaited Boudinot upon his return to Indian Territory in May, 1863. In his zeal to serve the Cherokee Nation and the Confederate States, he had overstepped the wishes of his countrymen. Willing to take drastic measures to alleviate the rapidly deteriorating Confederate position in Indian Territory, Boudinot proposed offering land bounties to whites enlisting in the Cherokee regiment. Tribal reaction was swift and negative. Certain Cherokee leaders, including the acting pro-Southern assistant chief, Samuel M. Taylor, drafted a strongly worded protest to President Jefferson Davis. They accused Boudinot of misusing the dignity of his position as delegate in proposing "for his own interest and that of some of his friends" a pernicious scheme to defraud the Cherokees of their land. In spite of

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[13] Elias C. Boudinot to Stand Watie, January 23, 1863, Edward E. Dale and Gaston Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. 119.

[14] United States Senate, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," *Senate Document No. 234*, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. VI, p. 376; Franks, "The Implementation of the Confederate Treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LI, pp. 28–29.

The Interior of the House of Delegates of the Confederate Congress

this sinister allegation of wrongdoing for profit, no evidence implicating Boudinot in a landgrabbing plot was uncovered.[15]

Doubtlessly, Boudinot contemplated his return to Richmond with a sense of relief. Watie, his uncle, still possessed confidence in him, a judgment based more on the chief's acumen than mere familial loyalty if Boudinot's

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[15] Samuel M. Taylor, John Spears and Alex Foreman to Jefferson Davis, June 21, 1863, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. II, pp. 1120–1122; Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838–1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), pp. 161–163, 166–167.

subsequent accomplishments are considered. The Cherokee representative's most productive tasks lay before him. Journeying to Monroe, Louisiana, in November, 1863, Boudinot again turned his attention toward raising funds for the Cherokee cause. He discussed the increasingly desperate situation in Indian Territory with Commissioner of Indian Affairs Scott and Lieutenant General Edward Kirby-Smith, the commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department. The two Confederates heard from the Cherokee representative that as a consequence of Southern defeats in the West and continuing raids by Federal forces at Fort Gibson, most Indian families who supported the Confederacy had abandoned their homes for temporary shelter in northern Texas. These refugees were leading a precarious existence, suffering greatly without adequate food, housing and clothing. They constituted the chief concern of the three Indian delegates in Congress after the spring of 1863.[16]

In Louisiana, Boudinot received nothing more substantial than sympathy from Scott and Kirby-Smith. Neither of them would assume the responsibility for advancing funds for refugee relief. Therefore, Boudinot secured $10,000 on his own signature and planned to proceed to Richmond to raise an additional $40,000.[17] Within two months he more than fulfilled a pledge to Watie to raise additional money. On December 18, 1863, Boudinot stood in the Confederate House of Representatives and introduced a bill appropriating $100,000 for the relief of the Cherokee Nation. The measure passed Congress with only one dissenting vote and was signed by President Davis on January 22, 1864. This windfall, Boudinot told Watie, should be carefully spent, as after the war the entire amount would be deducted from annuity payments owed the Cherokees by the Confederacy. Additionally, Confederate currency had so depreciated in value by this stage of the war that the Southern government was debating the refunding of existing currency in favor of a new issue. This new money, Boudinot realized, would buy more for his tribe; thus, he urged Watie to draw sparingly from the $100,000 account until the more valuable currency would be circulated. Apparently, Watie followed this nephew's advice; the chief reported that only $45,000 had been expended for the care of indigent Cherokees by August, 1864.[18]

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[16] Angie Debo, "Southern Refugees of the Cherokee Nation," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (April, 1932), pp. 255–258.

[17] Boudinot to Watie, November 4, 1863, Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family*, p. 143.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 150–151; United States Senate, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," *Senate Document No. 234*, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. VI, pp. 543,

The spring of 1864 found Boudinot impatient to leave Richmond and rejoin his tribal kinsmen in the West. During the previous one-half year he had maintained a laborious schedule of activities in his role of Confederate congressional delegate. After obtaining passage of the Cherokee Relief Act, Boudinot introduced more legislation concerning Indian Territory. On January 8, 1864, he offered for consideration a bill to expedite the payment of claims against the Confederate government of widows and orphans of deceased Indian soldiers and officers. The proposed legislation was referred to the House Committee on Indian Affairs on which Boudinot had served since the previous December as a non-voting, corresponding member. Although not passed as a separate act, the Indian claims settlement was added by Boudinot to a more general claims bill.[19] The Cherokee also introduced a bill to facilitate the payment of quartermaster, commissary and ordnance accounts accumulated by Indian troops. However, no action was taken on this bill after the Confederate House voted to refer it to committee.[20] Boudinot's last utterance on the floor of the House, before the congressional session ended in June, involved the proposal of a minor administrative bill. He suggested that funds be appropriate to print in pamphlet form sufficient copies of the Acts and Resolutions of the Provisional Congress to supply all members of the House. This bill received immediate approval from Boudinot's fellow legislators.[21]

The young mixed-blood representative left Richmond in June, 1864, satisfied that he had represented the Cherokees to the best of his abilities. This had included activities outside the halls of the Confederate Congress. Boudinot met with President Davis to discuss questions of policy regarding Indian Territory, and on at least two occasions Davis received letters from Boudinot outlining the delegate's plans for the reorganization of the territorial military structure, making the region a department separate from the existing Trans-Mississippi Department.[22] More specifically, Boudinot requested that three Indian regiments be formed into a brigade commanded by Watie,

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597; Boudinot to Watie, January 24, 1864, Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family*, pp. 150–152; Stand Watie's address to the Cherokee National Committee and Council, August 7, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 2, p. 1047. For a detailed discussion of the Confederate currency problem, see Yearns, *The Confederate Congress*, pp. 197–217.

[19] United States Senate, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," *Senate Document No. 234*, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. VI, pp. 520, 529, 602, 811.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 811.

[21] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 19.

[22] Boudinot to Watie, January 24, 1864, Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family*, pp. 150–151.

who would hold the rank of brigadier general.[23] The President followed much of this advice: in February, 1864, he addressed the Confederate allies of the Five Civilized Tribes, informing them of his decisions to constitute their territory into a separate military district, rather than a department and to authorize an expansion of the Indian troops into additional brigades.[24] As a result Boudinot was able to send word to Watie of his promotion to the rank of brigadier general before leaving Richmond.[25] He traveled extensively in Texas and Arkansas attempting to aid Indian refugee groups before returning to the Confederate capital in November, 1864. During the last months of the Confederacy, he teamed with Samuel B. Callahan, the Creek-Seminole representative, in efforts to provide their beleaguered Indian constitutents with some relief. They alone represented Indian Territory, as no successor to Robert M. Jones, the Chickasaw and Choctaw delegate, was elected following Jones' resignation from office in June, 1864.[26]

Samuel B. Callahan, the Creek-Seminole representative, who worked with Boudinot for badly needed aid for the Southern refugees in Indian Territory

At that time, Jones, a mixed-blood Choctaw, had already spent three years in the service of his tribe. Born in Mississippi, on October 1, 1808, he was a generation older than his legislative counterparts, Callahan and Boudinot. As a youth of nineteen, Jones left a local Indian mission school in Mississippi to attend the Choctaw Academy in Scott County, Kentucky. Three years

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[23] Boudinot to Davis, December 21, 1863, and January 4, 1864, *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, p. 1103, and Vol. LIII, pp. 920–921.

[24] Richardson, comp., *Messages and Papers of Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy*, Vol. II, pp. 477–479.

[25] The promotion was made on May 5, 1864, Boudinot to Watie, May 7, 1864, Cherokee Nation Collection, Western History Collections, Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[26] Circular containing an Address and Acts of Congress of September 29, 1864, Confidential Correspondence of General Samuel B. Maxey (December 18, 1863–October 16, 1864), Samuel B. Maxey Collection, Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

later, he graduated with a special recommendation from three of his teachers, describing him as "a young man of sterling worth; strictly honest. . . [and] well qualified with a good English education."[27] Upon graduation, Jones received $1,800 worth of government annuities accumulated while in school. With this legacy, he launched an astoundingly successful business and farming career. By the time of the South's secession from the Union, he operated several general merchandise stores and plantations, including Rose Hill, located in Red River County of the Choctaw Nation. Jones and his Chickasaw wife lived elegantly in a style probably equal to that of most other large plantation owners in the South.[28]

Secession brought an abrupt end to Jones' splendid idyll. As the possessor of over 200 slaves, it was only natural that he risk his personal fortune with those of the Confederacy. He headed the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty negotiators and was the first to sign the completed agreement whereby the two tribes joined the Southern cause.[29] On October 7, 1861, Jones was certified as the winner of the election for the Chickasaw and Choctaw delegate position.[30] Fifteen months elapsed before Jones swore his oath of office and claimed his seat in the Confederate House of Representatives on January 17, 1863.[31] The new delegate's first action on the floor of the House involved the presentation of a memorial on behalf of a commercial firm, Jones and Thebo, asking compensation for supplies furnished to the Choctaw Volunteers. The document was referred to the House Committee on Claims without recommendation. Jones offered one other bill during his tenure as delegate, and, as a result, the House voted favorably on his bill to appropriate funds to print 200 additional copies of the *Report of the Commissioner of*

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[27] The original school transcript, dated June 11, 1830, and the accompanying letter of recommendation signed by Theodore Henderson, F. C. McCall and Robert M. Johnson are in the Robert M. Jones File, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[28] This biographical material is from an unsigned and undated typewritten manuscript plus a letter of Robert L. Williams to J. H. Randall, September 16, 1927, *ibid*; Grant Foreman, "Notes from the *Indian Advocate*," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (March, 1936), pp. 318–319.

[29] *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 451, 464–465.

[30] Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, p. 180.

[31] United States Senate, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," *Senate Document No. 234*, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. VI, p. 26. A clue to the reason for the long delay before Jones took his congressional seat can be found in an extract of a letter written by him on July 1, 1862. Jones complained to Confederate military authorities that five of his wagons had been "pressed" into service by a local commander. It is possible that Jones' extensive business interests kept him at home until January, 1863. G. A. Schwarzman to R. C. Newton, July 4, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, pp. 962–963.

Indian Affairs for distribution among the Confederate tribes.[32] While residing in the Confederate capital, Jones, along with the other Indian delegates, attempted to look after his constituents' wartime needs. On one occasion in September, 1863, he traced the reason for the failure of an arms shipment to reach troops operating in Indian Territory; the arms and munitions were captured by Federal forces.[33] This type of occurrence had become all too common by June, 1864, when Jones resigned his seat in the House of Representatives, leaving the younger Indian delegates, Callahan and Boudinot, to represent the Five Civilized Tribes in Richmond.[34]

As Watie's troops continued the losing battle in the West, the two remaining Indian Territory legislators labored in the Southern Congress during the waning days of the Confederacy. The indefatigable Boudinot was seconded in this increasingly despairing task of extracting government assistance for the Five Civilized Tribes by Samuel Callahan. Of Scottish and Irish descent with no known Indian forebears, Callahan was born in Mobile, Alabama on January 26, 1833. His parents left his birthplace and moved to Sulphur Springs, Texas, where he attended public schools until entering McKensie College at Clarksville, Texas. Callahan edited the Sulphur Springs *Gazette* after college, then moved to Indian Territory in 1858, where he raised cattle, and made his headquarters at Okmulgee. When the Civil War came, Callahan enlisted in the Confederate Army as a member of the First Creek Mounted Volunteers. Elected by his full-blood Creek friends to serve as their delegate to the Confederate House of Representatives, he resigned his commission and duties as a captain in the First Creek Regiment on May 18, 1864.[35]

Callahan entered the House of Representatives on May 30, 1864. He proposed two items of legislation before leaving Richmond two weeks before the end of the war.[36] On January 20, 1865, Callahan introduced a bill to pay in cotton the annuities due the Creek and Seminole nations. The

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[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 103.

[33] Guy M. Bryan to Robert M. Jones, September 19, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 1021.

[34] Jones' motives for resigning are not known, nor are many other aspects of his career. The bulk of his records and correspondence was destroyed by vandals after his death in 1865. Robert L. Williams to J. H. Randall, September 16, 1927, Robert M. Jones File, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[35] This biographical material appears in Muriel H. Wright's appendix titled "Samuel Benton Callahan," in Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "S. Alice Callahan: Author of Wynema A Child of the Forest," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1955), pp. 314–315.

[36] In spite of his brief career in the Confederate House of Representatives, Callahan was later to be accorded a degree of fame as the last living survivor of the Confederate Congress. He died in Muskogee, Oklahoma, on February 17, 1911. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

provision was taken under consideration by the House Committee on Indian Affairs, whose membership incorporated it into a broader act benefiting the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes as well as the Creek and Seminole nations.[37] Both Callahan and Boudinot participated in the debate over a bill concerning the redemption of the old issue Confederate treasury notes for a new issue. Boudinot had written Watie of his hopes of sparing the Cherokees from losing money on this compulsory transaction. Approximately one-third of the value of the Cherokee-owned old issue notes would have been lost if the proposed financial measure was applied to the Indian nations.[38] Thanks to the Boudinot and Callahan amendments, the act providing for redemption of the old issue notes exempted the Indians from the one-third discount. Moreover, a Callahan amendment guarded against fraud by stipulating that the redemption process be under the supervision of the Confederate Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Because of a Boudinot proposal, the amount which could be redeemed was raised from $300,000 to $600,000.[39]

Boudinot and Callahan left Richmond in mid-March, 1865, just three weeks before Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox, Virginia. Thus, their and Jones' legislation instantly became worthless. Nevertheless, their days in Richmond were important during the life of the Confederacy. Callahan, Jones and Boudinot sacrificed time and effort in their struggle to secure the promises provided for in the treaties of 1861. That the measures they succeeded in enacting did not relieve their constituents' problems can be attributed to wholly inadequate financing of the Confederacy. Inflation reached astounding proportions and matched in fact an often repeated quip in Richmond: "You take your money to market in the market basket, and bring home what you buy in your pocketbook."[40] Boudinot proved this point when in Richmond, as he told Watie, that he was paying $400 a month for lodging.[41] Under these inflationary conditions, the value of the

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[37] United States Senate, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," *Senate Document No. 234*, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. VII, pp. 467, 657; James M. Matthews, ed., *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond: R. M. Smith, 1864), pp. 94–95.

[38] Boudinot to Watie, October 3, 1864, Cherokee Nation Collection, Western History Collections, Library, University of Oklahoma.

[39] United States Senate, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," *Senate Document No. 234*, 58th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. VII, pp. 601–602; Matthews, ed., *Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America*, p. 75.

[40] Mary Boykins Chestnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, Ben Ames Williams, ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961), p. 368.

[41] Elias C. Boudinot to William P. Boudinot, June 2, 1864, Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family*, p. 170.

relief bills of the Indian delegates to the Confederate House of Representatives was sharply curtailed. Perhaps the most lasting contribution the three delegates made was indirect. Their presence in the Confederate Congress helped to quell the still widely held stereotype of confused red men destined always to remain wards of white government.

THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS IN THE CITY: TULSA AND OKLAHOMA CITY IN THE 1930s

*By Reid Holland**

Popularly known as the "forest army" of the depression thirties, the Civilian Conservation Corps was one of the least criticized programs of the New Deal. Both the American public and the United States Congress generally accepted the idea of soil erosion work and reforestation as welcome relief for young men. Likewise, both contemporary Americans and professors of history have traditionally associated the Civilian Conservation Corps with the countryside.

Legislation creating the organization, or the Emergency Conservation Work as it was originally called, was signed into law on March 31, 1933, only ten days after its introduction into Congress.[1] The general administration of the Emergency Conservation Work project was relatively simple. Taking advantage of pre-existing federal departments, the Civilian Conservation Corps was headed by a director, Robert Fechner, who was a former executive of the Georgia Machinist Union, while its various programs were carried out by four cabinet level departments under Fechner's guidance. The Department of War was responsible for training the men and administering their camps, while the Interior and Agriculture departments coordinated the technical aspect of the actual projects undertaken in the various states. In addition the Department of Labor aided local state agencies to "sign up" enrollees.

The United States was divided into eight corps areas with state districts in each corps. The men enrolling in these camps had to meet certain age requirements; have "needy" dependents; be unemployed; be single, unless they were veterans; and agree to return a portion of their pay to their family. By amendment to the original bill, blacks were included in those eligible, as were veterans who were older than the initial age requirements. These men served in various programs ranging from the more familiar soil erosion and forestry camps to national and state park camps.[2]

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[1] United States Government, *Congressional Record*, 73rd Congress, 1st Session (multivolumes, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934) Vol. LXXVII, pt. 1, pp. 630–651, 701.

[2] Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, *Annual Report of the Director, 1933* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), pp. 1–25.

These state park camps were often, although not always, located in a city in what was actually a city park, and according to the official designation, of Civilian Conservation Corps were "metropolitan park camps." The work done in these urban areas has been neglected by historians of the period; and yet these projects were essential to the growth of many urban areas in the 1930s. John Salmond, the only recent scholarly historian of the Civilan Conservation Corps, does not emphasize the work accomplished by enrollees—especially in the urban atmosphere. William Leuchtenburg, a well-known New Deal historian, devotes one meager paragraph to the project in *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, and makes no mention of the work in urban areas. Naturally enough, contemporaries writing about the "tree army" emphasized the work which was most widely publicized, that of soil erosion control and reforestation—hence the name "tree army" or "forest army." Very few authorities in the 1930s, or now, associate the Civilian Conservation Corps with the city. Yet, many American cities today have adequate municipal park systems only as a result of its efforts. Many metropolitan areas had no park systems at all until the enrollees provided needed labor. While others owned only undeveloped or partially developed land which was improved by the enrollees. Not only did the Civilian Conservation Corps begin construction of new city parks, but it also completed this work in a manner allowing many of these facilities to remain functional for the past forty years.[3]

The South and border states, as a whole, benefited in sheer number of camps, as much or more than any other area of the United States. Director Fechner's *Report* to President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1937, indicated that there were more camps in Texas than any other state. However by 1942, Oklahoma, which ranked fourth in 1937, had more camps than any other locale.[4] Other urban areas in the South also had their share, and camps in Little Rock, Arkansas; Austin and Fort Worth, Texas; Washington, D.C.; and Florida's Botanical Gardens near Miami all accomplished significant work between 1933 and 1942.

Three urban parks in Oklahoma provide excellent examples of the influence of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the area of urban development. Of the sixty-four camps within the state two were located in Okla-

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[3] John Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1967); William Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 174.

[4] Reid Holland, "Life in Oklahoma's Civilian Corps," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1970), p. 234.

Typical Civilian Conservation Corps scene in Oklahoma

homa City and a third in Tulsa.[5] Company 895, assigned to the development of Lincoln Park in Oklahoma City, maintained two camps—SP-2 and SP-4—from 1933 to 1937. While the second company in Oklahoma City—Company 868—was assigned to Northwest Oklahoma City Park, now Will Rogers Park. In addition the camp in Tulsa—SP-12—worked closely with Tulsa city planners in developing Oklahoma's largest municipal park, Mohawk Park. As a result of their work these three municipal

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 224–234.

park camps were relatively exemplary of city camps throughout the United States.[6]

The Lincoln Park camps were established on October 3, 1933, only a few months after the Emergency Conservation Work became law. Its members were composed of white junior enrollees, single and non-veterans, who camped just west of Northeast Lake and were under the supervision of the Park Service of the Department of the Interior. Most camps were organized for 200 men, and the Lincoln Park installation usually enrolled close to that number. The commanding officers of the camp included three United States Army Reservists and a supervisory staff comprised of eleven men trained in landscaping, agronomy, planning and other necessary skills. These staff officers were paid regular salaries; while the enrollees were paid $5.00 of their $25.00 monthly check—the remaining $20.00 was remitted to the enrollee's dependents.

In addition to their pay, the enrollees received food, clothing and lodging. Also the Lincoln Park camp had a resident surgeon who provided medical care, which included monthly checkups for respiratory and venereal diseases. The installation was provided with water and electricity from commercial sources in Oklahoma City, and thus had many conveniences not found in forest camps. The Oklahoma City park camps even included flush toilets! In addition regular religious services of all denominations were held through the cooperation of Oklahoma City ministers.

Perhaps the most striking among the benefits received by enrollees in the Lincoln Park municipal camp were the educational opportunities. All camps offered some basic courses in both academic and vocational fields, but the enrollees at Lincoln Park were offered far more than the normal reading, math, English and woodworking classes. They could take such courses as trigonometry, algebra, astronomy, orchestra, architectural decorating and radio which were offered by instructors recruited from nearby urban schools. The instruction provided in orchestra and astronomy was especially unique and not offered at any other camp in the state.

The work done by the enrollees at Lincoln Park included all phases of park development. The outline of the original park facilities had been expanded by planners from the National Park Service and a 720 acre work area designated. The project supervisors directed the men in carrying out the plans of the Park Service and Oklahoma City Park Department. Ini-

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[6] As mentioned in the text, the major source of detailed information about a particular camp is the *Camp Inspection Reports*, which were made every six months while the camp was in operation. See *Camp Inspection Reports*, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (SP-2, SP-3 and SP-4) and Tulsa, Oklahoma (SP-12), National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Typical work scene of Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees in the urban areas of Oklahoma

tially, the grounds were seeded, trees planted and road beds built; however, one major piece of construction undertaken was the amphitheatre, which still stands in the northern region of the park. Using native stone, the men built roads, trails, parking areas, picnic tables, bridges, drainage ditches and other facilities which greatly increased the recreational uses of the park.

The technical staff of the camp was aided in their direction of the work by project leaders selected from the enrollees for their leadership qualities and by locally experienced men chosen from nearby cities for their ability to operate heavy equipment or knowledge of other necessary skills. All worked eight hours a day, five days a week to complete a project which was both technically sound as well as economically beneficial to the city and the Civilian Conservation Corps.

As work progressed, the camp required many outside supplies to maintain itself. Though most of these were purchased from merchants in Oklahoma City such as Evans Pure Milk Company, the Capitol Hill Baking Company, the Import Brewing Distributors and the New State Ice Cream Company, many staples were sent to the installation from the military quartermaster at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.[7]

Most of the land for Lincoln Park had been acquired in 1909, but had remained undeveloped until the Civilian Conservation Corps offered an adequate labor force. The first comprehensive Oklahoma City park plan had not been undertaken until 1923 and was not completed until 1928.[8] Thus, the opportunity to utilize the badly needed labor to expand on these plans was timely to say the least. Northwest Park in Oklahoma City, which had been purchased in 1912, had been essentially undeveloped until the 1930s when the Civilian Conservation Corps provided the necessary labor.

The enrollees assigned to Northwest Park worked in a somewhat smaller area but were organized along the same lines as their sister camps. Three reserve officers commanded the camp, while the work supervision was directed by civilian technicians. There were approximately 180 men at Northwest Park in addition to 15 locally experienced men. However, unlike the company at Lincoln Park, five of the enrollees at Northwest Park were "colored" according to the camp inspection reports. These blacks were summarily assigned to the mess hall and lived in separate barracks. Established on October 12, 1933, nine days after the Lincoln Park camp, its facilities were similar, with the necessary water and power purchased from Oklahoma City as well as many supplies.

Directed by John Best, a landscape architect, Northwest Park included 160 acres, and the majority of the recreation facilities and roadways constructed by the enrollees still stand today. Both Oklahoma City park projects were coordinated by H. H. Cornell, a special inspector of the National Park

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[7] *Camp Inspection Reports*, Oklahoma City (SP-2 and SP-4) October, 1933, to October 1935, National Archives.

[8] Leslie R. Davis, "The Oklahoma City Park System," unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1955, pp. 11–13.

Service in charge of the Oklahoma City program, this allowed the city through its Park Department Superintendent, Donald Gordon, to express its wishes to the Park Service. The two men often exchanged advice and plans in an effort to facilitate project work.[9]

Similar projects were undertaken in Tulsa. Though the city had begun a major park development—Mohawk Park—north of the central business district, only with the aid of the Civilian Conservation Corps was extensive work undertaken. The land for the park had been purchased in 1927, and in the next year Tulsa citizens voted a bond issue to provide money for the necessary equipment. Nonetheless little had been accomplished at the site because of the first four years of the depression.[10]

According to official reports, some men at Mohawk Park were "colored," and the camp was official designated as a "mixed" camp; nevertheless the two races were strictly segregated. Separate barracks, toilets and dining schedules suggest there was little actual "mixing" of the two races; however, apparently this atmosphere did not produce any serious incidents at Mohawk Park as it did in other "mixed" camps. Only once in its four-year existence did the federal inspector indicate camp morale was "poor" owing to the tension between the races. Established on October 30, 1934, one year later than the Oklahoma City camps, the number of men in the Tulsa installation varied from 201 in 1934, to 154 on October 4, 1937, only 2 days before it was closed.

Four Reserve Army officers commanded the camp in Tulsa while nine project supervisors directed the actual work. Consisting of 2,250 acres, the development was the largest urban project in Oklahoma, and the plans included a large drainage area which was transformed into a lake complete with boat houses and other lakeside facilities. In addition, fire places, picnic tables, bicycle trails, roads, foot bridges and sewer lines running from numerous "comfort stations" were constructed by the enrollees. Also two major "refectories" or concession stands were erected and two shelters and one latrine built in the far northwest corner of the park, which was a segregated "negro picnic area." The men at Mohawk Park worked eight hours a day to complete these projects, as did the men in other camps; however, on one occasion the enrollees complained to the federal inspector of being forced to work on "K.P." duty in the mess hall after a full day's work. Apparently the complaint brought federal action, and the situation was corrected.

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[9] *Camp Inspection Reports*, Oklahoma City (SP-3) October, 1933, to October, 1935, National Archives; *Oklahoma City Times* (Oklahoma City), October 4, 1933, p. 6.

[10] Robert Garner, "The Tulsa, Oklahoma, Park System," unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1953, pp. 11–13.

Members of the Civilian Conservation Corps assigned to the development of Mohawk Park in Tulsa

Perhaps because the men at the project were mostly black or older veterans, the educational courses offered were not as generous as those in Oklahoma City, even though Tulsa probably could have provided a wide curriculum had its leaders intended to do so. The major courses were carpentry, woodworking, reading, auto mechanics, first aid, citizenship and *Bible* reading.

Regardless of the occasional complaints and the strict segregation, genuine cooperation between these two cities and the Civilian Conservation Corps produced better park systems in both urban areas. Enhanced with park facilities the municipalities, in turn, gained new markets for their goods and services. In addition, the enrollees were given a place to live, work and receive some education during the height of the depression. For the men, the gain was perhaps a temporary one, but for the urban parks in Oklahoma City and Tulsa the advantages were permanent.[11]

[11] *Camp Inspection Reports*, Tulsa (SP-12) October, 1934, to October, 1937, National Archives; "Development Outline Report," (Master Plan, Mohawk Metropolitan Park); Interview, Cliff Hall, Tulsa Park Department employee since 1928; Holland, "Life in Oklahoma's Civilian Corps," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 224–234.

Of course, all three urban parks have been expanded in the years since the depression—Oklahoma City's Lincoln Park has added to its zoo and Mohawk Park has added an enlarged golf course. However, had it not been for the Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees working in the 1930s on comprehensive plans developed by city officials in the late 1920s, these urban parks might never have become the major metropolitan recreation areas they are today.

By ignoring the urban ramifications of the work of the "forest army," Americans have received a somewhat one-sided picture of its goals. It is true that most Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees spent their time on reforestation and soil conservation projects, but some were within sight of cities, and at least a significant part of the thrust of their work was in urban areas. In these locations, the "forest army" came to town, and the results were excellent metropolitan park systems.

THE DODGE-LEAVENWORTH EXPEDITION OF 1834

*By Brad Agnew**

The thermometer reached 107° in the summer of 1834. Most of the rivers had dried up, and what little water could be found was putrid. Still, the United States Army's elite First Dragoon Regiment marched farther onto the southern plains, hundreds of miles from the nearest frontier outpost. Although the regiment's effectiveness was reduced almost daily by a debilitating and often fatal gastro-intestinal malady, the commander pressed his men forward toward the heart of the Comanche and Kiowa domain.

Fifty years later this description might have been the prelude to one of the tragic massacres that marked the relations between the United States and the Plains Indians, but in that summer in 1834 the outcome was not only peaceful but hopeful. The dragoon expedition was one of those rare encounters in the history of Army-Indian relations in which reason and moderation prevailed. For a brief moment it seemed possible that the impending clash of cultures could be resolved without bloodshed.

The end of the War of 1812 released a new surge of westward expansion and provoked a new wave of Indian hostility. Caravans carrying trade goods to the Spanish settlements at Santa Fe, New Mexico cut through the territory of the southern plains tribes. White pioneers hewed out homesteads along the western frontier of Arkansas, and in the 1820s, without consulting the plains tribes, the United States Congress began awarding eastern tribes title to land claimed by Southern Plains Indians. When these nomadic bands resisted this encroachment, the Santa Fe traders, Arkansas settlers and immigrating Indians asked federal officials for protection.

On July 14, 1832, Congress authorized the creation of a three-member commission to pacify the southwestern frontier.[1] Montfort Stokes, governor of North Carolina, accepted the chairmanship of the commission. Seventy years old at the time of his appointment, Stokes was still vigorous and alert, and though his major qualification for the position was political support of Andrew Jackson, he addressed his assignment with determination. The commissioners were instructed to convene at Fort Gibson; this post, about

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[1] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1926), p. 86.

sixty miles up the Arkansas River from Fort Smith, Arkansas, was the military headquarters for the southern half of Indian Territory.[2]

Before the commissioners could open negotiations with the southern plains tribes, the military had to establish contact with them. Accordingly, in the early fall of 1832, a company of rangers was ordered onto the plains to conduct a reconnaissance. The rangers, accompanied by Washington Irving who described his adventures in *A Tour on the Prairie*, marched as far west as present day Oklahoma City without encountering the Plains tribes.[3]

In the spring of the next year Colonel Matthew Arbuckle, commander of Fort Gibson, directed two companies of the Seventh Infantry and three companies of rangers under Lieutenant Colonel James B. Many into the country between the North Fork of the Canadian and the Red River to invite the nomadic tribes to meet with the Stokes Commission. The force crossed the Arkansas River May 7, and proceeded without incident to the Red River between the Washita and Blue rivers. There on June 2, an Indian band, possibly Wichitas, seized a member of the expedition, Private George B. Abbay, forcing the entire force to pursue the Indians to the eastern slopes of the Wichita Mountains where fatigue, illness and lack of food finally forced many to abandon the chase and return to Fort Gibson.[4]

Reports of the failures of the 1832 and 1833 expeditions and other accounts of frontier violence made it apparent to the War Department and members of the Stokes Commission that only a powerful military force penetrating to the heart of the Plains Indian territory could establish order. The War Department was no longer willing to entrust such a mission to undisciplined rangers and slow-moving infantry. Therefore, in 1833, the creation of a new elite force was authorized by Congress and ordered to replace the rangers at Fort Gibson. The Dragoon Regiment was to be the best manned and best equipped unit in the American Army.[5]

The men of the regiment were virtually hand-picked by their officers. Many regular units of the Army were manned by soldiers described as the

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[2] William Omer Foster, "The Career of Montfort Stokes in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (March, 1940), p. 36; William H. Ghent, "Montfort Stokes" in Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (22 vols., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), Vol. XVIII, pp. 67–68; United States Congress *American State Papers, Military Affairs* (5 vols., Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1860), Vol. V, pp. 26–27.

[3] An interesting account of the expedition is contained in Washington Irving, *A Tour on the Prairies*, John Francis McDermott, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956).

[4] Otis E. Young, "The United States Mounted Ranger Battalion, 1832–33," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XLI, No. 4, (December, 1954). pp. 468–469.

[5] United States Government, *Statutes at Large*, (multi-vols., Washington Government Printing Office, 1848 to present), Vol. IV, p. 652.

scum of the population of the United States but not the dragoons, whom George Catlin, the Indian artist, described as "young men of respectable families, who would act, on all occasions, from feelings of pride and honour."[6]

Officers were selected with equal care. Henry Dodge was commissioned a full colonel and given command of the dragoons. Dodge, who was not a professional soldier, had gravitated toward the military during the War of 1812, and because of his frontier experience President Jackson had appointed him a major and given him command of a ranger battalion in the Black Hawk War of 1832.[7]

Dodge recommended that dragoon officers be selected "by taking a part . . . from the Regular Army who understand the first principles of their profession and uniting them with Ranger officers who understand the woods service."[8] By blending the professionalism of West Pointers with the frontier experience of the backwoods militia officers, a well-balanced cadre for training the recruits was established—only in one area were the officers ill prepared; none had cavalry experience.

The caliber of the regiment's officers can be judged best by their later accomplishments. Dodge's second-in-command was Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Watts Kearny, a professional soldier who would lead the Army of the West during the Mexican War. First Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, a recent West Point graduate, is the best remembered of the regiment's officers, and would eventually serve as Secretary of War and President of the Confederacy. Captain David Hunter, another young West Pointer, commanded one of the dragoon companies. He would later rise to the rank of major general in the Union Army and chair the commission that tried the conspirators in the assassination of President Lincoln.

The qualifications of the officers and the caliber of the enlisted personnel did not alter the age-old character of military administration. When the dragoons assembled at Jefferson Barracks, ten miles south of St. Louis, Missouri, they discovered that their uniforms had not arrived; their drill weapons were obsolete muskets retired after the War of 1812; and their duties were not conquering new lands and defeating Indian foes, but chopping down trees and building stables. In their first drill the recruits

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[6] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians* (2 vols., London: David Bogue, 1844), Vol. II, p. 37.

[7] John C. Parish, "Henry Dodge" in Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. V, pp. 348–349.

[8] Louis Pelzer, *Henry Dodge* (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1911), p. 81.

were described as looking like "Jack Falstaff's ragged regiment." Morale, which was high in late spring, had sagged badly by midsummer.[9]

The drudgery of army life weighed heavily on the recruits. Many chose to escape either physically or mentally when their dreams of conquest faded into the reality of drill and fatigue duty. Some deserted while others found relief in alcohol. For either offense punishment was severe. Military pay in the 1830s provided little compensation for these hardships. Privates received $5.00 a month out of which they had to buy furnishings for their barracks, including kitchen implements. The military budget of this period allowed for no frills and even neglected a few essentials.[10]

In spite of grumbling in the ranks the regiment had much potential. Training proceeded, and even without horses and uniforms the men gradually hardened to the regimen of army life and acquired fundamental military skills. When the dragoons' horses arrived in October, mounted training started, and morale improved as rumors spread that the regiment was about to march for the frontier. On November 20, 1833, Dodge led half of the regiment from Jefferson Barracks through the sparsely settled areas of Missouri and Arkansas into the land recently designated as Indian Territory.

Little preparation had been made for the arrival of the dragoons at Fort Gibson. Neither rations for the men, corn for their mounts nor housing for either was available there.[11] Dodge ordered construction of a camp about one and one-quarter miles west of the fort, near a canebreak where the horses could graze.[12] Each company constructed a barn-like barracks of logs covered with oak shingles which afforded some protection from the elements. The winter was particularly bitter; temperatures dropped to twelve below zero, preventing the delivery of supplies up the ice-choked Arkansas River.[13] Although the sixty-man barracks were warmer than the tents they replaced, they were poorly calked, and only those soldiers fortunate enough to have procured buffalo robes succeeded in staying dry. Particularly leaky were the chimneys through which quantities of water poured into the dragoons' beans making them "somewhat less strong than common."[14] Dodge did not let inclement weather interfere with training, and mounted and dismounted drill continued regardless of the weather.

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[9] James Hildreth, *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains* (New York: Wiley and Long, 1836), p. 37.

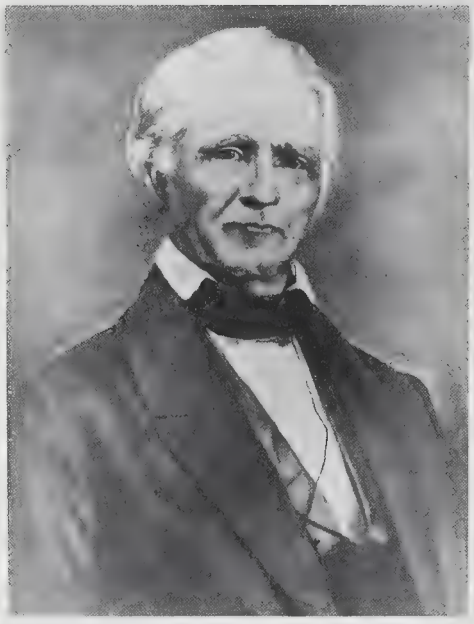
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[11] Pelzer, *Henry Dodge*, p. 87.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[14] Hildreth, *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 86.



Colonel Henry Dodge and Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth who led the First Dragoon Regiment into the Comanche country during the summer of 1834

The dragoons' uniforms and weapons eventually reached Fort Gibson. The former, specifically designed to do justice to the Army's elite unit, were described as "better suited to comic opera than to summer field service." The uniforms' double-breasted coats were trimmed in yellow with two rows of gilt buttons, while the trousers were blue-gray with a yellow stripe running down the outside seam of each leg. The eagle perched atop their infantry-type hat was blinded by a drooping white horsehair pompon.[15] If the uniforms appeared a little mildewed, it was because they were not properly dried by the salvage crew which recovered them from the bottom of the Arkansas River after the steamboat on which they were

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15 Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Ft. Sill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), p. 8; *Army and Navy Chronicle* (Washington, D.C.,), Vol. I, p. 392.

being transported sank.[16] For protection each trooper was armed with a sabre, a Hull breech-loading carbine and a pistol.[17]

Although the regiment was now adequately equipped, it was not yet prepared for a summer campaign. Half the men were still training at Jefferson Barracks when the commanding general of the Army ordered Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth to assume command of the southwestern military region, and instructed him to dispatch the dragoons into the Comanche country in the spring of 1834.[18] War Department officials hoped that an impressive military expedition would persuade the plains tribes to respect the immigrating Eastern Indians, the Arkansas settlers and the Santa Fe traders.[19] In addition the expedition was to try to obtain the release of the ranger private captured the previous year.

General Leavenworth reached Fort Gibson in mid-spring and took charge of preparations for the campaign. Described by one of his men as "a plain-looking old gentleman, tall yet graceful, though stooping under the weight of perhaps three-score winters," his friendliness quickly endeared him to the troops.[20] His mild manner was somewhat deceptive, for Leavenworth was a strict disciplinarian and a thorough planner with extensive military experience.[21]

At Fort Gibson, Leavenworth conferred with the members of the Stokes Commission, who suggested that the dragoons might establish friendly relations with the plains tribes by returning tribal members abducted by the Osages. Leavenworth agreed and dispatched a dragoon company which purchased a Kiowa girl and a Wichita woman from their captors.[22]

Preparations for the campaign continued into the spring. Warmer weather not only brought relief from the hardships of winter but also posed

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[16] Philip St. George Cooke, *Scenes and Adventures in the Army: or Romance of Military Life* (Philadelphia: Lindsey and Blakiston, 1857), p. 224.

[17] *Niles Weekly Register* (Baltimore, Ohio), August 2, 1834, p. 389.

[18] Commanding General to Henry Leavenworth, February 19, 1834, Records of the United States Army Commands, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[19] United States Congress, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, p. 170.

[20] Hildreth, *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 104–105.

[21] W. J. Ghent, "Henry Leavenworth" in Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XI, p. 80.

[22] Edward V. Sumner to Henry Dodge, Records of the United States Army Commands, National Archives; Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, pp. 119–120; Hildreth, *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 118. Catlin's account of the expedition indicates that the dragoons returned three Indian women to their tribes. All other sources, including the official journal of the expedition, mention only two, the Wichita and the Kiowa. Catlin certainly saw three women; at least he sketched three, two of whom he identified as Pawnees. Company A of the dragoons did not march with Dodge and Leavenworth but rather were detached to accompany the 1834 Santa Fe caravan. It is possible that one of the Pawnee women accompanied Company A.

a serious new peril. Fort Gibson had earned a reputation as one of the most unhealthy posts in the American Army, and the rainy spring was the worst season of the year.[23] Even before the expedition began, men were reporting to sick call with a malarial-type fever.[24]

In spite of frantic preparations, the dragoons were not ready by the first of May, the date originally set for beginning the march. In fact, on that date the second battalion was still being formed at Jefferson Barracks, and the last three companies of this battalion did not reach Fort Gibson until early June, just a few days before the start of the expedition.[25]

About the same time, news reached Fort Gibson that the Plains Indians had moved through the Cross Timbers and attacked Gabriel Martin, an Arkansas judge, and his party.[26] Leavenworth dispatched a detachment which found the bodies of the judge and one of his Negro slaves. It was assumed that the judge's young son, Matthew, had been kidnapped by the attackers, and the recovery of the boy was added to the list of objectives to be accomplished by the dragoons.

On June 15, 1834, over 500 officers and men of the First Dragoon Regiment embarked upon their campaign to contact the wild tribes of the southern plains. They were an impressive force as they marched from Fort Gibson. Forming a column a mile in length, the regiment was the most powerful military force the United States had ever sent onto the southern plains.[27] However, the expedition was not exclusively military. The Secretary of War had authorized several civilians to accompany the dragoons. George Catlin accompanied the troops to sketch and paint the Plains Indians; Joseph Chadwick, a St. Louis merchant and trader, hoped to secure the permission of the plains tribes to establish trading posts in their country; and Count Beyrick, a German botany professor, and his assistant planned to collect specimens of southwestern flora.

In addition thirty-four Indians accompanied the dragoons, including the two women being returned to their own people by Leavenworth as a gesture of good will. The Cherokees, Delawares, Osages and Senecas also sent warriors who served as guides and hunters for the dragoons and carried messages of friendship to the plains tribes.[28]

The troops moved slowly at first in a southwesterly direction. The route,

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[23] Grant Foreman, *Fort Gibson: A Brief History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. 20.

[24] Hildreth, *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 119.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

[26] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 47.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[28] Thompson B. Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," George H. Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950), p. 10.

through country occupied by the immigrant Eastern Indians, was well marked and the regiment advanced with little difficulty, over a landscape which Catlin described as "one of the richest and most desirable countries in the world for agricultural pursuits."[29]

But appearances were deceptive. Before they reached the Canadian River, the men began to complain about the scarcity of good water, and a sergeant in G Company reported, "We would travel whole days at a time without coming to any water at all[;] what we came to occationally [sic] was of the worst kind, the top all covered with green slime . . . perfectly muddy and unfit for use by man or horse."[30] Even the Canadian River was reported to be unusually dry for so early in the summer.[31] Already disease, which would plague the expedition, was extracting a heavy toll, and at a camp established on the Canadian River twenty-seven ill men were left under the care of the dragoons' assistant surgeon.

Twelve days after marching from Fort Gibson, Leavenworth, Colonel Dodge and an escort of forty men left the regiment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Kearny and proceeded to Camp Washita, a temporary outpost at the mouth of the Washita River established earlier by Leavenworth.[32] The remainder of the regiment followed at a slower pace. Unencumbered by the slow moving wagons, the advance party made rapid progress until the first sightings of buffalo. Leavenworth, Dodge, Catlin and several other officers spurred their horses, galloped toward the lumbering animals and after a headlong chase killed one buffalo, but the fat cow sought by Catlin succeeded in disarming her pursuer and escaping. The next day, noting the discomforts caused by his exertions, Leavenworth told Dodge, "this running for buffaloes is a bad business for us—we are getting too old, and should leave such amusements to the young men."[33] However, as the party topped the next small hill, Leavenworth forgot his resolution, for just across the knoll a small herd grazed peacefully. Shouting orders to his companions, Leavenworth galloped full speed after a calf, but the animal dodged and his horse fell. When Catlin reached the downed rider, Leavenworth was struggling to get to his feet. However, with Catlin's

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[29] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 46.

[30] Hugh Evans, "The Journal of Hugh Evans, Covering the First and Second Campaigns of the United States Dragoon Regiment in 1834 and 1835," Fred S. Perrine and Grant Foreman, eds., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 3 (September, 1925), p. 182.

[31] Anonymous, "A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834–1835," Louis Pelzer, ed., *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (July, 1909), p. 342.

[32] Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 11.

[33] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 50.

assistance, he stood up and then promptly fainted. Recovering in time to prevent the artist from opening a vein, a standard first aid procedure, Leavenworth rejoined the party with no apparent injuries, but Catlin later observed that "From that hour to the present, I think I have seen a decided change in the General's face; he has looked pale and feeble, and been continually troubled with a violent cough." Several days later, Leavenworth told Catlin that "he was fearful he was badly hurt."[34]

When the advance party reached Camp Washita, Leavenworth was informed that Wichita warriors had been observed in the area, and a reconnaissance patrol was dispatched while the party waited for the main body of the expedition to arrive.[35] When Kearny reached Camp Washita on July 1, Catlin reported, "nearly one-half of the command . . . have been thrown upon their backs, with the prevailing epidemic, a slow and distressing bilious fever."[36] Leavenworth was among the sick, and although he refused to admit his illness and insisted that he would personally lead the expedition, he had a burning fever and a marked shallowness of breath. Finally forced to acknowledge the extent of his sickness after crossing the Washita River, Leavenworth abandoned his plans to lead his dragoons and ordered a reorganization of the regiment into six companies of forty-two enlisted men each. These six under Dodge were to proceed by forced march into the Plains Indian country unencumbered by baggage wagons or livestock, while Leavenworth planned to follow in a few days with the wagons and reinforcements.[37]

As Dodge's force proceeded almost due west, the landscape began to change. The regiment traveled across expanses of flat, grassy prairies where trees and thickets grew only along the creek banks. Signs of Indian activity, such as fresh pony tracks and embers of recent campfires, increased, and an Indian scout was observed reconnoitering the dragoons' camp. The soldiers attempted to capture him but were unsuccessful.[38]

Sentinels were particularly edgy on the night of July 7, and one of them who believed he saw an Indian creeping out of the bushes fired. Though

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[35] Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 31.

[36] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 49. This estimate is over twice the number reported ill by Wheelock. Perhaps Catlin included the men who returned to Fort Gibson as well as those who had been temporarily disabled by the fever.

[37] Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 14.

[38] Anonymous, "A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834–1835," Pelzer, ed., *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, p. 39.

the Indian was returning a stray horse to camp, the wounded animal's cries, the shouts of the sentry and his gunfire caused momentary panic in the camp. Hasty fortifications were thrown up and the regiment tensely awaited attack. Finally, cooler heads prevailed, but during the commotion the regiment's horses stampeded and scattered across the countryside. It took a day for the dragoons to recover most of their mounts.[39]

Before continuing, Dodge ordered Kearny back to take charge of the sick camp in compliance with orders from Leavenworth. Ten soldiers whose horses had not been recovered after the stampede returned with him. The command resumed the march west on July 9, and soon encountered a small party of mounted Indians, believed to be Wichitas. A forty-man patrol led by Captain Hunter was dispatched under a white flag to intercept them; however, after pursuing the Indians for a few miles the patrol returned, reporting that the Indians had eluded them.[40] The next day the regiment entered the Cross Timbers, a natural border separating the Plains Indians from the eastern tribes which was described as a great thicket "composed of nettles and briers so thickly matted together—as almost to forbid passage."[41] Dividing into three columns, the dragoons picked their way through the thicket for three days before reaching the western limits of the Cross Timbers and the open plains.

On July 14, the dragoons broke camp at 8:30 A.M. and had marched only one-half mile when they sighted a band of about thirty Indians. After identifying them as Comanches, Dodge ordered a white flag advanced, but in spite of this gesture of friendly intentions, the Indians maintained their distance from the dragoons. Finally, Dodge halted the regiment while he and several members of his staff advanced. When they were within one-half mile of the Comanches, Dodge sent the white flag forward again. One of the Indians, with a white buffalo skin on his lance, left the band and cautiously approached the waiting dragoons. After assuring himself that the soldiers intended to honor the white flag, he approached the column and offered his hand in friendship. Upon seeing this, the other warriors galloped full speed toward the dragoons and greeted them enthusiastically.[42]

After a prolonged greeting ceremony, a pipe "was lit, and passed around."[43] Communication was difficult, but by a double translation from

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[39] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 54.

[40] Anonymous, "A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834–1835," Pelzer, ed., *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, p. 39.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 55.

[43] *Ibid.*, 56.

Painted by George Catlin, His-oo-san-chez, the Comanche-Spanish, mixed-blood warrior was the first to confront the dragoon column

English to Spanish to Shoshonean, Dodge was able to convey the idea that he was on a mission of peace on behalf of federal officials. The Comanches told Dodge that they were on a hunting excursion and offered to take him to their village located a few day's march to the west. Dodge accepted and the march was resumed with the Comanches leading the way. In further discussions, Dodge learned that the Comanches were allied with the Kiowas and the Wichitas, and the latter were reported to have a village several day's journey west of the Comanche camp.[44] The Comanches promised to send for the Wichita chief so that he might take part in discussions with Dodge.[45]

For the first time, the members of the expedition were able to observe Plains Indians at close hand. What they observed was a little disquieting; the Comanches were formidable looking warriors. Their dress and weapons seemed perfectly adapted to mounted hunting and warfare. Each carried a quiver on his back and a bow in his left hand, ready for instant use. They were also armed with fourteen-foot lances and rifles carried in buckskin covers.[46]

The warrior who had ridden up to the dragoons was a Spanish mixed-blood named His-oo-san-ches; normally he would have been held in contempt by full-blooded Comanches, but he had earned the respect of his tribe by repeated acts of bravery in warfare and on hunting expeditions. Declaring that the Wichitas were holding a Negro man and a white boy, His-oo-san-ches gave Dodge his first real clue concerning the fate of Judge Martin's son.[47] With this information and positive intelligence concerning the location of the Wichita village, prospects for a successful conclusion of the mission improved. The apparent friendliness of the Comanches notwithstanding, Dodge remained apprehensive, and cautioned his officers and men to remain on the alert.[48] However his fears were not realized; the Indians displayed no hostility, and the dragoons arrived without incident at the Comanche camp in two days.

Their village, of 600 to 800 skin lodges, was located in a valley at the foot of a range of mountains which the dragoons believed to be a spur of the

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[44] Anonymous, "A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834–1835," Pelzer, ed., *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, p. 346.

[45] Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17.

[46] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 56.

[47] Evans, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," Perrine and Foreman, eds., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, p. 189.

[48] Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 18.

Rockies. The regiment stopped several miles from the village while Comanche messengers went forward to inform the camp of their arrival. In the meantime Dodge formed the regiment into three columns and positioned himself and his staff in front to await the Indians.

Several hundred mounted braves galloped out to meet the visitors and formed a line within thirty feet of the first echelon of dragoons. For half an hour the two forces stood their ground gazing at each other. Finally one of the Comanche chiefs rode up to Dodge and shook his hand. Followed by the other warriors, he then proceeded down the ranks of dragoons shaking hands with each man.[49] During these formalities, which took about an hour, the Comanches invited the dragoons to camp in their village. However, Dodge declined the offer, preferring to establish camp across the creek from the Comanches in an area bordered on all sides by steep gullies. One of the tents pitched in the dragoons' camp housed the hospital for the twenty-nine latest victims of the fever, including George Catlin, who diagnosed his malady as fever and ague.[50]

As the fear of surprise attack lessened, Dodge allowed a few of the men to enter the Comanche village. Because they were the first official representatives of the United States to meet the Comanches, the visitors were surprised to find an American flag flying over one of the lodges, and speculated that the Indians might have captured it from a Santa Fe caravan.[51]

In spite of the Comanches' willingness to discuss peace and to send messages to the Wichitas, Dodge was unable to arrange negotiations. Nonetheless he was ready to open talks with Ta-wah-que-nah, a 300-pound warrior who represented himself as the Comanche chief, until it was learned that the tribe's actual leader was on a buffalo hunt and would return within a day or two.[52] After waiting two days, Dodge began to suspect the sincerity of the Comanches and decided to proceed to the Wichita village.

The march was resumed at 11:00 A.M. on July 18, with an Indian guide from the Comanche camp leading the way. The number of sick had increased to thirty-three, many of whom were litter cases, and because the route the guide selected wound through rugged mountain country, Dodge decided to estabish another sick camp to enable the regiment to move more rapidly.[53] The command, now reduced to 183 men, passed beneath granite

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[49] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 61.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 62; Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 18–19

[51] Hildreth, *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 158.

[52] Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 19.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

peaks 500 to 1,000 feet in height.[54] These were the same mountains seen from the Comanche village, and later explorations would prove that they were not a spur of the Rocky Mountains but an isolated range of much greater geologic age. They would eventually be named the Wichitas after the tribe the dragoons were trying to locate. The boulder-strewn route made progress difficult, and the dragoons were forced to dismount and lead their horses, whose shoes had been completely worn down.[55] Although the mountains abounded in wildlife, Dodge pushed his men forward too rapidly to allow time for foraging. Thus, rations were almost exhausted by the time the regiment reached the level plains once again.

As the dragoons were setting up camp in the evening of July 20, a single mounted Indian was observed about two miles away. A lieutenant and several of the Osage scouts were sent to capture him. The Indian attempted to escape, but when his pursuers overtook him, he offered no resistance. The Wichita woman accompanying the expedition identified him as one of her relatives, and her ability to translate facilitated communications. The prisoner said he was returning to his village about five miles from the dragoon camp. Dodge assured the Wichita that he was on a peaceful mission and that he would like to meet with the tribal leaders. The Indian agreed to relay this message and was released.[56]

Morning broke without sign of Indians, but just before the march was resumed, the father of the Wichita hostage rode into the dragoon camp.[57] His joyful reunion with his daughter was the first indication that the Wichitas intended to receive the expedition. The dragoons marched a short distance toward the Wichita village when they were met by about sixty warriors who were soon reinforced by hundreds more.[58] The meeting was friendly and the dragoons were invited into the camp.

As the expedition approached the Wichita camp, they marched through cornfields enclosed by fences of brush, and the sight of cultivated fields and meat drying on racks in the village greatly improved the morale of the troops. The Wichita camp contained 400 thatched lodges which looked like beehives 30 feet high and 40 feet in diameter. The village was located

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[54] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[55] Anonymous, "A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834–1835," Pelzer, ed., *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, p. 353.

[56] Evans, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," Perrine and Foreman, eds., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, p. 191.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 192. Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 22, says the Indian was the squaw's uncle.

[58] Anonymous, "A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834–1835," Pelzer, ed., *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, p. 354.

between a 600-foot granite bluff and the North Fork of the Red River.[59] In the village, populated by about 2,000 Indians, Dodge realized that the regiment's safety depended upon maintaining amicable relations, and accordingly, he ordered that no food be taken without the consent of its owner. The soldiers who had earlier traded $2.00 knives for Comanche horses were now exchanging good cotton shirts for two ears of corn. The dragoons literally tore the buttons from their uniforms and took the clothes off their backs to purchase corn, melons, green pumpkins, squash, plums and horse and buffalo meat. Thus, the men ate their first substantial meal since leaving the Comanche camp three days earlier.[60]

Although the principal chief of the Wichitas was not in camp, a council was arranged for the next day. As a result the first formal negotiations between the Plains Indians and the United States began on the morning of July 22, 1834, in a thatched Wichita lodge near the Red River. Merely by meeting with these three tribes, Dodge had succeeded where two earlier expeditions had failed. However, Dodge's orders called for him to pacify the plains tribes and recover several Americans captured by them; however, surrounded by hundreds of armed Indians, he had to rely upon diplomacy not force.

During the first day's negotiations, Dodge told the Wichita council he had been sent by the "Great American Captain" who wished to establish peace among all people under his jurisdiction. Explaining that the president would like for them to visit Washington, D.C., and make a treaty which would insure lasting peace, Dodge promised they would receive many presents and white traders would be sent among them to provide blankets, rifles and other trade goods once the negotiations were completed. Before concluding, he told his hosts he had learned they had captured a white soldier last summer and kidnapped a white boy in the spring. Dodge demanded return of the boy and positive information concerning the man, and reminded the Wichitas he had obtained one of their women from the Osages at great expense and trouble. She would be returned only after these demands were met.[61]

In the absence of their chief, the Wichita council was headed by We-ter-ra-shah-ro, a Waco chief.[62] He denied any knowledge of the white boy

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[59] Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 22.

[60] Evans, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," Perrine and Foreman, eds., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, p. 193.

[61] Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 23.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

and accused the Comanches of seizing the soldier.[63] Dodge remained adamant and restated his demand for the boy and definite information concerning Private Abbay. The chief conferred with his council and informed the colonel that a tribe called Oways, not the Comanches, had captured the ranger and killed him when they returned to camp.[64] Dodge accepted this explanation but continued to press the chief concerning the return of the kidnapped boy. During the discussion, the dragoons found a Negro living among the Indians who said that a white boy had recently been brought into their village.[65] A long period of strained silence followed, during which the Indians consulted among themselves and finally ordered that the boy be brought in from the cornfield where he had been hidden. When he arrived, he told Dodge his name was Matthew Martin, the son of the murdered judge.[66] After the excitement over the return of the boy subsided, Dodge questioned the Indians concerning attacks on the Santa Fe traders. The chief accused a "roving tribe of very bad Indians called Wakinas" of being the culprits, and Dodge did not press this point.[67] Eventually the meeting was adjourned.

The next morning negotiations resumed in Dodge's tent with We-ter-ra-shah-ro and two of his principal warriors representing the Wichitas. The leaders of the Indians who accompanied the dragoons were also present. Dodge opened discussions by asking if the Wichitas had reached a decision about visiting Washington, and after a prolonged discussion one of the Indians agreed to return to Fort Gibson with the expedition. Reiterating his promises of many presents for those who would visit the "Great American Captain," Dodge asked his guests to accept some rifles and pistols. For the first time, the Wichitas acted without long deliberations; they accepted immediately. But no others appeared anxious to return with the expedition.[68]

Later the same day the Comanche chief, who had been leading a hunting expedition when the troops visited his village, arrived at the dragoons' camp. Explaining the purpose of his mission, Dodge invited the Comanches to go to Washington. The Comanche chief seemed no more anxious to make the journey than had the Wichitas, but he reluctantly agreed to send

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[63] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 71.

[64] Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 24.

[65] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 71.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25.

[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 27–28.

his brother. While these discussions continued, an armed party of twenty or thirty Kiowa warriors galloped into the dragoons' camp. Their menacing appearance sent the women and children scurrying for safety. The sight of Dodge's Osage guides infuriated the Kiowas who had been brutally attacked by an Osage war party the year before, and the Kiowas demanded the return of a girl whom the Osages had kidnapped. The dragoons, with rifles in hand, waited nervously, while Dodge completely disarmed the Kiowas by agreeing to their terms. The girl, who had accompanied the expedition, was restored to her tribe, and the Kiowas readily accepted an invitation to a final conference the next day.[69]

With the major southwestern plains tribes assembled, the last day of negotiations began in a wooded area about 200 yards from the dragoon camp. Two thousand armed Indians in a state of great excitement gathered at the meeting place. The Kiowas seemed particularly aroused, and "embraced Colonel Dodge, and shed tears of gratitude for the restoration of their relative."[70] The meeting was opened with the ceremonial smoking of pipes after which Dodge once again asked the Indians to consider his invitation to return with the dragoons who were to depart the next day. The Kiowa chief agreed immediately and further promised that all white men who came to his country would be treated kindly. Because the other tribes had already agreed to send representatives with the dragoons, Dodge's mission was accomplished. The council adjourned, and the Indians returned to their encampments to decide upon representatives and the dragoons prepared for the return march.[71]

Early on the morning of July 25, the chiefs of the three tribes visited the dragoon camp and were presented with rifles and pistols. Fifteen Kiowas, led by their chief, waited to accompany the dragoons. The Comanches were represented by the Spanish mixed-blood, a squaw and two other warriors. By 3:00 P.M. the Wichitas finally designated We-ter-ra-shah-ro and two warriors to represent them, and the expedition then marched eastward. One of the Wichitas led them through a broad valley and across the open plains north of the mountains.[72]

On July 27, the command returned to the sick camp near the Comanche village. There the situation had not improved; one man had died, and Catlin and several others were seriously ill.[73] Supplies at the sick camp were

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[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.
[72] Hildreth, *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 178.
[73] Evans, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," Perrine and Foreman, eds., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, p. 189.

Another Catlin painting showing an encounter between the dragoons and a herd of buffalo. Jefferson Davis, a member of the expedition, later recalled that the meat was "a most distasteful of all foods;" nonetheless, the dragoons were forced to rely on buffalo meat once their supplies were exhausted

almost gone and the men returning from the Wichita village had eaten most of the provisions purchased there. The supply wagons and reinforcements had not arrived, and with game scarce in the vicinity of the sick camp, Dodge decided to march by the most direct route to the Canadian River where the Indians said great buffalo herds were grazing.[74]

Little is known of the movements of Leavenworth and the troops under his command after the departure of Dodge from the sick camp near the Washita River. It is certain that he attempted to follow Dodge with the baggage wagons and reinforcements, but apparently Lieutenant Colonel

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[74] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 72.

Kearny and a small detachment of the able-bodied men remained at the Washita River camp to care for the sick. By the time Leavenworth's column reached the Cross Timbers, the general was critically ill from a combination of the fever, the fall from his horse and the hardships of the march. He died on July 21, the same day Dodge reached the Wichita village.[75]

Dodge and his command, unaware of the happenings in the supply column, broke sick camp on July 28, and marched to the northeast across the plains. Progress was slowed by forty-three sick men, seven of whom were on litters. Catlin reported that most of the creeks were dry and that the primary sources of water were stagnant pools "so poisonous and heavy" that horses "sucking up the dirty and poisonous draught . . . in some instances . . . fell dead in their tracks."[76] Catlin and Chadwick found one pool inhabited by frogs who could walk on the surface of the water. Chadwick's elation over this biological curiosity was shattered when it was discovered the unique ability was caused by the thickness of the scum on the pool, not by mutation of the frogs' webbed feet.[77]

On July 30, the regiment crossed the Washita River and continued through a rolling prairie broken by deep gullies. By August 1, the dragoons reached the Canadian River and established a temporary camp about twenty miles south of where Oklahoma City stands today. For the next few days most of the able-bodied troops dispersed in small groups to replenish the supply of buffalo meat.[78] The hunt was successful, but the men were tiring of their monotonous diet. Years later Jefferson Davis' wife recalled that since the expedition her husband regarded buffalo meat as the "most distasteful of all foods."[79]

The men quickly killed enough animals to fulfill their needs, but the hunters continued shooting just for sport until several hundred carcasses surrounded the camp. Apparently, the August heat soon gave the area around the camp the smell as well as the appearance of a slaughtering ground for the expedition's adjutant reported that the camp was moved a mile for reason of "police."[80] In the camp every tent had been turned into

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75 James D. Morrison, ed., "Travis G. Wright and the Leavenworth Expedition in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, (Spring, 1947), pp. 11–12.

76 Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 77.

77 *Ibid.*, pp. 78–79.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 76, and Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 35.

79 Varing Howell Davis, *Jefferson Davis: Ex-President of the Confederate States of America* (2 vols., New York: Belford Company, Publisher, ca 1890), Vol. I, p. 155.

80 Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 35.

a hospital. Catlin was sure the dragoons' drinking water caused both horses and men "to be suffering and dying with the same disease, a slow and distressing bilious fever, which seems to terminate in a most frightful and fatal affection of the liver."[81]

The regiment broke camp on August 9, and marched eastward along the Canadian River through the Cross Timbers. The closeness of this belt of trees and undergrowth seemed to alarm the Plains Indians. In many places the thicket was so dense that men with axes had to clear a path before the horses could pass. The regiment was further slowed by the litters of the sick and the difficult terrain, and the heavy burdens began telling on the horses. Many collapsed and had to be abandoned, but Dodge pushed the regiment forward rapidly and in the evening of August 9, reached an outpost where supplies had been stockpiled. The next day the men drew their first rations since leaving the baggage wagons, and with the end of the expedition in sight, the morale of the dragoons soared.

On August 11, about 200 dragoons started up the road they had traveled in mid-June when their 500-man force was the pride of the American Army. They no longer constituted an effective fighting force. Their horses were completely worn out, and to save the remaining mounts, which were collapsing at the rate of eight to ten a day, the dragoons were ordered to walk an hour for every hour they rode. The remainder of the regiment was scattered over the country east of the Cross Timbers in sick camps.[82]

On August 16, the regiment established camp near Fort Gibson. A week later Kearny and his command returned.[83] Small parties of the sick continued to straggle into Fort Gibson for several weeks, and by November infantry units stationed at the camps along the newly constructed military roads to support the dragoons were withdrawn. Thus ended the summer expedition of 1834.

Unfortunately, the return to Fort Gibson did not provide immediate relief for the sick. Deaths continued at the rate of about four to five a day, and from his room in the Fort Gibson hospital, Catlin heard the "mournful sound of 'Roslin Castle' with muffled drums, passing six or eight times a day under my window, to the burying-ground."[84] He estimated that as many as 150 had died since June and speculated that the death rate must have been equally high in the infantry regiments. Among those who died

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[81] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 77.

[82] Wheelock, "Peace on the Plains," Shirk, ed., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 37; Evans, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," Perrine and Foreman, eds., *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, pp. 211–212.

[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

[84] Catlin, *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 80.

at Fort Gibson were Count Beyrick, the German botanist, and his young assistant.

Calculated in human lives the cost of the expedition was staggering. Dodge wrote, "Perhaps their [*sic*] never has been in America a campaign that operated More Severely on Man & Horses."[85] However, in strictly military terms the expedition was a success. Colonel Dodge accomplished his mission. Unfortunately, the awful price paid for success did not produce corresponding results. Although the expedition led directly to the signing of the first treaty with the Plains Indians, the southern plains would not be pacified for another half-century. The uncle of the boy recovered by the dragoons was correct when he claimed that the treaty was "not worth the paper it was scribbled on." The failure of the treaty is a part of the larger, continuing tragedy of America's relations with the Indians. It is to the credit of Colonel Henry Dodge and his men that they did not add to the tragedy. The expedition did not take the life of a single Indian, and Dodge left the plains with the friendship of the tribes he encountered. Though the expedition laid a good foundation, those who came later chose not to build on it.

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[85] Dodge to George W. Jones, October 1, 1834 in Louis Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley* (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1917), p. 47.

★ NECROLOGY

MURIEL H. WRIGHT: A LEGEND

Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society
April 24, 1975.

Today I would speak of Muriel Wright, a lady great in her own time. I would not speak of her as an educator, a historian, a researcher, an author, an editor, though she was all of these. But such achievements are widely known and well recorded. Rather I would speak of her in parable, with a legend which, no doubt, some of you have heard her tell. For the legend reflects so well her life and, perhaps, shows the real contribution she made to ours.

Long ago the chief of the Navajoes wished to test the boys of his tribe to find out whether they possessed fortitude, courage and leadership. The Navajo Indians lived then, as they still do, on the great plains near the foot of the towering Rocky Mountains.

One day, when the plains were green with buffalo grass and the tiny wild flowers had suddenly splashed their colors as far as eye could see, the chief called together the boys of his tribe and said to them: "Tomorrow at dawn you are to set forth. You are to climb the mountain which rises before you across the plain. I set no goal for you; each of you will set his own. I place no limits on the distance you may go, nor the time you take. I only bid you climb." Continuing the Chief told them that, "you may turn back whenever you wish. The only thing I ask of you is that you bring to me something from the spot where you turn back. Thus shall I know how high each of you has climbed."

The boys were keen for the new adventure. Some of them were up before dawn, eager to be away. The old chief watched them all set forth. He stood gazing after them until they were out of sight across the plains, until he had only a mental picture of the boys as they began their climb up the mountain. Hour after hour he waited and watched alone for their return. The dew had left the wild flowers, the morning cooking fires were out, and the sun had begun to beat hot on his wrinkled hands. Still he waited.

The first boys to return came into camp clowning and laughing and joking—until they saw their chief. They came close to where he was sitting and sheepishly thrust out a handful of wild flowers—paint brush, galardia, coreopsus. With scorn in his voice, the chief said, "You only played. You didn't even get to the mountain."

In the early afternoon a group of boys came sauntering back together. In their hands they carried branches of sage brush which they handed rather

Muriel Hazel Wright
Member of Board of Directors
Oklahoma Historical Society
1889–1975

hesitantly to the chief. "Why," he exclaimed with deep disappointment and rebuke, "you have not climbed at all. The sage brush grows at the far end of the plains where the mountain only begins to rise. You have not climbed." Later on toward sunset hour, some more boys came back with branches of cottonwood in their hands. The chief looked at them wistfully and said, "You boys only began to climb."

A little later two boys came back with branches of cedar. "Ah," he said, "you climbed, but you only reached the spring midway up the slope of the mountain. Why did you turn back so soon?"

Long after the stars came out, two more boys came back. They were weary and in their hands were branches of scrub pine. "You have done well," said the chief, "you reached the steep crags where only the scrub pine grows."

The old Navajo chief was well aware that there was still one lad who had not returned. It was dark now and it was cold, but he waited, spending his solitary vigil out under the stars. He saw the Milky Way and thought of all the warrior braves who were following that trail to the happy land; he watched the Great Bear come out of the north and make his slow descent beyond the horizon.

As the first glow of early dawn came, he saw the last boy coming toward him. His face was radiant; his eyes were shining. "I have nothing in my hands, O chief," he said. "Nothing grew at the heights to which I climbed. But, oh, I saw something that none of the others has seen. I saw beyond the mountain top; I saw the shining sea."

The chief said, "I knew it. I saw it in the radiance of your face and in the light of your eyes. This is a vision you will keep forever in your life until at last you reach that ultimate goal."

And so it was.

Never reconciled to the sage brush of a job half done; never satisfied with the cottonwood of mediocrity; never content with the scrub pine of past accomplishments, Miss Wright sought the heights in her profession and as a person.

> To every man there openeth—a way, and ways, and a way,
> The high soul seeks the high road, the low soul seeks the low,
> And in between on the misty flats, the rest drift to and fro.
> To her, also, there opened—a high way and a low,
> And she, herself, decided, which way her soul would go.

Indeed, Muriel Wright has found her shining sea.

Lucyl A. Shirk

NEW BOARD MEMBERS

Mrs. Margot Nesbitt

Long active in volunteer work at the Oklahoma Historical Society, Mrs. Margot Nesbitt is the wife of former Corporation Commissioner Charles Nesbitt and the mother of three children. She is a graduate of the University of Oklahoma and received her Master's Degree in Art History from there in the Spring of 1975.

Mrs. Nesbitt is a member of the Oklahoma Arts and Humanities Council, Oklahoma Art Center, Women's Committee of the Symphony, Oklahoma Heritage Association, Historic Preservation, Inc., Early American Glass Club, Connoisseur Club, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma Foundation for the Disabled, American Society of Appraisers qualified in Fine Arts and the Altar Guild of St. Paul's Episcopal Cathedral.

Herschal H. Crow, Jr.

Herschal H. Crow, Jr., a member of the Oklahoma Senate, was elected to that position in 1969 from Altus, Oklahoma. Senator Crow is a rancher and farmer who graduated from Oklahoma State University in 1957. He is married to the former Betty Small and is the father of two children. Oklahoma Jaycee's Outstanding Young Farmer of 1966, Senator Crow taught in the Altus schools from 1957 to 1965. He also served in the United States Army Reserves from 1958 to 1964. He is a member of the Altus Rotary Club, Oklahoma

Wheat Growers Association, Altus Library Board, Altus Chamber of Commerce and is a Thirty-second Degree Mason. Presently, Senator Crow is Chairman of Senate Appropriations Committee.

A TERRITORIAL THANKSGIVING

*By Jayne E. White**

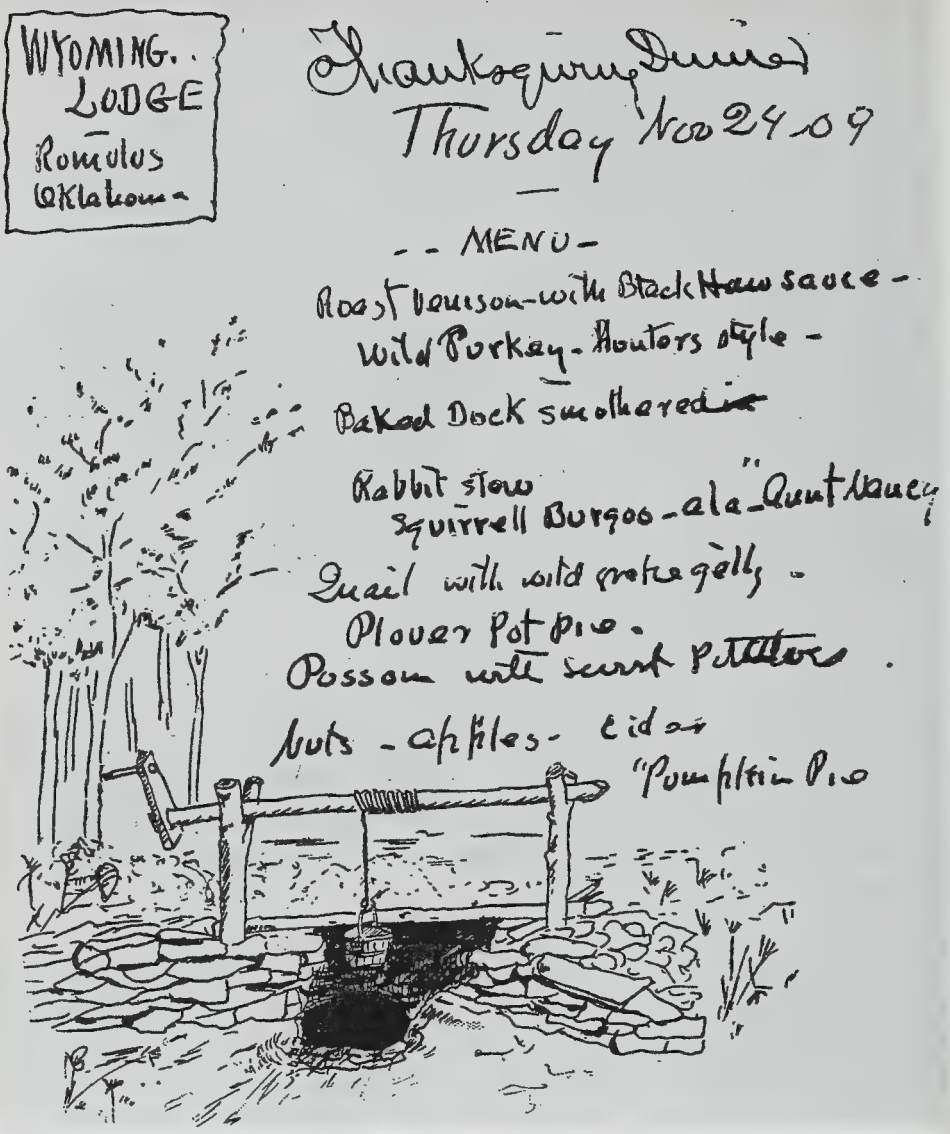
Today Thanksgiving conjures visions of roast turkey, giblet gravy, dressing, cranberry sauce and pumpkin pie. Housewives flock to the local supermarkets to shop for the necessary ingredients or order from a caterer. Often the entire family journeys to a nearby restaurant to partake of a lavish meal without the necessary toil or turmoil of a homecooked meal.

Things were not always so easy, especially shortly after the turn of the twentieth century before the advantages of "civilization" had reached many of the settlers in Oklahoma Territory. Walter Olds, who lived in Tulsa, Indian Territory, recounted his experiences in 1904 when he attended a Territorial Thanksgiving held at the Wyoming Lodge at Romulus in present-day Pottawatomie County. The bill of fare for this gala event included "Roast Venison—with Black Haw Sauce; Wild Turkey—Hunters Style; Baked Duke Smothered; Rabbit Stew; Squirrel 'Burgoo'—ala Aunt Nancy; Quail with wild grape jelly; Plover Pot Pie; Possum with Sweet Potatoes; Nuts—Apples—Cider and Pumpkin pie." Though perhaps a gourmet meal, the preparations for the feast, as Olds' recollections illustrate, were quite different from today.

Sunday evening before Thanksgiving my friend . . . rode up on horseback and delivered in person the invitation to be his guest, at Thanksgiving dinner. . . . [However] after supper and a few minutes of quiet smoking, he said "We can go out . . . tonight and get a good early start." This was an invitation to join him in a hunt, and a cool way of announcing that I was expected to help provide the forage for the feast.

And so at daybreak the next morning found us in the saddle, at the edge of an unfenced country in the south part of the Seminole Nation, an old Tennessee fox hunter riding beside us, and his four trained hounds jumping up against the horses and whining with excitement.

* The author adopted this article from the original manuscript which appeared in *Sturm's Statehood Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 3 (November, 1905), pp. 3–6, printed by O. P. Sturm in Tulsa, Indian Territory.



The bill of fare for a territorial Thanksgiving

Four miles of riding toward the reddening east brought us to the first "deer stand." Here I was quietly told to tie my horse a hundred yards down the wind in some scrub oak, and to take my position with my back to a tree on a little point where two ravines came together, and wait until I either got a shot or heard the old hunter, who with the dogs, would "make the drive," wind his horn three or more times in succession.

I cocked both barrels, shrunk up against the tree, and prepared to stand motionless for an hour or more—a trick that isn't so easy to do as it is to talk about.

Half a mile further east my friend was deposited in like manner, and then—and then—well, in about two weeks, so it seemed, far off and faint I heard the sound of a hunting horn—one, two, three times.

Mounting and riding east, we soon came together at a place previously agreed upon, and went forward a couple of miles to the next "use". . . .

Here my friend was lariated out on a runway, and half a mile further on I was instructed to lie down behind a bunch of grass right on a crown of a high prairie hill and watch the western slope.

Off road old Tennessee, and half an hour passed in absolute silence. O-O-O! O-O-O! O-O-O! O-O-O! came rolling up the valley. Silence for a while.

Then sharp and clear the voice of the driver in the peculiar "View-halloo" that is used in the south and southwest, and the cource of the hounds.

Tense and still I waited, and watched, over the crown of the hill to the west they came through the thick timber. The fervent yelp of the dogs, and the shrill cries of the horsemen were interrupted by the roar of his 10-gauge Winchester, only to sound again nearer and clearer.

It was pretty nervous work, lying there waiting for the quarry to break out of the woods a quarter of a mile away across the draw, and when he did appear, a magnificent buck came running with a hind leg swinging, being the result of the shots which I had heard from over the hill. He was coming diagonally up the slope to better the grade, and it was evident that he would not come within 250 yards, at least, of my post.

Rushing back down the slope, I mounted and rode a la breakneck to the south, well down the hill. There was scattering timber here, and, when I had gotten about where the deer was due to cross, I pulled the horse to a canter, and at this moment over the crown of the hill came the deer, headed straight for me, and only seventy-five yards away. He swung sharply to the north, and it took hard and likely work to about face and get a shot at the plunging buck from the back of a poorly broken horse.

Tennessee and the dogs came now, and I joined in the maddest, craziest ride I ever took (and I have been in four of Oklahoma's great "openings"),

through low-branched jackoak and stiff yard-high scrub, down into the rock-bottom ravines and over sandy mounds, dodging, ducking, striking up limbs with arms and stock of gun, and snatching time from all to break my gun, and slip in another load of "buck."

Old Tennessee took a fair advantage of my ignorance here. Leaving me to follow the hounds he made a short cut, gained a woods road, intercepted the gallant forest king, and when I rode up had the old fellow's throat cut and was tying his tired horse to a tree, having finished the game with another charge of oos. . . .

We hung our venison and took quarters in Will Archer's friendly cabin, and after dinner struck out for smaller game. We took the bird dogs, but tied the hounds. Their pitiful pleading to go gave me the blues, whenever I thought about it all day.

Down in the cornfield, not a hundred yards from the house, we flushed the first bunch of quail, and by 3 o'clock had five dozen and two—all we wanted. The remainder of the afternoon was spent gathering hickory nuts, walnuts, pecans, persimmons, black haws, red haws, and cutting canes and willow twigs. Of the twigs we made simple picture frames for favors for the ladies, and for each of the expected gentlemen guests we provided as grotesque a cane as we could find along the rocky ledges.

Bright and early next morning we shut the dogs in the corn house and slipped down to the big timber in the bottom lands. When breakfast brought us together at 8:30 seven gray and two fox squirrels were ready for dinner, and in the evening, coming in from a fruitless turkey hunt, we got another gray and two more fox squirrels. Wednesday morning it was all hands after turkeys, and here mine [sic] host-to-be had his inning. At noon he joined us with two fine young turkeys swung across his saddle, and after dinner we packed our plunder and hastened toward home.

Thursday we gathered, a merry crowd, around the novel and appetizing spread prepared from the game, fruit and nuts brought home, and regaled our souls with song and story, while the banquet stretched away into the unheeded hours.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF OKLAHOMA

Of special interest to members of The Historical Society, *Territorial Governors of Oklahoma*, edited by Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Oppenheim Regents Professor of History, Oklahoma University, is being made available through the Publications Department of the Society.

The first of a topical series to be published by the Oklahoma Historical Society devoted to the history of the Sooner State, *Territorial Governors of Oklahoma* is a detailed examination of the birth and growth of Oklahoma Territory. Covering the administrations of the nine men who occupied the territorial governor's office, the work is the first comprehensive study of territorial politics available for over forty years. This book, in a limited edition form, offers 152 pages, 37 maps and photographs, plus an index. For information or sales requests, write or contact the Publications Department.

FORT GIBSON, GATEWAY TO THE WEST. By C. W. West. (Muskogee: Muscogee Publishing Company, 1974. Pp. 283. Illustrations. Index. $9.95.)

To refer to Fort Gibson as the "Gateway to the West" is most apt and proper. Possibly no other one single place in Oklahoma has more history, lore and heritage related to the development of the West than has the square mile or more situated just north of the modern town of that name. The shadows of dozens of historic figures of national importance abound; and the location has a unique blend of the contributions of the military, the Indian, the white, the black and all of the countless others.

Much has been written of Fort Gibson and its past. Yet, much indeed should have been written, and the present contribution of C. W. "Dub" West makes another good addition to the bookshelf of local Oklahoma history.

Using his familiar style of separate vignettes of personal history and individual interest, the volume is a worthy supplement to existing formal or stylized histories of the post.

Printed on excellent paper, profusely illustrated and limited to 1000 numbered copies, the volume includes chapters on the National Cemetery, local fraternal and masonic lodges and the Fort Gibson school system. An excellent index adds to its usefulness for the researcher.

George H. Shirk
Oklahoma City

COMANCHE LAND. By J. E. Harston. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1973 [2nd Printing]. Pp. xxii, 206. Illustrations. Endcover Maps. Appendices. $5.95.)

What can be said about yet another book on the Comanches if it contains no scholarly footnotes, no bibliography, grievous errors in fact and interpretation and ignores the present state of scholarship regarding this important Indian tribe? Not much, unless the narrative is a sincere (although misinformed) account of one who participated in certain Comanche affairs, and whose experiences in the aggregate comprise a documentary contribution that possibly can stand by itself. For the most part Harston's treatment of the Comanches conforms to such a designation, and the unsuspecting

reader with a sincere interest in this tribe's history should read this book only if he perceives the implicit intellectual pitfalls.

J. E. Harston was the son of Captain J. D. Harston who operated a trading establishment at Fort Sill in the 1870s. Here the author learned the Comanche language and came to admire the tribe's cultural diversity. Keeping in mind his own warning that the book was "seasoned . . . with humor and cooked to a turn," Harston spins away at language, marriage, family life, music and dancing, peyote and tobacco, weapons, horses, treaties, cultural exchange and Comanche story telling. The appendices include a "Comanche-English Dictionary of words and idioms," as well as topographical material (Harston was by training a geologist), captives, trails, transportation and a hopelessly incomplete list of "Important Events in the Life of the Comanche Indians."

Perhaps the informed reader will ferret out some information of more than casual interest, but the layman surely will be captivated by Harston's earthy style and doubtlessly will accept his pronouncements without batting an eye. Here is the crux of the problem, for by any reasonable standard Harston's errors are legion. Some examples: "Qui Vera" (Quivira), the apparent destination of Coronado, certainly was not the galena district where the state boundaries of Missouri, Arkansas and Oklahoma presently corner; the Karankawas and Tonkawas certainly were not the only Indians of North America to engage in cannibalism; Jesse H. Leavenworth, the Kiowa-Comanche Agent in the 1860s, made no attempt to swing a treaty with the Comanches in 1834 (his father *did* visit their country in the 1830s); the government negotiated fewer than 400 treaties with Indians prior to the last one in 1871, rather than the 1,000 Harston asserts were concluded prior to 1900; and to ignore the critical Comanche treaties of 1853 and 1865, as Harston does, is to reveal a fundamental misunderstanding of the tribe's most trying time.

To expand the list of errors is not necessary, for this is a vanity publication that apparently was not subjected to pre-publication appraisal. What is needed, of course, is for competent editors to sort fact from fiction, and thus give Harston the authentic credit he deserves. But in view of the vanity market and widespread evidence that those who subsidize it are persons of faith and enterprise, not reason, such strategy would probably seal the book's doom. Surely the fact that *Comanche Land* has reached a second printing is a tragic commentary on an increasingly illiterate culture.

William E. Unrau
Wichita State University

BORN GROWN, AN OKLAHOMA CITY HISTORY. By Roy P. Stewart. (Oklahoma City: Fidelity Bank, N.A., 1974, Pp. xvi, 352. Photos. Foreword. Bibliography. Index. $5.95.)

When Illinois poet Vachel Lindsay wrote his 1914 "Ode on the Building of Springfield," he cautioned

> Record it for the grandsons of your sons
> A city is not builded in a day
> Our little town cannot complete her soul,
> 'Til countless generations pass away.

Had Lindsay but reflected, he'd have realized down in Oklahoma, less than 500 miles from Springfield, there were then scores of towns, both flourishing and famished, that had been "builded in a day" only 25 years earlier. As for the more mystical quality of soul completion, the process still goes forward in most of them.

With its 126,000 words and more than 200 illustrations, *Born Grown* tells the story of America's most spectacular "instant" urban center.

During its early period, Oklahoma City was blessed with a few competent historians, men present and participating in its founding day; and before the colors of April 22, 1889, began to fade, they penned well-documented recollections. However, the last of these first hand accounts appeared in 1922. Since, fifty-three years and multi-layered changes have formed a fascinating mosaic over Oklahoma's capital city.

Except for the restless insistance of Fidelity Bank board chairman, Jack T. Conn, who also heads the city's Bi-Centennial Commission, Oklahoma City might have waited another half-century for a definitive biography. More than two years ago, Conn commissioned Roy P. Stewart, former *Daily Oklahoman* editorial writer and columnist to write the story. *Born Grown*, twenty-two months in the making, resulted.

While Stewart spent thirty-three years living in Oklahoma City and writing about it, he says the far-ranging scope of *Born Grown* coverage was accomplished only with research help of Pendleton Woods, director of the Living Legends Library at Oklahoma Christian College. Woods also assisted in other editorial preparation.

Stewart has little sympathy with the school of writing that shuffles dry bones of history from one grave to another. So *Born Grown* is topical rather than chronological in arrangement, grouping subject matter, when possible, for continuous account. This ploy keeps reader interest at high level.

In its twenty-seven chapters, *Born Grown* retells many of the old legends about our city, verifying some and refuting others. Added are many new truths given light for the first time.

If the Stewart work carries a detectable theme, it is that of determined people, teaming up to make Oklahoma City the marvel it has become in one life span. Other towns, as well endowed geographically, remained hamlets. Others passed to oblivion. Humor, pathos, triumph and defeat all have their place in the *Born Grown* narrative. Dissension, corruption and scandal, too, have parts in the story. The city's eighty-five years of leadership is revealed, warts and all, with neither warts nor virtue exaggerated. But over almost nine decades, when opportunities struck, Oklahoma City has put aside inner differences and grasped the great moments. This is the theme of *Born Grown*.

This is Roy Stewart writing at its best, chatty and fast moving with no wasted words. *Born Grown* is history written without bias.

A special sixteen-page section on "Trackmakers" is devoted to identification of more than 700 persons, past and present, who have left their mark on the progress of Oklahoma City—for good or bad. Another 1,300 individuals are named in the book, all well indexed.

Jeanie Ruedy, Oklahoma commercial art designer, is responsible for *Born Grown's* attractive dust jacket, cover and opening pages. Manufacture and binding are the work of Metro Press, Inc.

Born Grown is available at Fidelity Bank, N.A. for $5.95. Or mail orders may be addressed to the bank at Fidelity Plaza, Oklahoma City. Add 68¢ ($6.63 total) to cover packaging, postage and insurance.

Paul L. Bennett
Oklahoma City

THE GROWING OF AMERICA: 1789–1848. By Raymond H. Robinson. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1973. Pp. xii, 244. Bibliographical Essay. Index.)

The Growing of America: 1789–1848 by Raymond H. Robinson is the second book in a six-volume, multi-authored series entitled *From Colony to Global Power: A History of the United States* that is designed primarily to serve as a college level text.

There is nothing really new in the development of the author's main theme that the United States "grew" in a variety of ways during the years 1789 to 1848, nor in his sub-theme that besides the disunity created by the

sectional controversy there was a great deal of cultural and economic unity. But the presentation of the material is exceptional. The organization and the clear writing style make the account flow, providing the book with a readability that should impart a wealth of information to even the most disinterested underclassman.

Divided into eleven chapters, the book devotes almost half of its pages to American political history. Following these five chapters is a chapter on American Society, its institutions and composition. The next four chapters are regional, emphasizing the economic history of the Northeast, the Old Northwest, the South and the West. Concluding the survey is a chapter entitled "The National Spirit," in which the author examines the "sources and manifestations of a national spirit, which held the Union together as centrifugal forces tried to tear it asunder."

Although *The Growing of America: 1789–1848* can stand on its own as a survey, there are serious questions that should be raised about the value of a six-volume, multi-authored college history text: Does the taxonomic device of dividing the survey into time periods tend to leave the student with the false metaphysical idea that the time period is a real entity with some essence of its own? Does the development of certain themes suffer when overlapping several volumes with different authors? And last, though not necessarily least, should a student purchase a six-volume survey for a two semester course when a good one or two volume survey would serve his purposes just as well?

Richard H. Faust
University of Oklahoma

CHUCK WAGON COOKIN'. By Stella Hughes. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974. Index. Illustrations. $4.95.)

"Only a . . . fool would argue with a skunk, a woman, or a roundup cook." Perhaps this opening phrase best characterizes the place occupied by the chuck wagon cook in the American West. An indispensable part of the range cattle industry, the evolution of the chuck wagon essentially parallels the growth of the nineteenth century cattle drives. As the author points out, the innovation of driving beeves to market necessitated some method of provisioning and feeding the men involved. The first attempt to provide a mobile commissary led to the usage of pack mules; however, this proved

unsatisfactory, and resulted in the construction of specially equipped wagons specifically used as storehouses and kitchens.

Eventually the classic example of a chuck wagon evolved. It was a large, four wheeled affair, with bows that were covered with waterproof sheets. Beneath the wagon box a "cooney" or "caboose" was slung, which was utilized as a storage area for either firewood or dry cow chips necessary for preparing the meals. A "jockey box" was located near the front of the wagon in which such tools and equipment as hammers, horseshoes, nails and ax handles were kept. At the opposite end of the wagon was another box specificially designed for use by the cook. Folding downward to form a workbench, it contained shelves and drawers which held both food and cooking utensils. In addition to the paraphernalia needed to produce meals on the trail, the chuck wagon also carried all the personal effects and bedrolls of the men.

Aside from performing as a culinary expect, the chuck wagon cook was expected to provide minor medical aid. For this purpose a special chest on the wagon contained such items as kerosene, "Sloans Liniment"—good for man or beast, "Bickmore Salve," "Bumbalts Caustic Balsam," epsom salts and castor oil. From such ointments and a practical knowledge, the cook prescribed for wounds, tooth aches and other maladies encountered on the Great Plains.

Because of the expertise demanded of him, the chuck wagon cook was the most essential member of of the round-up, as well as the highest paid, with the exception of the trail boss. So important were his duties that good cooks demanded a premium and often the success or failure of the cattle drives rested on his ability to keep the men happy. Because of his position, he commanded and received the respect of most of the cowboys, who were very careful not to violate "cookie's unwritten laws."

In addition to discussing the development of the chuck wagon and the men who ministered to the needs of the cowboys, the book also offered a large array of favorite western recipes including son-of-a-gun stew, jerky stew, one shot pot and bear meat with juniper berries. Aside from entrees, instructions are included for the preparations of sourdough biscuits, dutch oven biscuits, bean-hole beans, mock pecan pie and many others.

An interesting bit of Americana, *Chuck Wagon Cookin'* should provide great entertainment for all those who read it.

Jayne E. White
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

LAND OF THE UNDERGROUND RAIN: IRRIGATION ON THE TEXAS HIGH PLAINS, 1910–1970. By Donald E. Green. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973. Pp. xvii, 295. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. Appendix. $9.50.)

Although the use of surface water for irrigation in the arid West grew steadily during the latter half of the nineteenth century, irrigation in the semi-arid high plains of Texas was largely neglected, or was restricted to the limited quantities of water provided by windmills. The study of high plains irrigation has also been limited in scope. Even historian Walter Prescott Webb in his classic study, *The Great Plains*, failed to extend his analysis of high plains irrigation beyond the impact of the windmill. Donald Green in his *Land of the Underground Rain* has successfully filled this hiatus.

Green's study, the outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation at the University of Oklahoma, concentrates on the development of sub-surface irrigation on the Texas High Plains from the latter part of the nineteenth century to the present time. Green ties the evolution of high plains irrigation to a series of factors. Technology was most important in determining the development of high plains irrigation, but regional, national and international conditions also played a vital role.

Green's thesis is that High Plains irrigation was retarded by many factors. Farmers faced with frequent drouth-wet cycles were perplexed by inconsistent weather. This "indefinable aspect of semi-aridity" hindered an orderly consistent development of irrigation. There was inadequate surface water for irrigation. There were serious technical and financial problems inherent in tapping the immense Ogallaga Formation. Land speculators and promoters installed the first irrigation plants for promotional purposes during the second decade of the twentieth century. It was not until the 1930s that irrigation was transformed from use as a last resort against crop failure to a means of increasing production. Farmers facing economic disaster believed they had nothing to lose by turning to irrigation. New Deal credit and improved technology made the transformation possible.

One of the most provocative aspects of Green's book concerns the confrontation between the "myth of inexhaustible supply" and the reality of a precipitous decline in the watertable and radically diminished flow at the wellhead that has occurred during the past several years. Plainsmen typically viewed water as a resource to be exploited rather than conserved. Their attitudes are analogous to other better-known exploiters of the West's natural resources. Whereas Westerners early codified or adapted laws conserving and regulating surface water, there was a significant lack of

legislation governing the use of ground water. When Plainsmen considered ground water controls, they opted for local control, which was tantamount to little or no regulation. Although costs appear prohibitive and political problems seem insurmountable, irrigators facing depleted wells vainly hope that schemes for importing vast quantities of surface water from distant places will be undertaken in time to salvage High Plains irrigation.

Green's prognosis of the present dilemma is not encouraging. He envisions farmers rapidly depleting the remaining sub-surface water in the near future. As irrigation declines, he reasons, High Plains agriculture will decline to a dry farming-grazing economy reminiscent of the nineteenth century, subject to the vicissitudes of the water and economically unable to support its present population. His conclusion is a condemnation of the short-sighted exploitation and depletion of what he considers one of the West's most valuable natural resources.

The book is well-researched, well-written and especially recommended for persons interested in agricultural or conservation history.

David H. Miller
Cameron College

WILLIAM PENN. By Harry Emerson Wildes. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company. 1974. Pp. ix, 469. Index. Appendixes. $14.95.)

There were many things about William Penn which, viewed superficially or even with care, do not seem to fit a figure of his prominence and importance. Though exposed to the "advantages" of Oxford, he was "repelled by the vain quiddities, the pedantry, the sophisticated syllogisms that passed for learning." His formal education as a whole was slight, yet he was a natural student and composed 150 books and pamphlets. The beneficiary of his father's friendships and reputation, he had numerous disagreements with that well-connected admiral. The proprietor of Pennsylvania clothed many men with responsibilities, yet again and again gave evidence that he was an inferior judge of character. Holding a larger land area than any other private citizen in history, he spent only three years and eight months in the province that bore his name from the day he received his charter in 1681. And so they go—the anomalies and contradictions in the fascinating Penn's career and nature.

And fascinating indeed he was! The Quaker leader stood in well with the Anglican Charles II and the Roman Catholic James II, sovereigns of the Stuart Restoration. A winning man this William Penn—attractive to

women, good-looking when young, handsome with advancing years, eloquent preacher of brotherly love, author of constitutions, courtier, lobbyist, admired administrator who had spent time in jail. A hypocrite? So his enemies charged. A Jesuit in disguise? He had to deny it. Traitorous? "It is melancholy to relate," wrote Thomas Babington Macaulay, "that Penn, while professing to believe even defensive war as sinful, did everything in his power to bring a foreign army into the heart of his own country."

There have been numerous biographies of William Penn. Some are scarcely worthy of the name, at least by modern standards. Others have made contributions, but often underemphasized significant facets of a multisided personality. This volume by Harry Emerson Wildes truly does justice to Penn's achievements in the realms of action and thought alike. Ranging far and wide in his research and with access to the valuable Myers Collection at West Chester, Pennsylvania, Wildes consistently writes with grace and skill. Even more vital, he evaluates evidence in a judicious but never obtrusive way. The inconsistencies and prejudices of William Penn are frankly set forth in these pages, but the greatness of the real man comes shining through.

Holman Hamilton
Lexington, Kentucky

THREE FRIENDS: ROY BEDICHEK, J. FRANK DOBIE, WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB. By William A. Owens. (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1967, 1969, 1975. p. 335. Bibliography. Notes. $3.95.)

The 1975 paperback edition of *Three Friends* is a non-revised reissue of a work first published in 1967. The book is a collection of edited letters exchanged by Bedichek and Dobie and Bedichek and Webb in the 1940s and 1950s, accompanied by an explanative narrative placing these letters in biographical perspective. The range of the exchanges is broad; the samples are intended to be indicative of the mental processes and developments of the three individuals.

Owens' first chapters are brief biographical sketches of his three subjects, illustrating the impact of their Texas heritages and their varied educational experiences. He includes impressions of his personal contact with the three men and brief personality sketches of each.

He then delves into the exchanged letters. Admitting no chronological or topical grouping, he endeavors to present the letters in the context of the intellectual development of each man. Major topics appear, nevertheless; the president-board of regents fight at the University of Texas, the war and

impressions of Europe, politics and the post-war reaction, nature and the Texas heritage, and approaching death and immortality. Perhaps the most interesting of the chapters deal with the writing processes of each of the men: their moods, impressions of their work, exchanged criticisms and theories regarding publication.

In sum, it is an unusual collection. While not biographical in intent, it nevertheless provides insights into the thought processes of each man that could only be obtained through personal contact. The ever-presence of the Texas background, the fascination of each man with the impact of environment on thought processes, and the evolution of talents are particularly interesting.

Owens' selection of letters and their arrangement is fortunate. His limited biographical sketches are valuable and sufficient for his purposes. There is nothing of the maudlin in this collection, nor of the condescending. Bedichek, Dobie and Webb are not the Southwestern Emerson and Thoreau they had hoped, but they are product and persuasion of a definite region. The reissue is thus fortunate and should prove of value to less affluent scholars and regional culturists.

Virginia F. Haughton
Oklahoma State University

CHAHTA ANOMPA: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CHOCTAW LANGUAGE. By Todd Downing. (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee Area Office and Choctaw Bilingual Education Program, Southeastern State College: Durant, Oklahoma. Third Edition, 1973.)

The Choctaw Bilingual Education Program, a joint effort of the McCurtain County Public Schools and Southeastern State College, is now completing the fourth year of a five-year project. Beginning in the fall of 1970, a basic objective of the program has been to aid Choctaw children, many of whom enter the public schools with little or no knowledge of English, to succeed in their school careers. In order to implement this objective the overall plan has included activities designed to broaden the understanding by both Choctaws and Anglo-Americans of one another's language and culture. Hopefully, an important result of the program will be enhancement for all Choctaws of pride in their Indian heritage.

Professor Todd Downing joined the program soon after its inception as one well prepared to instruct Choctaw teachers in training to serve in schools with large enrollments of Choctaw pupils. Himself of Choctaw blood and a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Oklahoma, he

taught Spanish at the university after graduation. During this time he conducted tours of Mexico which led to his writing of mystery novels with Mexican settings and heightened his interest in the study of Indian cultures. Of Mexico he wrote: "It is the only place where the Indian element has not only held its own with the white man, but has succeeded in breeding out the white blood in exact reverse of the situation here."

Chahta Anompa, meaning Choctaw "tongue" or "language," originated when the editor of the *Indian Citizen*, a weekly paper in Atoka, Downing's home town, suggested that he write a series of Choctaw lessons for publication. These were developed into the present *Chahta Anompa* and used by Downing as a text for his classes in beginning Choctaw—"Choctaw 1113" in the printed schedule at Southeastern State College.

A modest publication, presenting ten basic lessons for beginners, *Chahta Anompa* has met a surprisingly wide and warm reception. It is not only being used at Southeastern but also in adult classes for Choctaws in southeast Oklahoma; and Vanderbilt University has introduced the publication as a text for a Choctaw course initiated in the fall of 1973. Among other justifications for instruction in Choctaw, Downing would have said that, "It is as easy to speak two languages as one. And belonging to two or more cultures doubles your enjoyment of life." The phrase "would have said" is used sadly because his death in in Atoka on January 9, 1974, at age seventy-two ended a long and distinguished career as gentleman, scholar, author and teacher.

Copies of *Chahta Anompa* are not for sale, but while they last those interested may obtain copies from the Choctaw Bilingual Education Program, Southeastern State College.

James D. Morrison
Durant, Oklahoma

THE AMERICAN COMPROMISE: THEME AND METHOD IN THE HISTORIES OF BANCROFT, PARKMAN, AND ADAMS. By Richard C. Vitzthum. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974. Pp. ix, 236. Bibliography. Index. $8.95.)

Richard C. Vitzthum concludes his book with the remark "Their theme might be said to be the American compromise, their method an American compromise. In both respects, the thirty volumes stand at the heart of American historical literature and of American civilization." He is referring to the ten volumes of George Bancroft's history, the nine volumes of Henry Adams' history and eleven of the many volumes authored by Francis Parkman.

The author dissects the methodology of each of these prominent historians and carefully examines how each produced nineteenth century narrative history by freeing himself from the old antiquarian scissors and paste approach. Bancroft started the move away from parroting what other historians had said and Henry Adams perfected the analysis of past sources.

The major endeavor of this book is to illustrate a continuity of theme and method in the works of these nineteenth century narrative historians. The theme focused on is that all three—Bancroft, Parkman and Adams—viewed American history as a struggle between the centrifugal force of individual freedom and the centripetal force of centralization of authority or unity. The compromise was the American way of life or a middle-of-the-road position between these two extremes. Bancroft analyzed that a sense of freedom led to revolution, while a sense of community led to union or some loyalty to central authority provided by the Constitution. In Parkman's works the theme was played out in the conflict between nature and civilization—the need for man to remain independent but yet subordinate enough to organized society to maintain "a stable freedom." Adams following the compromise theme "challenges the American politician to navigate a narrow and tricky course between the Scylla of Napoleonic concentration of power and the Charybdis of Jeffersonian decentralization of power."

Placing great emphasis on the different use of source material Vitzthum clearly illustrates how Bancroft manipulated his sources to serve his own purposes, while Parkman used sources to recreate the mood and tone of the events in order to draw the reader into the past. Parkman was much more artistic in his approach. Adams paraphrased his sources but was less manipulative and struggled to maintain the "truer" meaning.

The logic of his arguments are difficult to follow leading the reader to conclude that perhaps he is sketching his point. His analyses of style and interpretation of the three authors do not always seem to proceed along the same investigative lines, but his interpretation is interesting and informative if not always convincing. There remains a doubt as to the link connecting Bancroft to Parkman to Adams.

This book is not for the casual reader. It is good intellectual history. Anyone who has an interest in any one of the three historians should read the book.

Edward S. Perzel
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

☆ FOR THE RECORD

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 24, 1975

The eighty-third annual meeting of the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order at 9:30 A.M., April 24, 1975, in the auditorium of the Historical Building by Vice President H. Milt Phillips. He had been asked to preside at the meeting by President George H. Shirk, who was accompanying Mr. James Biddle to several civic affairs in his honor. Mr. Biddle, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C., shall be the speaker at the annual luncheon of the Society at the Ramada Inn Downtown following the annual and board meetings.

Mr. Phillips brought the Reverend F. W. Sprague to the podium for the invocation.

Mr. Phillips stated that an important part of the annual meeting is the honoring of those who have made contributions to the Society's history and progress. Miss Lucyl A. Shirk was asked to pay tribute to the late Dr. Muriel H. Wright. Miss Shirk spoke of Miss Wright, former editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, as a lady and a legend in her time. She told a moving Navaho story that Miss Wright had once related to her, which Miss Shirk believed reflected Miss Wright's own life and achievements.

Dr. Wright's sister, Mrs. Guy C. Reid, and nephew, John Allen Reid, were introduced to those present at the meeting.

Publisher and former Senator Donald F. Ferrell of Chandler was next introduced to pay tribute to deceased board member Representative Lou Allard, who told of Mr. Allard's long career as a lawmaker and journalist. Mr. Allard was elected to the Board of Directors in 1961.

Members of the Allard family who were guests of the Society were Mrs. Wilma Allard; daughters Kay Dell Lawson of Tulsa and Dee Ann Stanley of Drumright, and brother Orville Allard and his family, Oklahoma City.

Another member of the board died during the past year—Henry B. Bass, known to many people throughout the country for his unique newsletters.

Mr. Phillips called upon Mr. Shirk to pay tribute to Mr. Bass, who had given so much to the city of Enid and who had done so much to bring Abraham Lincoln as a living presence to all Oklahomans.

Mr. Phillips recognized the Bass family members and thanked them for attending the meeting. Present were Mrs. Bertie Bass; daughter Barbara and Guy Berry of Sapulpa; and daughter Jerry and Bill Jennings, Oklahoma City.

This eighty-third annual meeting marked the presentation of the first annual Muriel H. Wright Heritage Endowment Award. The winner of a

plaque and a $300 stipend for writing the most outstanding article for *The Chronicles* during the past year was Professor Andre Paul DuChateau of Cowley County Community Junior College, Arkansas City, Kansas. His article, appearing in the Fall, 1974 issue of *The Chronicles*, was entitled, "The Creek Nation on the Eve of the Civil War." Dr. and Mrs. DuChateau were called to the stage to receive the award.

An invitation was extended by Mr. Phillips to all those present to attend the Board of Directors meeting immediately following, and he asked Mr. Shirk to comment on the fourth annual luncheon.

Mr. Shirk reviewed the appointments he and Mr. Biddle had made earlier in the morning. Mr. Biddle was following a busy schedule of meetings with a number of persons interested in historic preservation in Oklahoma and with representatives of the news media.

Mr. Fisher Muldrow moved that the members accept and approve the reports and actions of the past year of the Board of Directors. Senator Denzil Garrison seconded the motion and it was approved.

Mr. Phillips expressed appreciation to those who came to the meeting and asked that the meeting be adjourned.

H. MILT PHILLIPS
Vice President

JACK WETTENGEL
Executive Director

MURIEL H. WRIGHT: A LEGEND GIVEN BY LUCYL A. SHIRK

The Dr. Muriel H. Wright Memorial address delivered by Miss Lucyl Shirk appears as a *Necrology* in this issue.

LOU ALLARD MEMORIAL GIVEN BY DONALD F. FERRELL

Lou S. Allard was a man who wore many hats in Oklahoma, and he carved out distinguished careers in several fields of endeavor. Lou was a successful newspaper publisher, a respected member of the Oklahoma legislature for nearly a quarter of a century, a civic leader in his own community, a devoted father and husband and a person who worked hard to help build Oklahoma.

Lou grew up in the newspaper business. His father, Lou S. Allard, Sr., was the publisher of the *Shawnee News* and later the *Shawnee Herald*. Lou was born in Shawnee on August 13, 1909. When the oil boom was at

its height in Drumright, the elder Allard bought the *Drumright Derrick* and moved his family to that Creek County community.

Lou was seven years old when his father became publisher of the Drumright newspaper. He was never very far from the newspaper business the rest of his life.

After graduation from Drumright High School he entered Oklahoma A and M College. During his final year he was forced to leave college for an emergency appendectomy, and he never returned to finish his degree.

After a brief period of work for the National Youth Administration program, Lou returned to Drumright in 1942 to help his father in the newspaper. His father died in 1943, and Lou purchased his mother's interest in the *Derrick* in 1946. That was a momentous year for Lou. He was also elected to his first of thirteen terms in the Oklahoma House of Representatives in 1946.

Lou had the respect of Oklahoma newspapermen, and he received recognition for his service to Oklahoma journalism in several ways. Lou was president of the Oklahoma Press Association in 1958–1959, and always played an important part in association activities.

He was also the recipient of the Sigma Delta Chi Award for distinguished service to journalism, presented by the Oklahoma chapter of that society of professional journalists.

Lou also served the higher needs of journalism during his long career as a lawmaker. He was the author of Oklahoma's Open Meeting Law, which makes it mandatory that the public's business is open to the public.

Education was one of Lou's primary legislative concerns and he sponsored many significant improvements in Oklahoma's school laws. At various times he served as chairman of the House Education, Finance and Appropriations Committees.

He did not back away from the unpleasant tasks assigned him as a lawmaker. Lou was chairman of the House Investigating Committee which recommended impeachment of two Oklahoma Supreme Court justices in one of the sadder chapters of our state's history.

Following that assignment, he was named chairman of the board of managers which successfully prosecuted the impeachment trial before the State Senate.

Occasionally Lou was not successful in attempted projects. In 1962 he was an unsuccessful candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Oklahoma. Two years later he came back from that defeat by standing for election once more in his old House of Representatives district. The people of his area chose him once more.

In 1970 he lost his legislative seat to a former house member after their two districts had been merged by court-ordered reapportionment. But Lou was elected to the house again at the next election.

Lou was in charge of the state's fiftieth birthday party as chairman of the State Semi-Centennial Commission. His work on that assignment took him across this country in support of the celebration.

Lou had the respect and gratitude of the members of his own community. Twice he was named Citizen of the Year of Drumright. Honors were heaped on him by the many organizations he worked with and for both in Drumright and the entire state. Oklahoma Jaycees chose him as their president one term.

He also served the Oklahoma Historical Society as a member of the Board of Directors for thirteen years, and a working member of three important committees.

That was the public Lou Allard. The private Lou Allard was the father and husband who worked long hours in a country newspaper shop and who was devoted to his family.

Lou and his wife Wilma could both remember the early days when they toiled on his father's paper. His salary was $1.00 a day, plus his grocery bill which was traded out with the grocer for advertising.

This was the time when publishing a weekly paper meant working all night every Wednesday and into Thursday, with inadequate help and making do with worn out machinery. It took a fierce devotion to pursue a newspaper career in those days.

Lou and Wilma raised two daughters who were the pride of his life.

Many of his closest friends were not aware of Lou's final illness for a long period, for he was not one to complain about hardship. He was already to a thirteenth term in the House of Representatives when the end came.

One of his final honors came on September 28, 1974, when he was honored by the Drumright Chamber of Commerce. The occasion was the Oil Patch Jamboree Day, but Lou was too ill to attend the parade and program.

Lou was to have received a bronze plaque at the celebration. The message on that plaque sums up his work on this earth. It read:

"Presented to Lou S. Allard on behalf of his many friends at home and elsewhere in recognition and appreciation of the many years of unselfish and distinguished service to his fellow man, his community and the State of Oklahoma."

HENRY B. "HEINIE" BASS: A BUILDER OF LASTING THINGS GIVEN BY GEORGE H. SHIRK

Until our own time the presence of Abraham Lincoln in Oklahoma at best had been impersonal and distant. True, his name has been with us as that of one of our counties, and we see him daily on the five dollar currency and our postage stamps. As President he signed into law the Homestead Allotment Act of 1862, which more than two decades later was a vital force in the settlement of western Oklahoma. Otherwise he had made little immediate contribution that could be considered unique to our State.

All this was changed by Henry Bass of Enid. To him Abraham Lincoln was an immediate and living presence, a person he knew well and an individual with whom he felt much in common. Because of Bass, Lincoln has become a highly personal and living entity for all of us; and we are much the better for it.

Each of us knew Heinie well. Each could recount some special event or significant instance where the remarkable and unique personality of this man touched or influenced us. We owe to each other the obligation to pause in this our Eighty-third Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society and reflect on his character and his life.

Henry B. Bass was born in Enid on February 24, 1897. His father, Daniel C. Bass, had been a homesteader when the Cherokee Outlet had been opened some three years earlier. He made the run from the south line of the Outlet and determined to settle in Enid.

Somehow the durable character of the Bass family is exemplified by the circumstance that the Cottonwood Tree near the point where present United States Highway 81 crosses the boundary of the Outlet and in whose shade the senior Bass waited the starting signal, yet stands healthy and reflects the same type of vigor and vitality that Daniel C. Bass taught his four sons and three daughters.

Son Henry graduated from Enid High School in 1915. He attended the University of Missouri for three years until he entered officers training to become a second lieutenant in the Field Artillery of World War I. Following the war he joined his father in the family business, D. C. Bass and Sons Construction Company. Founded by the elder Bass the day he settled in Enid, the firm has the distinction of being the oldest general contracting firm in Oklahoma with the longest uninterrupted existence.

Heinie, along with his brother Clarence, made certain that the firm continued and prospered. Many hospitals, courthouses and other public buildings are in service today throughout Oklahoma to attest to the sturdiness of their work and the quality of their craftsmanship. Bass was particularly

proud of the many scholastic buildings the firm had built at his old alma mater, the University of Missouri at Columbia. The company flourishes today under the direction of Bob Berry, a great-grandson of the founder and a son of Heinie's daughter Barbara.

He was Chairman of the Board of Community Bank and Trust Company of Enid; President of Mosher Development Company, an Enid real estate development firm. His letters addressed "To Anyone Interested in Enid Real Estate" well reflected his avid interest in the development of Enid.

In his professional field he was past President of the Oklahoma Chapter of the Associated General Contractors of America, and served for many years as a member of the Association's National Board of Directors.

Although eminently successful in the business world, his true interests were with the humanities, especially history and above all Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War years.

He was Trustee of the University of Oklahoma Foundation; and was a Director of The Frontiers of Science Foundation, The Midwest Research Institute at Kansas City, the Business Advisory Council, The Oklahoma Methodist Foundation, The Oklahoma Health Sciences Foundation and The Oklahoma Historical Society. He served for many years as a member of the Oklahoma Santa Claus Commission.

He was a member of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, and served as Chairman of the Oklahoma Chisholm Trail Centennial Commission as well as Chairman of the Tri-State Commission made up by the states of Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas.

He has been awarded honorary doctorate degrees by Phillips University of Enid, Lincoln Memorial University of Tennessee, Pepperdine University in California and Oklahoma Christian College in Oklahoma City. In 1968 he received the Enid Distinguished Citizen of the Year Award; on Statehood Day in 1967 he was inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame.

These honors give a sampler of Heinie as a public citizen and are tributes to his civic work and accomplishments. Yet what of Heinie as a person? It was Henry B. Bass as an individual, warmhearted and friendly, and a man interested in everything and anything wholesome and good that we so remember today.

He exemplified the often quoted statement of Will Rogers that he had "never met a man he didn't like." He had no reason not to believe people when he was told something and he accepted at face value their statements to him. He had an abiding belief in the inherent goodness of mankind and in the greatness of the earth and the firmament given to man's stewardship.

At the close of World War I he married Roberta Lee Herring, known to us as Bertie. She and Heinie were truly to each a life's companion; and

their half century together was marked in 1969 by a Golden Wedding Anniversary trip around the world. In addition to Mrs. Bass, Heinie was survived by two daughters, Mrs. Guy Berry of Sapulpa and Mrs. Bill P. Jennings of Oklahoma City. A son, Robert D. Bass, a first lieutenant of Engineers was killed in combat action during World War II. He leaves in addition nine grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

I have often heard Heinie describe himself as a "frustrated author." By this I assume he meant that if he could have had his choice he would have preferred to have won his laurels and to have made his name by writing. He was able apparently to overcome his "frustrations" as he authored four books dealing with various aspects of his life and beliefs. The first *Bob's Europe* revisited the route of his son's service during the war. *Methodism in Enid* covered the history of the Methodist Church in the Enid area and in which growth and development he played no small part. *Building for a Rugged Individualist* dealt with the late H. H. Champlin of Enid, a man for whom he had much admiration and whose home and its construction by the Bass firm was a special joy. Lastly, *The Story of the Bass Construction Company* covered many of the projects the company had accomplished.

In the writing field however his monthly newsletters have long been an institution, and were avidly read by recipients throughout the world. From an indifferent beginning some forty-nine years ago when Heinie wrote letters to relatives and a few immediate friends, his monthly newsletters grew to an enterprise of renown and to be quoted and requoted throughout the length and breadth of the land. The collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society of his letters is practically complete; and the staff is presently hard at work in securing photocopies of the few missing numbers. To me, his monthly letters will rank with Samuel Pepys' *Diary* or James Boswell's *Journals* in conveying to future generations the true spirit, mores and attitudes of my own times. I shall be everlastingly grateful to Heinie that he has put to paper for the use of distant historians the times in which I lived.

However, the accomplishment in which he was without doubt the most proud was that of assembling the world's largest collection of poetry dealing with Abraham Lincoln. He once stated to his colleague on the Oklahoma Historical Society Board, Dr. LeRoy Fischer, that he could not remember a time when he was not involved with Lincoln.

Dr. Fischer has recounted Heinie's recollection that his teacher in the eighth grade had decreed that no one would receive a passing mark except upon having memorized and successfully recited James Russell Lowell's "The Vision of Sir Launfal." Although he had attacked the task with disdain, young Bass found much to his surprise that he enjoyed the poem

despite his twenty-six verses, and as a matter of fact he gained much pleasure in being able to recite the entire work in full on graduation day. His discovery of the beauty of verse had a direct relationship to his love and admiration for Abraham Lincoln; and it seemed only natural that it would be his responsibility to bring the two together. After mature reflection he was astonished at the quantity and the quality of poetry dealing with Abraham Lincoln. His collection grew to contain over 3,000 separate pieces.

It seems almost an ironic quirk of inexorable fate that Heinie was to live in the locality where, when he was a boy of eight, a man died who declared himself to be John Wilkes Booth. Bass has related how he and his playmates often gained entrance to the mortuary of W. D. Penniman where the corpse of Booth remained on display, well embalmed but uninterred. The lack of funds caused Mr. Penniman to make the corpse available for public exhibitions and fairs and so without doubt the absence of the money for a burial resulted in a financially successful operation. An entire issue of his monthly letters was devoted by Bass to all of the details of the Booth affair and the many other singular instances pertaining to Booth that seemed to intermesh with the early history of Enid.

His poetry collection had its genesis with the purchase by Bass of Osborn Hamiline Oldroyd's "The Poet's Lincoln: Tributes in Verse to the Martyred President." The volume was published in 1915 and from that acquisition the die was cast. Of the entire collection three items especially merit recounting here.

The first was his acquisition at a Parke-Bernet sale of Lincoln's favorite poem, "Mortality" written in the President's own handwriting. The poem was frequently quoted by Lincoln, and he became so intimately associated with it that it has been said that he was often credited with its authorship.

In fact the poem was written by a Scotsman, William Knox. It first came to Lincoln's attention in 1835 at the time of the death of Ann Rutledge. As told by Dr. Fischer, in 1849 Lincoln was touring Illinois with a group of candidates for political office. At Decatur, upon being asked to sing, Lincoln remarked, "I cannot sing but I can recite a poem." Whereupon he recited "Oh! Why Should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud."

One of the girls in the assemblage, Lois Newhall Hillis, followed Lincoln into the hallway and inquired if he would put the poem to paper. The next morning while she was at breakfast Lincoln appeared at her place and presented a sheet of blue legal size paper on which the poem was written, eight verses on the front and six on the reverse. Late in life she sold the poem and eventually this priceless document in Lincoln's handwriting became available for sale at auction by Parke-Bernet. Unexpected bidding, especially from a spirited bidder noted for her whimsical eccentricities,

increased the bids far beyond the estimated top figure. The poem finally went to Bass, and while dismayed at its eventual cost, he placed it with cherished and loving pride among his collection. He has never disclosed the amount of the successful bid.

A second item to recount was in the same sale. It was John Greenleaf Whittier's poem on Lincoln "The Weary Form that Rested Not." Bass had planned its purchase, but the distractions caused by the earlier bidding had prevented him from following through with his original intentions. The Whittier item in fact went to Carl Haverline, President of Broadcast Music, Incorporated. Later when Bass met Haverline he surprised Heinie with an offer that he would give the Whittier poem to Bass in exchange for forty pounds of buffalo chips. Haverline had recently received a supply of buffalo steaks and had been admonished by the giver that to be really succulent they must be grilled over a fire kindled by this unusual fuel. Typical of Heinie and his personality, he made arrangements for the gathering of a sack of chips at the Wichita Wild Life Refuge; and in that incredible way he added Whittier's autographed Lincoln poem to the collection.

The third item is the book in the collection "The Poetical Works of Fitz-Greene Halleck." The volume had been published in New York in 1861 and a copy had found its way into Lincoln's hands. In the spring of 1862 the President, accompanied by Secretary of War Stanton, boarded a naval vessel under the command of Captain John A. Dahlgren, the commandant of the Washington Naval Yard, and steamed down the Potomac River during the night of May 22–23 for a visit to the army of Major General Irvin McDowell. During the course of the evening the President produced the Halleck volume of poetry and read aloud. He seemed especially moved by "Marco Bozzaris," Halleck's poem telling of the Greek hero who lost his life in the liberation of his country from Turkish rule.

Through inadvertence the book was left behind on the vessel and Captain Dahlgren inscribed therein and above the page on which was printed "Marco Bozzaris" a note telling that this particular poem had been read aloud out of that volume by the President while aboard the vessel. In 1959 the book was acquired by Bass; and Heinie seemed to take special renewed personal vitality when, in reading the poem to himself, he would realize that his eyes were falling on print that had once been viewed by the President.

This last February Heinie seemed to realize somehow that his recovery from an earlier heart attack was reaching an even plateau. On the late afternoon of February 11, 1975, he seemed to grow fitful and unresponsive. Hospitalization was directed; and he was removed to the institution that bears his family name, the Bass Memorial Baptist Hospital.

At this point may I turn to one of history's great, whose German ancestry would well have given him the perfect right to have been known as Heinie, were his given names other than George Frederic. I refer to Handel, the man whose genius put to paper the immortal "Messiah." His consuming wish as he reached the close of life was that his death would occur on Good Friday. Handel's condition seemed to grow progressively worse during Holy Week of 1759. True to his fervent hope, his eyes closed for the last time during the early hours of Good Friday.

It is nice to believe that so it was with Henry B. Bass. No doubt a fleeting smile crossed his face sometime during the beginning hours of February 12. Now it was Lincoln's birthday and he had held on until then. Heinie's thoughts turned for the last time perhaps to Lincoln's reading of "Marco Bozzaris" and his train of thought, yet with the furtive smile, I believe concluded with Halleck's lines heard by him in Lincoln's voice:

his eyelids close
Calmly, as to a night's repose,
Like flowers at set of sun.
For thou art Freedom's now,
And Fame's one of the few

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 24, 1975

President George H. Shirk called the Quarterly Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society to order at 10:30 A.M., Thursday, April 24, 1975. He welcomed to the board the two new members, Mrs. Charles Nesbitt and Senator Herschal H. Crow, Jr., noting that Senator Crow had requested to be excused due to a prior commitment in Washington, D.C.

The roll was called by Mr. Jack Wettengel, Executive Director. Members present were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydstun; O. B. Campbell; Joe W. Curtis; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Bob Foresman; Denzil D. Garrison; Dr. A. M. Gibson; John E. Kirkpatrick; Fisher Muldrow; Mrs. Charles Nesbitt; H. Milt Phillips; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Miss Genevieve Seger; and George H. Shirk. Those members asking to be excused were Senator Crow; E. Moses Frye; Nolen J. Fuqua; W. E. McIntosh; Dr. James Morrison; and H. Merle Woods. Mr. Phillips moved to excuse those who were absent; Miss Seger seconded, and the motion passed.

Guests were introduced: Mrs. Charles I. Hannis of Tulsa County Historical Society and former representative of the Advisory Council of the National Trust for Historic Preservation; C. W. "Dub" West, author; and Colonel Clarence F. Himes, a member of the Society.

Mr. Wettengel gave his report, calling attention to the great interest shown in the reprint of the articles on the territorial governors appearing in the Spring, 1975 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* This particular issue was edited by Dr. Fischer, serving as guest editor, and has been praised for its usefulness in the study of the history of Oklahoma Territory. Mr. Wettengel noted that the State Services for the Blind had requested a subscription to *The Chronicles* which will be read on their radio programs. A complimentary subscription is being mailed to this organization.

Fifty-five persons had applied for annual membership in the Society during the past quarter. Mr. Wettengel advised that four life memberships had also been requested: Russell Henry Harbaugh, Jr.; Robert N. Naifeh; Mrs. Charles Nesbitt; and Mrs. Ralph G. Thompson, the latter two having been annual members for several years. Mr. Phillips moved to accept the applications and Mr. Curtis seconded. Motion carried.

Attention was called to the many improvements in the Historical Building and the sites around the state. Mr. Wettengel said new exhibits have been created—the North Gallery in the Historical Building now depicts the saga of the "89ers" and the early settlers in Oklahoma Territory, an exhibit has been built dedicated to Wiley Post and a military exhibit has been developed displaying uniforms, equipment and other objects relating to the Spanish-American War and World Wars I and II.

Large numbers of researchers have used the Society's Indian Archives, Library, and Newspaper Library, according to Mr. Wettengel. In addition, Senator Garrison presented a report prepared by the Library staff listing ninety-five cities in Oklahoma from which researchers had come, as well as forty-seven out-of-state cities and Australia.

Mr. Wettengel called the board's attention to the completion of the sandblasting of the exterior of the Historical Building. He said the State Board of Public Affairs had also scheduled electrical rewiring for the building, and had assigned additional personnel to the maintenance crew.

Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer, reported on the cash receipts and disbursements of Fund 200 during the past three months. She also gave a brief report of the board's flower fund.

Dr. Fischer spoke of the development of the North Gallery. He reviewed the work of a group of very dedicated Junior League volunteers who have been working on cataloguing and preparing museum artifacts for storage.

Thanks to these women, the collections are finally in such condition that they can now be used and studied by persons doing basic research. This has not been possible in the past.

Dr. Fischer asked Mr. Boydstun to report on the Honey Springs project. Mr. Boydstun stated that the paper work had been finished on the McClain tract of land which will become a part of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park. He advised that Muskogee County has organized a historical society whose number one priority will be the Honey Springs project. Mr. Wettengel added that Dr. Charles Cheek of the University of Tulsa had advised that he would be able to continue with the Honey Springs report on the archaeological dig.

There have been changes in personnel in the Library, according to Mr. Curtis, chairman of the Library Committee. Mac Harris is the new librarian and Jo Ellen Cundiff is the new secretary.

The annual Heritage Club meeting will be held in the fall this year to allow time for member clubs to develop Bicentennial programs, according to Mr. Foresman, Education Committee chairman.

Mr. Foresman also announced that the name of the club booklet has been revised. It is now known as *Heritage Roundup* and the booklet was presented by Foresman outlining the purposes and plans of the high school groups.

A report on the Oklahoma Historical Day Committe was given by Mr. Wettengel. This committee receives an annual appropriation for observance of Oklahoma Historical Day, October 10, in Salina. Mr. Wettengel said the superintendent of schools is automatically the chairman of the committee. Currently that chairman is Tim Baker, Ed.D. C. E. Chouteau, J. T. McFarlin, William E. Reynolds and Grady Yowell were nominated to the committee. Mr. Phillips moved to approve these nominations; Miss Seger seconded, and the motion passed.

President Shirk advised the board that a draft in the amount of $1,015 had been received by the Society from Wilderspin and House, Midland, Texas. This draft represents a bonus consideration due for execution of the Oil, Gas and Mineral Lease of property in Val Verde County, Texas, given to the Society by Carolyn Skelly Burford. Mr. Muldrow moved that the board authorize Mr. Shirk to sign the lease; Dr. Fischer seconded, and the motion passed. Mr. Shirk expressed to Mrs. Nesbitt the appreciation of the board and the Society for Mr. Nesbitt's study and his recommendation that the lease offer be accepted. This bonus will be applied to the Overholser Mansion account in compliance with Mrs. Burford's desire that any bonus received from the property be applied to the development of a historic house.

According to a recent directive from the National Park Service, a written agreement must be signed by the Oklahoma Historical Society and Kent Ruth outlining the responsibilities of both parties in the preparation of the annual Preservation Plan. In the agreement, the Society agrees to pay Mr. Ruth $1,000 a year, in quarterly installments, plus out-of-pocket expenses. He will agree to act as the professional consultant for conducting historical planning and surveys, and in addition will be paid $100 and expenses for each nomination submitted to the National Register of Historic Places. Miss Seger moved to authorize Mr. Shirk to sign the contract. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Nesbitt and passed.

Discussion followed on the status of the settlement of the Burkhart estate. In the will, the Historical Society was to receive the Burkhart home and its contents, plus 2.3 Osage Indian Headrights. Contests of the will are still pending in the District Court of Osage County. In the settlement, money amounting to $2,000 from the headrights will be paid to the Society to cover all out-of-pocket expenses incurred by the Society in attending the many hearings connected with the litigation; the Society will receive all tangible property: the house, furnishings and artifacts; and the Society will abandon its claim to the headrights. Mrs. Nesbitt moved that the plan be approved by the board. Mr. Curtis seconded, and the motion was carried.

The board was then requested to approve the appointment of James Biddle as an Honorary Member of the board. Mr. Biddle, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, shall be the guest speaker at the Society's annual luncheon. Senator Garrison placed the appointment in the form of a motion, Mr. Muldrow seconded and the board approved it unanimously. Mr. Shirk observed that Mr. Biddle was the twelfth such person to be so honored.

Mr. Shirk reported that the city of Guthrie voters had approved transfer of the Carnegie Library to the Oklahoma Historical Society and that the warranty deed was being prepared by the City Attorney, Merle Smith. Upon receipt of the deed, it is to be recorded and filed and an appraisal is to be obtained for the purpose of requesting National Park matching funds. Miss Seger moved to accept the warranty deed; Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion, which passed.

Mrs. Nesbitt was appointed to the Museum and to the Historic Sites committees by Mr. Shirk.

Senator Garrison advised that the Woods County Historical Society is printing a history of the county and asked if any board members present had relatives who had made the "Run." If so, they were urged to submit the names to the Woods County group at 617 Monroe, Alva, Oklahoma.

Because of the death of Henry B. Bass, Mr. Shirk noted that there was a

vacancy on the board. Mr. Phillips moved that the regular procedure in submitting nominations be followed; Dr. Fischer seconded, and all agreed.

Board members who had not submitted their photographs for hanging in the Board Room were asked to do so before the July meeting.

Mr. R. W. Jones, Museum Director, had prepared a detailed inventory of artifacts displayed in the Confederate Memorial Hall, according to Mr. Shirk. Most of the items belong to Mr. Reaves, curator of the room, and are on a temporary loan basis. Mr. Shirk reminded the board that the Society does not accept gifts with stipulations of any kind, but that the board does have authority to accommodate visiting or temporary exhibits. Mr. Phillips moved that the board accept artifacts belonging to Mr. Reaves on a temporary loan basis and that if any item be changed by the curator, the change should be noted on museum records on the day on which the change or substitution is made. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion, and it was passed.

A motion was made by Senator Garrison to adjourn to the Ramada Inn Downtown for the annual luncheon; Mrs. Nesbitt seconded, and it was carried.

GEORGE S. SHIRK
President

JACK WETTENGEL
Executive Director

GIFT LIST FOR FIRST QUARTER, 1975

LIBRARY:

Oklahoma in the 1920's, by Ed Gill, 1974.
Donor: Author, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Treasure Hunt, Spring, 1974 and Summer, 1974, by Bob Turpin.
Oklahoma's Buried Millions, by Bob Turpin, 1972.
Donor: Author, Cashion, Oklahoma.

"Camp Radziminski in the Wichitas" by Loren C. Simms, 1974.
Donor: Author, Altus, Oklahoma.

NAAHE (The National Association for the Advancement of Humane Education) *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, Fall, 1974; Vol. I, No. 2, Winter, 1974.
Donor: Humane Education R 378, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Thirty-seven back issues of *"Prairie City Piper"* of Marshall, Oklahoma, 1973–1974.
Donor: Mrs. J. L. Branen, Marshall, Oklahoma.

Confederate Veteran Association of the State of Oklahoma, Issued by Major General Daniel M. Hailey, commanding the Oklahoma Division, 1911.

Donor: William A. Martin, Jr., Librarian, Oklahoma College of Liberal Arts Library, Chickasha, Oklahoma.

Sheppard-Marshall and Allied Families: Burrows, Clark, Deakins/Dickens, Gatchell, Graves, Green, Hibbs, Hudson and Many Others by Lillian A. Sheppard, 1974.
Donor: Clark Hibbard, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Five Civilized Tribes, by Brunetta Bernard Griffith, 1974. Booklet published to accompany Five Civilized Tribes paintings done by Mrs. Griffith which are in the American Indian National Bank, Washington, D.C.
Donor: Mrs. Brunetta B. Griffith, Rush Springs, Oklahoma.

Army Song Book, U.S., Washington, D.C., 1918, reprint.
Donor: E. D. Brewer, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Fort Gibson—Gateway to the West, by C. W. "Dub" West, 1974. Autographed copy number forty-two.
Donor: Author, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

A Tribute to a Great American—Chief Calvin W. McGhee, Chief of the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi, by Mary Wetzel, 1974.
Donor: Waldo E. "Dode" McIntosh, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma-Kansas Mining Directory, O. T. Dixon, Miami, Oklahoma, 1926 Edition reprint July 1973.
Donor: Ottawa County Historical Society by Mrs. Virgel D. Cooper, Miami, Oklahoma.

South Oklahoma City Telephone Directory, 1974.
Donor: Mrs. Leona Bishop, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Iroquois Stalker, Vol. III, complete 1973; Vol. IV, Winter, 1974.
Donor: John Delaney, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Ancestry, Vol. IX, 1973–1974.
Ansearchin' News, Vol. XXI, 1974.
(The) Augustan, Vol. XVI, 1974.
Austin Genealogical Society, Vol. XV, 1974.
Beaver Briefs, Vol. VI, 1974–1975.
Black Hills Nuggets, Vol. VII, 1974.
Branches and Twigs, Vol. III, 1973–1974.
(The) Carolinas Genealogical Society Bulletin, Vol. X, 1973–1974.
Central Illinois Genealogical Quarterly, Vol. IX, 1973.
(The) Colorado Genealogist, Vol. XXXV, 1974.
Connecticut Ancestry, Vol. XVI, 1974.
Copper State Bulletin, Vol. IX, 1973–1974.
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Donor: Mr. and Mrs. David E. Rains, El Reno, Oklahoma.

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31 Benton County, Mississippi Cemeteries 1969.
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Donor: Mrs. Jan Turner, Edmond, Oklahoma.

History of Law Authorizing Unitization of Oil and Gas Properties Into Single Units, by Judge W. H. Brown.
Notes Relating to the Invention of the Parking Meter: The Difficult Questions of Law Resulting Therefrom and their Solution, by Judge William Henry Brown.
Donor: Judge W. H. Brown, Lacky Manor, Oklahoma City by Mrs. Victor Newton and Mrs. Eva Reeves, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Kansas-Oklahoma Colony of 1889, by John Holzapfel, April 22, 1938.
Donor: Don H. Akin, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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Donor: Author, Washington, D.C.

The Upshaw Family Journal, Vol. II, No. 1, Winter, 1975.
Donor: Mrs. John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Ph.D. Dissertation: *The Social Origins of Agrarian Socialism in Oklahoma, 1910–1920*, by Garin Burbank, 1974.
Donor: Garin Burbank, Winnipeg.

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Donor: Wallace S. Peckham, Mariposa, California.

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Donor: Richard F. Kirkpatrick, Covington, Oklahoma.

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Donor: Mrs. Doyle W. Wingfield, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Map of the Extreme Southern Portion of Oklahoma Showing All "Claims" Filed Upon and By Whom. Drawn and Published by T. J. J. Wiggins, Norman, I.T., 1890.
Donor: Mrs. Bernard Boyle, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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Map of State Fairgrounds, 1975.
Donor: The State Fair of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City by Mrs. Frances Young.

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Miami's Resources and Tributary Lands, November 1902, by Risdon Moore Odell, reprint 1972 edition.
Map: Ottawa County, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. Don Trollinger, Dobson Memorial Center, Miami, Oklahoma.

Thesis: *From Russia to Oklahoma: A Case Study of the Immigrant Experience*, by Gary Lynn Watters for Master of Arts, 1974.
Donor: Author, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

World Records, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1973.
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Kentucky Family Records, Vol. IV, 1974–1975.
Donor: Mrs. Velma F. Wilcox, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Lookeba-Sickles Pathway of Memories, 1974.
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List of the Original Persons of Quality to America 1600–1700, by John Camden Hotten, 1974 reprint.
Donor: Memorial Book in Memory of Manion Francis Jones—August 11, 1974 by Gertrude Gardner Turner, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Gousha American Highway Atlas, 3rd. Revised Edition, 1957.
Donor: George Desper, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Early Southards of New York and New Jersey, by Ralph K. Potter, 1974.
Donor: Author/Compiler, Lakewood, New Jersey.

Sage and Sod—Harper County, Oklahoma, 1885–1974, Vol. II, 1975.
Donor: Compiler and Publisher, Harper C. Historical Society, Laverne, Oklahoma.

Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana—Part Three, 1970; Part Four, 1972; Part Five, 1974; by Willard Heiss.
Donor: Editor Willard Heiss, Indianapolis, Indiana.

The Creek People, by Donald E. Green, 1973.
Donor: Author, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Polk's Oklahoma City Directory, 1960.
Donor: Charles Nesbitt, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
The Growth of the American Republic, by Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, 1930.
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A Basic History of the United States, by Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, 1944.
History of Europe (1492–1815), by Chester Penn Higby, 1927.
Freedom and Responsibility In the American Way of Life, by Carl L. Becker, 1946.
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Challenge and Decision, by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, 1950.
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Donor: Mrs. Bonnie Easterling, Edmond, Oklahoma.

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Quarterly Supplement to the Oklahoma Bar Journal, January 1975.
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A Caribbean Cruise in Conservation and Preservation, January 1974.
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Periodical—Journal of the Council on Abandoned Military Posts, No. 20, Summer, 1974.
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Directory of Municipal Bond Dealers of the United States, 1973 and 1974.

Names—Journal of the American Name Society, Vol. XXII, No. 4, December 1974.
Quarterly—Supplement to the Oklahoma Bar Journal, March 1975.
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Oklahoma State University Development Foundation, 1974.
Oklahoma Museums Association, March 15, 1975.
The Historic Preservation Grants-in-Aid Catalog, 1974.
The Sooner, April 1975.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

PHOTOGRAPH SECTION:

Framed panoramic view of Oklahoma City oil field.
Donor: Robert Etheridge, through Joe Curtis, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Abraham Seay at time of Civil War.
Donor: Miss Virginia Sigler, Tucson, Arizona.

Collection of early Oklahoma City and Oklahoma picture Postal Cards.
Donor: Georgia Drury, Waukegan, Illinois.

Collection of early Oklahoma picture postal cards consisting of oil fields, wells and Plains Indians.
Donor: Ms. Eva Blackwelder, St. Louis, Missouri.

Three unidentified tin types of former Tahlequah residents.
Donor: Mrs. Leora Bishop, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The famed Mary Sudik well blowing in.
"Jack" Walton, Billy Sunday and wife, and O. A. Cargill, May 1, 1920.
Unidentified street scene with a Hotel Tip Top in Foreground ca 1900s.
Akin-Houghton family group seated on front porch ca 1900.
Three Akin-Houghton family groups taken at Sulphur "the Great Health and Pleasure Resort of the Southwest," Indian Territory, ca 1900.
Mother, son and daughter—Mrs. Harry Houghton, daughter and son Leonard.
Unidentified group of mother, son and daughter.
Donor: Don H. Akin, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

"Rebuilding Robinson Street, Oklahoma City"—ca 1909 showing the Colcord and Baum buildings ($1,650,000 worth) under construction. Taken by L. G. Johnston.
Donor: Walter D. Hanson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Four photographs of Carl O'Hornett being inducted into the Osage Tribe, Pawhuska, Oklahoma.
Donor: Patrick Jay O'Hornett, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and Colorado.

MUSEUM:

Art work by Fred Olds, an employee of the Oklahoma Historical Society, "Horse in Barn," "Bill Doolin," "The Buffalo Hunt," "The Prairie Madonna," "Little Dick

West," "The Young Territorial Lawman," "The Cossack from the 101 Ranch," "Sweethearts."
Source: State of Oklahoma, Oklahoma Historical Society, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Watches, one ladies and one man's, received from Saudi Arabia's King Faisal on a visit to Saudi Arabia In January, 1974.
Source: The Honorable Dewey F. Bartlett, via Federal Supply Service, General Services Administration.

Watercolor painting by donor, "Thlopthlocco Graveyard."
Source: Mr. A. E. (Gene) Hartsell, Yukon, Oklahoma.

Boggy Depot Communion Set, used in Communion service at Boggy Depot before Civil War.
Source: Miss Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Photographs, two, taken early 1900s in Marshall County, near Madill I.T.; newspaper clipping with picture of Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Hay.
Source: Mrs. Hal B. Stamps, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Assorted clothing, man's formal coat and trousers, women's hats and dresses.
Source: Mrs. Ann Hays Johnsey, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Kitchen chairs, two. This type of chair was widely used in modest homes during the early years of the twentieth century.
Source: Mr. Ray A. Jones, Jr., Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Pencils, three, "The Oklahoma News/Oklahoma City," "Skirvin Hotel/Oklahoma City," "Drink Okla Vita."
Source: Mrs. Georgia Drury, Waukegan, Illinois.

Invitation to Inaugural Ball of Governor David Boren, Monday, January 13, 1975, signed by Governor Boren and Lt. Governor Nigh.
Source: Joe L. Todd, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Inaugural programs and shell casing from nineteen gun salute, collected on occasion of inauguration of The Honorable David Boren by Curator of Collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Bayonet, scabbard, medal and awards; spent shell used in funeral of Johnnie Ott, son of donor.
Source: Mrs. Della Bruce, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Afghan, made by Mrs. Harriet Gillstrap, deceased.
Source: Peggy Jones, Social Director of Four Seasons of America, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Oil portraits of six Territorial Governors; oil portrait of John Ross; oil painting of Indian man and woman; two Indian murals; art work done by donor.
Source: Mr. William A. Burford, Waukomis, Oklahoma.

Office chair; Great Seal of the Chickasaw Nation, hand painted; bedspread; woolen rug.
Source: Mrs. R. A. Ward, Lindsay, Oklahoma.

Reproduction of original photograph of the last tribal Legislature of the Chickasaw Nation, 1906.
Source: Mrs. John Moreland by Mrs. Geraldine Moreland Miller, daughter of Mrs. John Moreland, Durant, Oklahoma.

Photoengraving camera.
Source: Edward King Gaylord, by Edward L. Gaylord, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Silver bread tray which belonged to donor's grandmother, Mrs. Frank Murray; photograph which hung in Murray-Lindsay Mansion; two blouses, ca 1900.
Source: Mrs. Mame Sottong, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Quilt, hand quilted by Mrs. Burris; thirty-three pieces of china.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd T. Burris, Yale, Oklahoma.

Family items, some of which belonged to donor's mother and grandmother, 1845–1892.
Source: Mrs. Myrtle Creason, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Oil portrait of Kate Zaneis Galt, signed "M. Baker."
Source: Mr. A. Tabor Galt, Norman, Oklahoma.

Collection of documents relating to Wiley Post.
Source: Mrs. Mae Post, Ralls, Texas.

Ledger, listing block by block of purchasers and their hometown lots in Crescent, Oklahoma Territory.
Source: Mr. W. G. Prince, Selma, Alabama.

Bond, framed, issued by the Confederate States of America, No. 4125, in the amount of five hundred dollars ($500.00), dated February 20, 1863.
Source: Mrs. George L. (Edna) Bowman, Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

Medal, "George Washington, President of the United States, 1789"; allegedly given to Big Goose, medicine-man of Ponca and Omaha Indians, by George Washington.
Source: Mr. Henry Bass, Enid, Oklahoma.

Family items, thirteen.
Source: Mrs. Gloria Farley, Heavener, Oklahoma.

Photographs, three, of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin W. Carter and son Charles David Carter.
Source: Mrs. Gus (Julia Carter) Welch, Bedford, Virginia.

Shotgun, ten gauge, by Colt; belonged to donor's father, John A. Ziegelgruber.
Source: Jack Ziegelgruber by Caroline F. Ziegelgruber, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Photograph, black and white, ca 1900.
Source: Mrs. Eastman (May Bell) Norton, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Admission ticket, January 13, 1919, Inaugural Ball/State Capitol.
Source: Miss Marvin McDearmon, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

INDIAN ARCHIVES:

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, et al., Red Lake Band, et al. v. U.S., Docket Nos. 188 and 189-C: Opinion; Order.

Blackfeet and Gros Ventre Tribes of Indians v. U.S. and *Fort Belknap Indian Community v. U.S.*, Docket Nos. 279-C and 250-A: Order.

Seminole Indians of the State of Florida and Oklahoma v. U.S. and *C. W. McGhee, et al. v. U.S.*, Docket Nos. 73, 151 and 280: Order.

Mohave Indians of the Colorado River Indian Tribes, et al. v. U.S. and *Mohave Tribe of Indians of Arizona, California and Nevada v. U.S.*, Docket Nos. 283 and 295: Order.

Sioux Tribe of Indians of the Rosebud Reservation v. U.S., Docket No. 118: Opinion; Interlocutory Order.

Sioux Tribe of Indians of the Pine Ridge Reservation v. U.S., Docket No. 117: Opinion; Interlocutory Order.

Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma v. U.S., Docket No. 226: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact.

Lipan Apache Tribe, et al. v. U.S. and *Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma v. U.S.*, Docket Nos. 22-C and 226: Order Denying Motion; Order Denying Second Intervenors' Motion; Order Granting Defendant's Motion; Interlocutory Order.

Ottawa-Chippewa Tribe of Michigan v. U.S., Docket No. 364: Opinion; Order.

Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians of Oklahoma and Potowatomie Nation v. U.S., Docket No. 217: Order.

Cowlitz Tribe of Indians v. U.S., Docket No. 218: Order.

Sioux Tribe of Indians of the Lower Brule Reservation v. U.S., Docket No. 116: Opinion; Interlocutory Order.

Sioux Tribe of Indians of the Crow Creek Reservation v. U.S., Docket No. 115: Opinion; Interlocutory Order.

Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 236-N: Opinion; Interlocutory Order.

Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 291: Order.

Iowa Tribe, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 135: Order Allowing Reimbursement of Expenses of the Attorneys for the Sac and Fox Tribe of the Mississippi in Iowa.

Pueblo de Zia, Pueblo de Jemez and Pueblo de Santa Ana v. U.S., Docket No. 137: Order.

Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma v. U.S., Docket No. 318: Order.

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 18-C: Findings of Fact; Order.

Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma, et al. v. U.S., Docket Nos. 30, 48, 30-A and 48-A: Findings of Fact; Order; Findings of Fact on Attorney Expenses; Order allowing Attorney's Expenses.

Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 193: Order.

Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation v. U.S., Docket No. 350-C: Opinion. Additional Findings of Fact; Order Amending Findings.

Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes of Indians v. U.S., Docket Nos. 257 and 259-A: Findings of Fact; Order.

Seminole Indians of the State of Florida v. U.S., Docket No. 73-A: Order.

Iowa Tribe, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 135: Order Allowing Reimbursement of Expenses of the Attorneys for the Sac and Fox Tribe of Missouri.

Lipan Apache Tribe, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 22-C: Order.

Navajo Tribe v. U.S., Docket Nos. 69, 299 and 353: Opinion; Order Separating Consolidated Accounting Claims; Order Denying Plaintiff's Motion for Leave to Amend Its Petition; Order Denying Plaintiff's Motion for Rehearing; Order Granting Plaintiff's Motion to Amend the Petition.

Papago Tribe of Arizona v. U.S., Docket No. 102: Opinion; Order.

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 18-U: Opinion; Order.

Prairie Band of the Potawatomi Tribe of Indians, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 15-M: Order.

Western Shoshone Identifiable Group v. U.S., Docket No. 326-K: Opinion; Order.

Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 251-A: Order.

Hopi Tribe v. U.S., Docket No. 196, Count 9: Opinion; Order.

Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, et al. v. U.S., Docket Nos. 113, 246, 191 and 221: Order.

Lipan Apache Tribe, et al. v. U.S., Docket No. 22-C: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians of Oklahoma, et al., v. U.S., Docket No. 146: Order.

Cayuga Nation of Indians v. U.S., Docket No. 343: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C.

Documents concerning A. W. Robb, First Lieutenant, Third Indian Regiment.

Donor: Miss Kay Senseney, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Report of regular quarterly meeting of the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, February 14, 1975.

Donor: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

O-CCC-O Newsletters, Vol. 1, Nos. 1–2; Vol. II, Nos. 1–12; Vol. III, Nos. 1–4, prepared by the Oklahoma County Cherokee Community Organization.

Donor: Mrs. Janet Campbell, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

January 24, 1975 to April 24, 1975

Ahl, Mrs. Marlene	Topeka, Kansas
Baker, Don Owen	Fort Worth, Texas
Baker, Ruth	Fort Worth, Texas
Bates, William S.	Bethany
Bryant, Thomas L.	Ponca City
Clark, E. R.	Dover
Clinton, Walton	Tulsa
Coffey, Mrs. Jan	Moore
DeLier, Michelin Ann	Oklahoma City
Dent, Mrs. Alta Bryant	Oklahoma City
Dighton, Maurice O.	Muskogee
Dunlap, Thomas F.	Ardmore
Dunn, Mrs. Ralph E.	Oklahoma City
Edwards, Mrs. Walter T.	McAlester
Estes, Garmon A.	Wildomar, California
Flanigin, H. F.	Hydro
Grapes, W. W.	Enid
Green, Ida L.	Clinton
Haddock, Louise	Tulsa
Hasselbring, Chester A.	Braman
Higgins, Don	Lindsay
Hix, Richard	Hulbert
Howe, Franklin E.	Midwest City
Hoxie, Frederick E.	Boston, Massachusetts
Jones, Bob	El Reno
Jones, Mrs. Nellie M.	Guthrie
Jones, Roy Winfield	Stillwater
Jordon, Jesse	Clinton
Kenyon, L. Dale, Sr.	Edina, Minnesota
Lehman, Anastasia H.	Pompano Beach, Florida
May, Jacob F., Jr.	Overland Park, Kansas
Means, Julia Juanita	Oklahoma City
Morrison, Robert J.	Garland, Texas
Myers, John C.	Tulsa
Neal, LTC. Harold, Ret.	Oklahoma City
Newberry, George L., Jr.	Atlanta, Georgia
Nuzum, B. K.	El Reno
Parmley, Mrs. Dracine	Arkansas City, Kansas
Plunk, Ruby Nell	Oklahoma City
Pointer, Dr. Ed L.	Tahlequah
Ricks, Melvin R., Sr.	Blanchard
Roper, Betty J.	Enid
Roper, George C.	Enid
Sedive, Clarence L.	Tulsa
Silva, Rafael E., M.D.	Bethany
Smith, Walter R.	Laverne

Stammer, Mrs. W. H., Jr.	Edmond
Stout, Weldon W.	Wewoka
Stubbs, Billy E.	Guthrie
Thompson, Walter	Oklahoma City
Turner, Mrs. James S.	Edmond
Vinzant, Maggie	Porum
Wilkerson, L. Gale	Indianapolis, Indiana
Willsey, Mrs. W. L.	Oklahoma City
Wofford, Elizabeth	Oaks

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

January 24, 1975 to April 24, 1975

Harbaugh, Russell Henry, Jr.	Tulsa
Naifeh, Robert N.	Norman
Nesbitt, Mrs. Charles	Oklahoma City
Thompson, Mrs. Ralph G.	Oklahoma City

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

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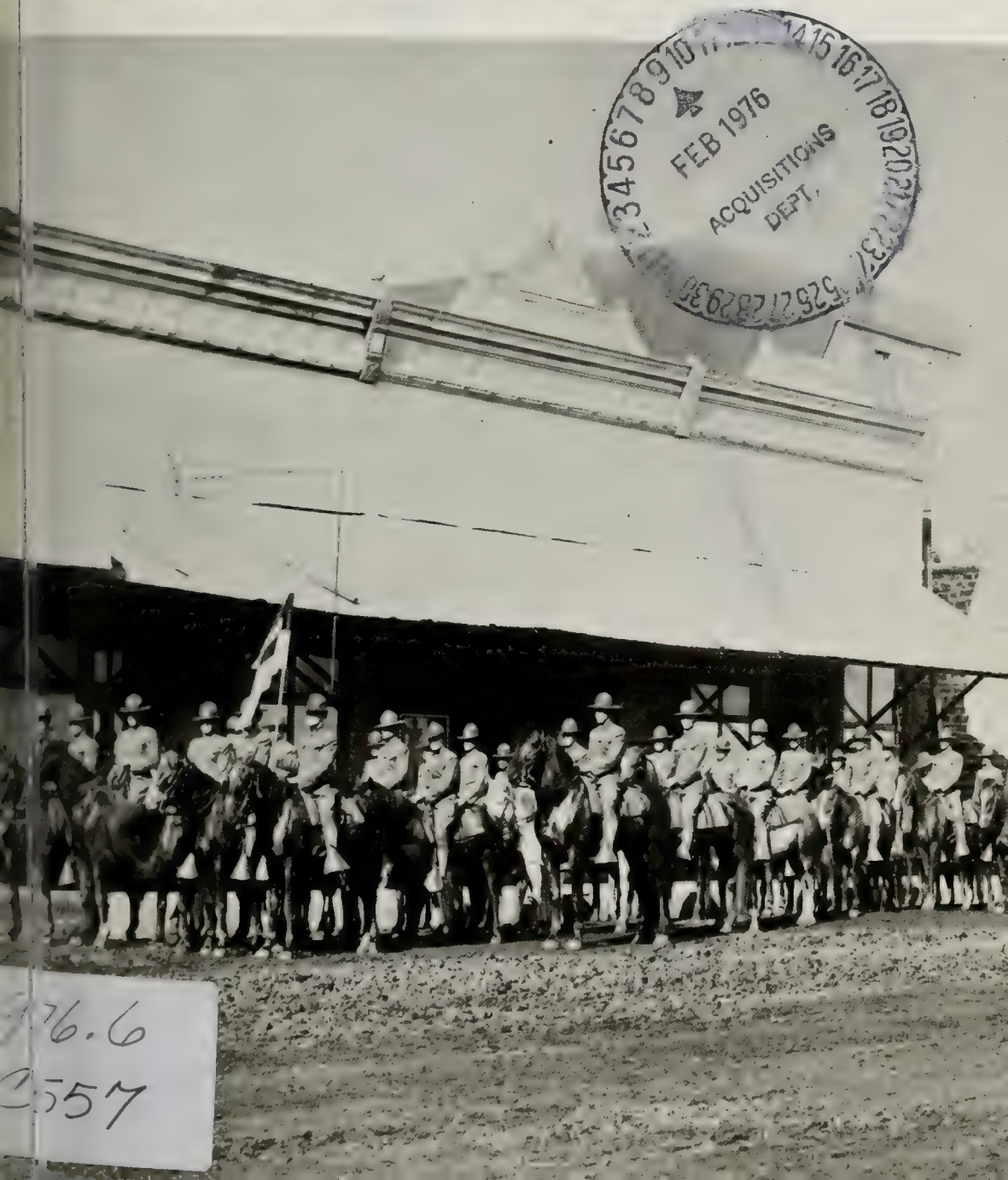

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Compiled by Stephen M. Wear

THE COVER Members of the First Cavalry Troop of the Oklahoma National Guard on parade in Okemah, Oklahoma, shortly before being called to active duty in support of the American Punitive Expedition against Francisco "Pancho" Villa. Ordered into federal service by President Woodrow Wilson on June 18, 1916, the members of the First Infantry Regiment, First and Second Cavalry troops, Field Hospital, Ambulance Corps, Regimental Infirmary and Regimental Engineers of the Oklahoma National Guard were to remain on the Mexican border until early 1917.

THE OKLAHOMA NATIONAL GUARD ON THE MEXICAN BORDER, 1916

*By Donald E. Houston**

In March, 1916, rumors circulated around the sleepy American border town of Columbus, New Mexico, that the bandit chieftain and pretender to the Mexican presidency, Francisco "Pancho" Villa, was near. However, orders prevented the 500 officers and men of the Thirteenth Cavalry Regiment from crossing the international line to investigate. Early in the morning of March 9–10, Villa infiltrated his men, estimated between 500 and 1,000, across the border in small groups about three miles from the border gate. Once in New Mexico, the bandits formed into two groups for an attack on the town and its garrison. In the ensuing battle, fifteen American soldiers and civilians were killed, while nine more were wounded. Villa lost sixty-seven men, with seven more being wounded or captured. Immediately after repelling the attack, Colonel Herbert Slocum, commanding officer of the Thirteenth Cavalry, gave his consent for H Troop to pursue the attackers. A second troop, which was on duty at the border gate, attacked the Mexicans on their flank causing confusion in the enemy ranks. In a twelve mile running fight, the Americans killed about seventy-five additional bandits. After expending their ammunition and running short of water, the Americans returned to the United States, recovering much of the raiders' abandoned loot.[1]

The immediate effect of the Villa raid was to reverse the policy on nonretaliation. On March 10, 1916, Brigadier General John J. Pershing was ordered to enter Mexico and pursue Villa and his band. At the same time, great numbers of Regular Army troops were ordered to the border. The presence of large numbers of Mexican bandits and irregular military forces hostile to both the United States and the defacto government of Mexico made attacks against this country appear imminent. The long, irregular border made defense difficult. To aid the Regular Army, President Woodrow Wilson ordered the National Guard of Arizona, New Mexico and Texas to active duty on May 9, 1916. The intrusions of Pershing and the calling of the National Guard to active duty embittered the Mexicans and increased the number of raids along the border. Bandit leaders were able

* Dr. Houston wishes to acknowledge his thanks to Lieutenant Colonel Robert Wilson, Historian of the Oklahoma National Guard, for his aid in the preparation of this article.

[1] Clarence C. Clendenen. *Blood on the Border* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1969), pp. 205–210.

to recruit followers to steal livestock and to attack American camps. In addition, the Mexicans wanted to hold the border towns for revenue purposes. With the increased Mexican activity, Wilson ordered the entire National Guard to active duty on June 18, 1916. The concept of the National Guard, as the line of defense behind the Regular Army, implied that it was organized to respond quickly to emergency calls. The border situation was unusual because it required more troops than the Regulars and the three National Guard units could provide.[2]

On the same day that Pershing was ordered into Mexico, the Confederate Veterans of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, offered their services as a troop of mounted cavalry to be called the Oklahoma Ex-Confederate Cavalry Troop. At the same time, Governor Robert L. Williams offered the services of the Oklahoma National Guard to President Wilson. The answer, if any, to the Confederate Veterans has been lost, but Wilson wrote Governor Williams declining the offer of the National Guard saying "while it does not appear likely that we shall require additional forces, it is heartening and reassuring to receive such messages as yours."[3]

Three months later, the National Guard was ordered to federal active duty. The first man to report in Oklahoma City was Quartermaster Sergeant S. A. Byers, later joined by Captain Harold Lee, commanding officer of M Company. Byers began telling men to come to the local armory. Some of the guardsmen were enjoying the day with their families at parks, others were at the movies and some were out of town. Second Lieutenant Calvin S. Harrah, a trouble shooter for the Pioneer Telephone and Telegraph Company, obtained a roster of men, got a direct line and called all members of M Company within an hour. Eventually all the state units, the First Infantry Regiment, two separate Cavalry Troops, the Engineer Company and Field Hospital were notified.[4]

The *Daily Oklahoman* speculated that the state mobilization point would be the state fairgrounds. Major General F. M. Canton, the state Adjutant General, wired Lieutenant Colonel W. S. Scott that Oklahoma City officials had signed an agreement to provide water, lights, toilet facilities and three stables, free, until September 15. Camp Bob Williams opened at the fairgrounds with some of the guardsmen inside the race track oval, while others were camped along the straightaway. Scott approved the temporary en-

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[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Petition, Ex-Confederate Veterans to Adjutant General State of Oklahoma, Governor of Oklahoma and President of the United States, March 10, 1916, Robert L. Williams Papers, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Woodrow Wilson to Robert L. Williams, March 25, 1916, Robert L. Williams Papers, The Allen Wright Library, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[4] *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), June 19, 1916, p. 1.

campment, but told Canton that the permanent site would be at McAlester, Oklahoma. Immediately, Canton wired Scott that the fairground facilities were better than those at McAlester and that it would take a week to get the McAlester facilities ready. The same day, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, wired Governor Williams that the mobilization point was being shifted to Chandler, Oklahoma, because that was where the army was sending the state's supplies and equipment.[5]

With the shift of mobilization points, an inspection team was sent to Chandler to determine its suitability. They found that the rifle range was flooded and covered with decaying vegetation, thick mud and pools of stagnant water. Almost all the bridges and culverts had been washed out by recent rains. Hog pens had been maintained between the rifle range and the proposed camp site, and their refuse covered the site. Chandler had a sewer system but, as connection was not required, many residents maintained open privies which had overflowed toward the town's water supply. The southerly prevailing winds would have engulfed the camp with the stench of the open sewer which emptied about one-half mile south of the proposed location. The inspectors doubted that the city could supply the needed water. Canton accepted the report and wired Scott, recommending that mobilization be at either Fort Sill, Oklahoma, or Oklahoma City. To hasten a decision, Canton directed that mobilization be suspended until he received a reply.[6] On June 23, the mobilization point was shifted to Fort Sill. Nationally, the delay apparently produced an abject reaction because it seemed that the state was indifferent to the situation on the border.

With the call to active duty, a host of men offered their services to the state. Alva Niles, of Tulsa, Oklahoma, wired Governor Williams that he had enrolled one hundred privates, staking his and the governor's reputation on their being accepted. Apparently this group was not taken; because two days later, Niles wired Williams asking what to do with the men. James Quarles offered to raise a company in Osage County, declaring that he was doing it because he "considered it his duty, not for personal gain." H. L. Rogers of Sallisaw, Oklahoma, who prior to statehood had organized a company called the Indian Territorial Volunteer Militia and who had maintained the organization, said that his full-blood Indians were good riders and fine shots. They could report in ten days if accepted into the state militia. The black citizens of Wewoka, Oklahoma, petitioned to organize a company. They wanted Governor Williams to grant them arms, ammuni-

[5] F. M. Canton to W. S. Scott, June 19, 1916; W. S. Scott to F. M. Canton, June 19, 1916; Newton W. Baker to Robert L. Williams, June 19, 1916, R. L. Williams Papers, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[6] Major Floyd J. Boland to F. M. Canton, June 22, 1916, *ibid.*

Members of the First Cavalry Troop, Oklahoma National Guard, standing inspection while encamped along the Mexican-American border

tion and equipment and to commission their men so that they could go to the front to fight for the flag and demonstrate to the nation and state that patriotism beat in the heart of the Negro. White citizens of Wewoka, including the Police Judge, County Judge, County Treasurer, County Clerk and a County Commissioner, signed a separate petition in support of the blacks. The State Negro Bar Association also sent a letter to the governor on their behalf. A former member of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment offered to organize a black company if he were offered its command. However, Williams had to refuse these offers because the War Department would not authorize additional units in Oklahoma, for the reason that the Infantry Regiment was understrength.[7]

In addition to the requests for additional units, many men offered their individual services to the state, usually as commissioned officers. One minister applied to be a "Chaplin" [sic]; while several doctors offered to serve in the Hospital Corps. J. P. Galluyer declared that he had spent ten months

[7] Alva Adams to Robert L. Williams, June 21, 1916 and June 23, 1916; H. L. Rogers to Robert L. Williams, June 27, 1916; Petition, Black Citizens of Wewoka to Robert L. Williams, June 19, 1916; Petition, White Citizens of Wewoka to Robert L. Williams, June 21, 1916; Hannible B. Taylor to Robert L. Williams, June 22, 1916, *ibid.*

patrolling the border, and that he knew the Mexicans well. Wash Sorrells informed Williams that when he was discharged from the Army he was recommended for a commission in the reserves. Sorrells stated that he would rather be a colonel of infantry than a United States Senator. Sam K. Sullivan supported the candidacy of Paul B. Mason, who wanted to command the proposed company from Pawhuska, Oklahoma. Sullivan said that he would consider it a personal favor if Mason got his commission. While Mason was a Republican, Sullivan thought that the governor would "ignore politics to get the best man." State Senator W. M. Bickel, who was supporting the candidacy of Captain Frank S. Wyatt, of Alva, Oklahoma, declared that "he is a good Democrat." Ernest Rose, who had served as a hospital steward in the Philippines, wanted to be a captain of the proposed troops being raised. He closed his letter by saying "I have always been a Democrat and have never asked or received a favor from the party yet, this being the first request." In addition Rose sought to use his Masonic influence. One of the most unusual requests for a commission came from Edgar Newell Sweet, who had five years commissioned service in the Civil War and Indian campaigns and who had received his commission from President Abraham Lincoln. This man admitted to an advanced age, but the State Adjutant General Canton and Colonel Roy Hoffman, commander of the First Oklahoma Infantry Regiment, wired the governor their support of his request.[8]

One candidate for a commission, writing from the Montezuma Hotel, in Anthony, Kansas, thought that in the forthcoming conflict Oklahoma would make a name for itself and offered his services. He stated that he held a commission in the Carranzan Army as a major of artillery. He served with Villa at Torreon, Mexico; Gonzallis at Monterrey, Mexico; and Castro at Tampico, Mexico. He claimed to have fought in seventeen of the largest battles of the Mexican revolution, was a graduate of a military academy and had served on a revenue cutter as a wireless operator. He said that he knew and understood the Mexican language and that his name was "fairly well known in Mexico as 'El Diablo Americano.' "[9]

Several men saw enlistment in the Army or the National Guard as a means to gain their release from prison. One man, W. A. Borah, stated that he was imprisoned on circumstantial evidence and that the trial judge doubted his guilt. He indicated that he would like to serve until the trouble in Mexico was concluded, at which time he would settle in that country to

[8] J. P. Galluyer to Robert L. Williams, June 25, 1916; Wash Sorrells to Robert L. Williams, June 19, 1916; Sam K. Sullivan to Robert L. Williams, June 28, 1916; W. M. Bickel to Robert L. Williams, June 29, 1916; Ernest Rose to Robert L. Williams, June 20, 1916; Edger Newell Sweet to Robert L. Williams, June 27, 1916; Telegram, F. M. Canton and Roy Hoffman to Robert L. Williams, June 30, 1916, *ibid.*

[9] Jack Kaufman to Robert L. Williams, June 21, 1916, *ibid.*

start over again. R. L. Rogers wrote the governor saying that the war in Mexico would be a guerilla-type operation and that the men in prison, especially those charged with murder, would be good candidates for a company of scouts or rangers which would operate much in the same manner as had Francis Marion's or John Singleton Mosby's cavalry. While Rogers admitted to advanced age, having fought in the Civil War, he volunteered his service as a mascot to the proposed company which would include his own son who had served five years on a "false charge."[10]

After the initial letter, there was an avalanche of applications to Williams for release from prison so that the men could join the Army. One black prisoner said that he had been on his way to Douglas, Arizona, to join the Army when he was arrested and imprisoned. A second black wanted to enlist to uphold the honor of the black man and because his grandfather had fought in the Civil War. The flood of applications became so great that Assistant Warden E. M. Fry started screening those that went to the governor. In one group he recommended that a bigamist, three convicted of grand larceny, three forgers, three burglers, three robbers and three convicted of grain burning or stealing domesticated animals be enlisted.[11]

Governor Williams did pardon several men. However, on July 7, he informed Warden Samuel L. Morley that the practice would have to cease. The men who had been pardoned were released prior to the National Guard being federalized. As the Army had rules and regulations against convicted felons enlisting, it would no longer be possible to consider inmates requests.[12]

The Salvation Army Commissioner for Western States offered the services of his organization if the personnel could be used as chaplains, nurses and recreation directors. In addition, several women in the state volunteered their services as nurses. One application, from three women of the same name, was approved at the state level and forwarded to Washington, D.C. for consideration.[13]

With the federalization of the National Guard another problem was created. Apparently, some men had joined thinking that they would not see service outside the state. After passage of the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916, the place of service became the option of the President. A host

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[10] W. A. Borah to S. L. Morley, June 23, 1916; R. L. Rogers to Robert L. Williams, June 27, 1916, *ibid.*

[11] Cecil Mingel to Robert L. Williams, June 24, 1916; William Benton to Robert L. Williams, June 25, 1916; E. M. Fry to Robert L. Williams, June 30, 1916, *ibid.*

[12] Robert L. Williams to Samuel L. Morley, July 7, 1916, *ibid.*

[13] Thomas Estill to Robert L. Williams, June 24, 1916; Minnie Clark to Ancel Earp, June 28, 1916; Robert L. Williams to Luther Harrison, June 22, 1916, *ibid.*

of letters were received by state officials wanting men released from duty. Some wives cited hardships; others maintained that the husband was the sole source of support for the family. One woman stated that her husband was refused reenlistment in the Regular Army and that they had moved to Oklahoma for his health. Now he not only had enlisted in the National Guard, but also faced duty on the border. These letters were answered, saying that mobilization would be in Oklahoma City and possibly the men would not leave the state for some time. Later, this situation was alleviated when the Federal government provided $50.00 per month to those families whose sole means of support had enlisted prior to federalization. When actually on the border, some married men were released from active duty and sent home.[14]

While some men were rushing to the colors, others were rushing equally fast to avoid service. John Hayes wired the governor, asking when a military company had been mustered out of the service to reorganize, could the unit force the men to reenlist or were the men free? Williams wired that the men were free and could not be compelled to reenlist. When the initial report call was issued, 148 guardsmen—between ten and eleven percent of the total guard strength—failed to report. Later, after the Oklahoma Infantry Regiment and two cavalry troops were sent to the border, thirteen evaders eventually came forward. One national guardsman in New Mexico, Lewis O. Gardner, who had failed to report, was arrested, tried by court martial, given a dishonorable discharge and a jail sentence. Secretary of War Baker remitted his jail term but let stand the other parts of the sentence. Captain W. G. Murchison, the Regular Army Inspector-Instructor for the National Guard, wanted to find and arrest a "slacker" hoping that he would be "soaked the limit" as an object lesson to those who had failed to report. Several men, apparently fearing that the threat would be honored, reported; nonetheless, Murchison thought that "we have been too lenient appealing to their honor and patriotism."[15]

After reporting to their local armories and assembling in Oklahoma City, the guardsmen were ordered to report to Fort Sill for mustering into federal service. When troop trains moved through Oklahoma City, approximately 12,000 people were at the depot to say their farewells. There were speeches and bands, but it was also a time for weeping. Wives, mothers and sweethearts were honored with places nearest the tracks. The Oklahoma contingent reported to Bob Williams Mobilization Camp, Oklahoma National Guard at Fort Sill, a few hundred yards from the Rock Island Rail-

[14] Mrs. G. W. Terry to Robert L. Williams, June 19, 1916; Robert L. Williams to Mrs. Floreen Crawford, June 20, 1916, *ibid.*

[15] Telegram, John Hayes to Robert L. Williams, June 26, 1916, *ibid*; *Daily Oklahoman*, December 15, 1916, p. 1.

road. The men were expected to be assembled by 9:00 P.M. on June 26, and stories began to circulate that the Oklahoma Infantry Regiment would have to stay in camp until it was raised to full strength—it lacked about 800 men. Some thought that two companies, A and B, would be sent to the border while further mobilization would be abandoned in the state.[16]

As the guardsmen reported to the mobilization camp, there were many details to be settled prior to being sent south. Each man had to receive his uniforms: two suits of underwear, four pairs of socks, two pair of khaki trousers, one pair of leggings, two pairs of shoes, two shirts, one blouse and a hat. Then the men were required to take the same strenuous physical examination required of the Regular Army. After completing it, the Oklahoma First Infantry Regiment was reduced to 924—a loss of about 300 men.

Second Lieutenant Albert R. Harris wrote the governor, complaining that he had failed to pass the physical because he had had his tonsils removed three days prior to calling the guard to active duty. He said that his throat was still raw and that he was approximately seven pounds underweight. At the time of writing, he claimed to be in excellent health and gaining weight. Those who failed the physical examination were separated from the guard and were no longer part of it. After the examinations the men were given smallpox and typhoid shots.[17]

Having been given their physical examinations and issued their individual items of equipment, the men were ready to be mustered into federal service. Again the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916 caused a major problem. It specified that the term of service in the National Guard would be six years: three would be active duty and three would be in a reserve status. Three men of B Troop refused to take the oath because they thought that it required three years of active duty in the Regular Army. Immediately, these men were arrested and placed on hard labor until they could face court martial. Later, when the Field Hospital was sworn into federal service, again several men refused to take the oath. It became apparent that the men did not understand that they were not being inducted into the Regulars. When this was clarified, they all came forward and took the oath, but they were transferred to different units because sentiment had been aroused against them.[18]

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[16] *Ibid.*, June 24, 1916, p. 1; June 24, 1916, p. 1; June 26, 1916, p. 1.

[17] War Department. *War Department Annual Report, 1916* (3 vols., Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), Vol. I, p. 474; *Daily Oklahoman*, July 11, 1916, p. 1; Albert R. Harris to Robert L. Williams, September 21, 1916; Ancel Earp to Albert R. Harris, September 26, 1916, Robert L. Williams Papers, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[18] United States Congress. *The Statutes at Large of the United States, December 1915 to March 1917* (multi-volumes, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), Vol. XXXIX, p. 116; *Daily Oklahoman*, June 28, 1916, p. 1.

Area of operation for members of the Oklahoma National Guard in southeastern Texas. Units ordered to the region from the state were: First Infantry Regiment composed of A Company, Clinton; B Company, Chandler; D Company, Newkirk; E Company, Pawnee; G Company, Wewoka; H Company, Durant; I Company, Stillwater; K Company, Enid; and M Company, Oklahoma City. Mounted troops consisted of the First Cavalry Troop, Okemah, and the Second Cavalry Troop, Oklahoma City. Additional units were composed of the Field Hospital stationed at Oklahoma City; the Ambulance Corps from Tulsa; the Regimental Infirmary located at Dustin; and A Company, Engineers from Norman

Once the oath issue was settled, the men began a routine of training and waiting for their orders, which would send them to the Rio Grande. Rumors circulated that they would not be dispatched until July 12. The delay was thought necessary to bring the regiment to full strength, approximately 1,850 officers and men. Some of the men thought that two weeks in the sun and heat at Fort Sill entitled them to be put into a section of the line where they could be of "real service." Some were guessing that they would go to the Big Bend area around Marfa, Texas. Late in the evening of July 15, Colonel Hoffman received word that the men would entrain on July 17. Rumors said that they were headed for Brownsville, Texas, and several men who were familiar with that town hoped the rumors were false. Again, there was delay while the railroads attempted to get sufficient numbers of sleeping cars. Further rumors reported that the infantry regiment and the two cavalry troops would not be stationed at the same post. Finally, on July 19, 1916, the first of three troop trains departed. Speculation was that the men were headed for Llano Grande near Mercedes, Texas, where they would join with infantry regiments from Iowa and North Dakota to form a brigade. The engineers stayed at Fort Sill until August 13 to receive new equipment.[19]

Once at their duty stations, the men began to get settled. The infantry was sent to San Benito, Texas, where it went into camp between a belt of mesquite and cactus on one side and citrus orchards on the other. The cavalry was encamped at Donna, Texas, alongside New York's "millionaire Cavalry," so called because instead of living in tents, the New Yorkers had little huts built for themselves. The men arrived in broiling sun, but it soon began to rain, which continued for two weeks. Instead of chasing bandits, they became experts at digging trenches to drain water away from their tents. A reporter from the *Daily Oklahoman* declared that there was democracy in digging. In mid-August, the camps along the lower Rio Grande were hit by a hurricane which almost blew them away and which did blow a train off the tracks. Sergeant Charles W. Stanford, with A Troop from Okemah, Oklahoma, recalled tying all his loose equipment to his bunk to prevent its loss. Nonetheless, when the storm ended, all his equipment, tent and flooring had disappeared.[20]

The men were disenchanted for they believed they had been sent to fight, not to serve as the second line behind the Regular Army which

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[19] Robert L. Williams to R. F. Story, July 7, 1916, Robert L. Williams Papers, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society; *Daily Oklahoman*, July 6, 1916, p. 1; July 12, 1916, pp. 1–2; July 16, 1916, p. 1; July 17, 1916, p. 1; July 19, 1916, p. 1; August 13, 1916, p. 11A.

[20] *Ibid.*, July 22, 1916, p. 1; July 30, 1916, p. 1; August 1, 1916, pp. 1–2; August 19, 1916, pp. 1–2; Interview, Charles W. Stanford, November 21, 1974, Okemah, Oklahoma.

manned the posts immediately north of the Rio Grande. Instead of fighting, they settled into a routine of training, drills and inspections. After one inspection, in which B Troop of Oklahoma City won first place and A Troop received fourth, the men took their mounts for a swim in the Rio Grande. Colonel Hoffman led the Oklahoma Infantry Regiment on a twelve-mile march, at the end of which the men returned singing. This was done to show Brigadier General Frederick Funston and other National Guard units that the Oklahomans were not like the Illinois Regiment which lost most of its men on its march. The editor of the *Daily Oklahoman* called the results of the march satisfying and went on to say that if the nation had forty-eight Oklahomans, it could snap its fingers in the face of alliances and ententes. He lamented that because the United States did not have them, the other states would have to drill until they at least would "approximate the Oklahoma standard of fighting capacity."[21]

Shortly after arriving in Texas, the First Oklahoma Infantry Regiment was quarantined because of measles. Though only Private Lawrence C. Aikin of M Company developed the disease, the entire regiment was affected by the quarantine. There was some grumbling because of the restrictions, and there were efforts to evade them. Several men tried to slip through the pickets, but most were turned back, and those that did succeed were usually arrested by the Military Police and returned to the camp guardhouse, which was usually full each morning. The men were bored because instead of fighting bandits, they were training. Nevertheless, the training continued and increased in tempo.[22]

After the August hurricane, the Oklahoma Infantry Regiment, as part of a brigade commanded by Colonel Robert L. Bullard, was involved in war games. Its mission was to defend San Benito against an attack by two regiments of Virginia Infantry. Bullard planned to delay or stop the Virginians with the Oklahomans and then attack with his Louisiana and South Dakota regiments. The Oklahomans were placed in a drainage ditch with their machine guns in the road. The attack opened with the capture of one of the Oklahomans' motorcycle scouts, Sergeant Albert U. Hassig, the first man to enlist following the calling of the guard to active duty. Hassig had been scouting, but stopped to fix a flat tire and, while doing so, was captured by the Virginia scouts. The attackers continued along the road in their vehicles but were stopped by the Oklahomans. The Virginians gave battle, but were being pushed back when Bullard ordered the Louisianians and South Dakotans to attack. The brigade almost had the Virginians routed, but a sudden rain storm turned the roads to mud causing the Virginians' trucks

[21] *Daily Oklahoman*, August 5, 1916, p. 1; August 7, 1916, p. 1.
[22] *Ibid.*, July 26, 1916, p. 1; August 1, 1916, p. 2.

Two members of the Oklahoma National Guard off-duty in a border town during their participation in the Punitive Expedition against Mexico

to become mired. The only casualties were both regiments of Virginia Infantry, who were exposed to the Oklahomans' measles and had to be quarantined.[23]

The men did get to do some active patrolling along the Rio Grande. First Lieutenant James Embry of Company B found a Mexican citizen who, while unarmed, had some rifle ammunition. Sergeant Stanford remembers that the men of A Troop arrested several Mexicans and turned them over to the duty officer for processing. Also, in early September, the men of M Company were assigned to guard a large water pumping station on the river because the Mexicans had placed artillery and machine guns on the opposite side. These men had some excitement in October when they were fired on by bandits. Reinforcements were rushed to the scene, but the enemy apparently was only testing their reaction. Perhaps the only time that the Oklahomans crossed the border was on October 6–7, when they were involved in the pursuit of a bandit group which had raided an American ranch. After a few miles the Oklahomans were called back because it was evident that they would not catch the raiders.[24]

The situation on the border began to improve, primarily because of the continuing pressure by Pershing and the inability of Villa and the other bandit chieftains to recruit followers. A decision was made to withdraw Regular troops from Mexico, making them available for border duty. With that, some elements of the National Guard could be rotated home. Some units which had not seen duty would replace those that had been on the border for a long period of time. In Oklahoma, there was speculation that it would require about thirty days to muster out the men once they had returned to the state.[25]

While the men were getting ready to return to Oklahoma, problems began to develop. Many employers who had promised to rehire the National Guardsmen began to say that they would not be able to do so. Some who had promised to maintain full pay or send a fraction of the employee's pay to their families, also reneged. The *Daily Oklahoman* estimated that only five percent of the men would have jobs when they returned. However, because of these rumors an investigation was launched which found that most employers, probably because of the adverse publicity and perhaps due to some pressure, were willing to rehire the men. In addition, the *Daily Oklahoman* offered to help find jobs if the men were unable to return to

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[23] *Ibid.*, August 13, 1916, p. 1A; August 20, 1916, p. 8A; August 27, 1916, pp. 1–2A.

[24] *Ibid.*, July 23, 1916, p. 1; October 6, 1916, p. 1; October 7, 1916, p. 1; Interview, Stanford.

[25] War Department, *War Department Annual Report, 1917* (3 vols., Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), Vol. I, pp. 9, 13, 197; *Daily Oklahoman*, January 13, 1917, p. 1.

their former jobs. Finally, O. L. Hudson of the Oklahoma Department of Labor took the lead in finding some of the men jobs. However, there was another possible solution. Rumors were that with the international situation as it was in late February and early March, the possibility existed that the Oklahoma Guardsmen would not be mustered out of service, but rather would be sent to New Orleans, Louisiana. Giving further emphasis to this possibility was General Funstan's cancelling of all leaves and passes and recalling those men on furlough. The men at Fort Sill who had been returned for release were happy with the prospect of further service, as long as they were not required to return to the Mexican border.[26]

The two cavalry groups, the Engineer Company and the newly activated Ambulance Corps, arrived at Fort Sill on February 5, 1917, unsure if they were to be released or retained on active duty. However, they were quartered in barracks and ordered to prepare to turn in their equipment. Two weeks later they were passing through Oklahoma City on their way home. They now faced another problem. The men who were discharged from the National Guard could wear their uniforms home, but those who were retained could not. They had to change into civilian clothing, something that few of them had on hand. Some stopped in Oklahoma City to buy clothing, while others violated orders and wore their uniforms. When the train carrying Troop A departed for Okemah, several men discarded their uniforms out the windows and changed into their recently acquired civilian clothing. Because the clothing problem was a major issue, the State Legislature appropriated some $35,000 to buy civilian clothing. For when the privates were discharged, they only received $8.50 in pay.[27]

To further aid the returning veterans, a bill was introduced in the legislature providing for $500,000 to pay the guardsmen at the rate of $1.00 per day. The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union announced that they would oppose the bill because it would "tend to create a spirit of militarism among the young men of Oklahoma." Further, they believed that the "men are being paid by the government, and that, while the pay is small, they are not in the Army for monetary reward but because of their patriotism; and that to make such an appropriation would cause the youth of the state to flock to the colors to get their share of the pie."[28]

There were thoughts that the First Infantry Regiment might cease to exist when it returned from the border. Once they had ended their three years of

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[26] *Ibid.*, January 18, 1917, p. 14; January 24, 1917, p. 11; January 29, 1917, p. 12A; February 6, 1917, p. 5.

[27] *Ibid.*, February 5, 1917, p. 1; February 18, 1917, pp. 1–2; Interview, Stanford.

[28] *Ibid.*, January 11, 1917, p. 11.

Members of the First Cavalry Troop on maneuvers in the desert along the border with Mexico

active duty, the men faced three years in reserve status, and they objected to this provision. However, once they returned they could only be held for sixty days. The infantry regiment was ordered to be ready to entrain no later than February 19, and arrived at Fort Sill on February 23. Two days later, special trains carried state and city officials, relatives and friends to Fort Sill to visit the men. It was a festive occasion; the men displayed their military talents in tent pitching, manual of arms and parading. On March 1, the men arrived in Oklahoma City ready to be released from active duty.

When interviewed, Charles W. Stanford disclaimed any real significance which could be attached to the actions on the Rio Grande. Yet, the activation of the National Guard was of more importance than most people recognized at the time. The National Defense Act of June 3, 1916, converted the organized militia to the National Guard. Federal mobilization found many states in the process of converting to the new brigade and division organization. This was a decided plus, for the many problems had either been solved or at least identified when the National Guard was recalled for World War I just a few weeks after being released from border duty.

The joint training received by both the Regular Army and National Guard gave them a better understanding of each other and gave the National Guard a keener insight into the methods and ideals of the Regulars. It was better than any course of instruction could have been. It permitted the Regulars to receive and process large numbers of men and prepare them for field duty. The encampments along the border aided the National Guardsmen in learning field sanitation, strict attention to food and water sources, vaccinations, waste disposal and the prompt checking of outbreaks of communicable diseases. The guardsmen proved apt pupils and constantly amazed the Regulars. As a rule, they equalled the Regulars and frequently excelled them in maintaining a low sickness rate—1.8 percent compared to the Regulars 2 percent, the lowest in Army history to that time.

Border duty was a trying activity for the National Guardsmen, who had had visions of grandeur. The prospect of active campaigning had captured the spirit of the men, but inactivity made it difficult for the guardsmen to realize that they were contributing to an operation. It was also difficult for them to reconcile themselves to the rigors of camp life and the separation from family and friends. One problem was quickly recognized: the men needed some type of recreational activity during their long periods of inaction. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Salvation Army did much to provide these facilities, and the benefits could be measured in the desertion rate. During its border duty, the National Guardsmen had a desertion rate of less than 1 percent, while the Regular Army lost 1.86 percent of its men.

The mere calling of the National Guard to active duty and stationing it on the border freed large numbers of the Regulars for pursuit duty. Its presence served to protect lives and property and preserve order. Roving Mexican bands caused trouble on their side of the border, but those same bands seldom raided into the United States. Little did Pancho Villa, whose raid on Columbus caused President Wilson to order out the National Guard, know that he would be the prime factor in the National Guard's excellent combat record in World War I.

THE PRIMAL FIRE LINGERS

*By Janet Campbell and Archie Sam**

> The fact is, there are but few individuals amongst them, who have not conformed in some degree to the customs and manners of the whites. But there are communities that cling to their old customs as much as possible, and on many occasions, exhibit the original character of the tribe.[1]

These timely words, written by a white resident among the Cherokees in the early nineteenth century, span the ensuing years to portray an accurate description of Cherokee culture today. Assuredly the frontier has changed—once that area east of the Mississippi River, it now approaches outer space.

Reminiscent of the last, great phase of American Indian history in the eastern United States, ceremonies and dances practiced hundreds of years ago survive today in five tribal towns or "Fires" among the Cherokees. One such community is called *Nv-wo-ti*, the Cherokee word for medicine, or "Medicine Spring."[2]

Sequestered in a serene and wooded area amid rolling hills in the vicinity of Gore, in Muskogee County, the cultural impact of this singular community has been remarkable. Being descendants of a small colony of Natchez-Cherokees who nurtured their sacred fire over the "Trail of Tears" to Indian Territory, the venerable ground played a primary role in the traditional cultural society of the old Cherokee Nation. At one time called Sulphur Springs, it has also been designated as the "Fire" which spawned the significant nativistic movement led by Redbird Smith in resistance to the dissolution of tribal government and impending statehood.[3] It continued to promulgate the cultural heritage of the Southeastern Indian as a part of

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[1] I. P. Evans, "Sketches of Cherokee Character, Customs and Manners," John Howard Payne Papers, Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

[2] Four other surviving Cherokee ceremonial grounds in Oklahoma are the Chewey Fire near Chewey, the Flint Fire near Stilwell and the Redbird and Stokes fires in the vicinity of Vian.

[3] Robert K. Thomas, "The Origin and Development of the Redbird Smith Movement," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, 1954, p. 164. Chosen by Pig Smith to instruct his son in the old Cherokee traditions, Creek Sam, of Cherokee and Natchez descent, was a seer considered expert on the tribal lore of the Cherokee, Natchez and Creek, who ultimately became Redbird Smith's teacher and advisor throughout his lifetime.

Creek Sam, of Cherokee and Natchez descent, was instrumental in the Cheroke cultural renaissance led by Redbird Smith

the state of Oklahoma, and has proved a prodigious repository to a number of eminent scholars who have studied the area.

Considered by authorities to be the preeminent example of a Temple Mound State surviving into modern times, tribal identity of the Natchez people perished after a disastrous war with the French in 1729–1730. However, Natchez blood still flows in the descendants of the small number of survivors who were forced into exile and established towns among the Chickasaws, Creeks and Cherokees. Melding with these peoples for well over a century before removal of the Five Civilized Tribes to Indian Territory, they acquired considerable reputation in the orthodoxy and, because of their strict adherence to ancient traditions, were venerated as "wizards" among the Cherokee people for their observance of "the old ways" amid a society under siege of European culture.[4]

From such a Natchez-Cherokee settlement called *Gu-Lani-Ye*, located near present-day Murphy, North Carolina, came the only sacred fire to be carried among the Cherokee emigrants during the process of removal in 1839. With it came a religion that had sustained them throughout millenniums past, as well as ancient dances, songs and ceremonies that had been passed down through the generations. Today, at *Nv-wo-ti*, the "mother fire" of traditional Cherokee culture in Oklahoma burns as brightly as it did some 136 years ago at *Gu-Lani-Ye*, and offers a titillating glimpse of Mississippian tradition to residents of the Space Age.

Although not easily identified with other prehistoric cultures of the Southeast, archaeological evidence does indicate that the Cherokees were longtime inhabitants of that area. They formed the largest single tribe in the South and one of the largest of all tribes north of Mexico. The fact that basic similarities exist between the Iroquois and Cherokee languages evidence their descent from a common tongue; however, vast dissimilarities lead linguists to believe that the two peoples have been separated for a very long time. The late prehistoric Cherokee culture was essentially Mississippian, and paralleled many of the rituals, ceremonies and religious beliefs of the other southeastern tribes.[5]

The etymology of the word "Cherokee" is enshrouded in mystery. Although names used by white men during the later historic period were frequently given by neighboring tribes to describe particular customs and distinctions of a tribe, the regional characteristics of the country where the tribe lived or to signify simply "people who speak a different language,"

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[4] Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., Editor, *The American Heritage Book of Indians* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 147, 152.

[5] Thomas M. N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg, *Tribes That Slumber, Indians of the Tennessee Region* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1966), pp. 155–157.

most Cherokees refuse to accept these hypotheses and stubbornly insist that the tribal designation of *Tsalagi* is derived from some word in the language. Furthermore, the name does appear in early Spanish, French and English colonial records, albeit in myriad variations in spelling. Some early-day Cherokees called themselves *Ani Kitu hwagi*, or "people of Kituhwa," alluding to their ancient settlement of *Kitu wha*.[6] They referred to all Indians as *Ani yvwi yahi*, or "people real," denoting the principal or original inhabitants of the country. Newcomers were designated by their color—*Ani yvwi unega*, or "people white," and *Ani yvwi gvhnage*, or "people black."[7]

Typical of the aboriginal lifestyle of other southern Indians, they lived in communities called "towns" along the rivers and creeks of the Southern Appalachian region. In addition to hunting and fishing, their economy was augmented by agriculture, with each matrilineal extended family tilling a small garden in the fertile fields of the alluvial valleys. Each colony or territorial province included a White Town or "Town of Refuge" which held sway over a number of associated villages that surrounded it, and contained a ceremonial center or "townhouse" and a plaza for ritual and festal occasions. The town government consisted of a series of officials headed by the hereditary office of the White chief to conduct civic affairs, direct communal farming and supervise ceremonies. Some of the larger White or "Peace" towns influenced very large areas because of the number of settlements that were attached to them, and were the center of political, social and religious activities. The White chief appointed a militaristic Red chief who was in charge of the secondary Red Town where wars were declared. Imbued with certain requisites of leadership and robust health, the Red chief led another group of officials, similar in structure to the White organization, which functioned only during periods of warfare.[8]

Central to the religious concept of the Mississippian tradition was the perpetual fire which adorned the altar mound in the midst of the ceremonial center. Sacred and undefilable, this symbol of life was tended by priests with much import and consequence. At times addressed as "Ancient and Honorable Red Person" and "Grandfather," tradition decreed fire to be the protector of human life and its smoke was the fire's messenger who bore the

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[6] Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 22.

[7] Wah-ne-nau-hi (Mrs. Lucy L. Keys), "Historical Sketches of the Cherokees; together with some of Their Customs, Traditions and Superstitions," unpublished manuscript, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1899, p. 10.

[8] Robert K. Thomas, "The Redbird Smith Movement," Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 180* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 161.

prayers of man heavenward. Only in acts of rededication, within the rites of solemn ceremonial occasions, was the fire extinguished and a new one made. In spite of cultural changes, the spirit of fire remained fundamental to the later traditions of the Indians of the Southeast when the sacred fire no longer burned continuously, but was "made new" during religious ceremonies and dances.

In addition, the number seven cast a mystic shadow upon the lives of the early Cherokees; seven clans cemented the foundation of their later social structure and seven great ceremonies, relevant to subsistence and well-being, formed the cycle of their religious life—six observed annually and one every seven years.

Embellished by myth and ritual, corn or *selu* was revered as the staff of life and was carefully nurtured with great ceremony during its cultivation and harvest. The crescent or new moon phase of *Nvdo svnoyi ehi*, "the major heavenly body that belongs to the night," established the dates for these grandiose occasions in which only select individuals, disciplined in priestly traditions since childhood, could perform the ancient rites. Under the tutelage of assigned priests, these young men fasted and underwent stringent formal training in seclusion, attended by ceremonial scratching and other ritual, while standing at the brink or in the midst of a flowing stream, facing east. After adequate instruction in the history, rituals, beliefs and medicinal formulas of the tribe, they were ultimately held in the highest esteem by the general populace.[9]

Inauguration of the planting season was the theme of the first great ceremony which honored the "First New Moon of Spring." Held at the capital town, the principal chief met with his advisors during the dark of the moon in early March to plan the celebration and initiate a preliminary regimen that preceded each of the festivals, in which seven messengers were dispatched to announce the date of the observance to fellow tribesmen, seven hunters were sent to acquire meat for the feasts, seven attendants prepared the ceremonial altar and seven others gathered firewood from seven selected species of trees.

On the appointed evening, the assemblage gathered on the plaza at dusk to begin the gala with social dances throughout the night. Dawn introduced the more solemn rites in which a divination of the sacred crystal or stone was made to ascertain the success or failure of the season's crops. The ensuing hours were spent in ceremonial bathing, as individuals faced east and

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[9] Lewis and Kneberg, *Tribes That Slumber, Indians of the Tennessee Region*, p. 160; Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick, *The Shadow of Sequoyah, Social Documents of the Cherokees, 1862–1964* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 41.

dipped seven times into the river. A ritual sacrifice of dried tobacco flowers and a deer's tongue was placed on the sacred fire shortly before sunset, to preface a feast and another all-night dance.

Following seven days of visitation and recreation, the people gathered in the ceremonial center once again to witness the rekindling of the sacred fire. Steeped in the traditions of tribal religion, the fire-keeper extinguished the flames of the perpetual fire in preparation for this august occasion. Then, using dried goldenrod blossoms as tinder and a rod and slab of dry basswood, he ignited the new flame to which he fed branches of blackjack oak, post oak, red oak, sycamore, locust, plum and redbud trees. Having previously extinguished the fires in their dwellings and swept clean the hearths, women were given new embers from the sacred fire with which to rekindle the fires in their homes throughout the nation.[10]

Primarily a festival of consecration, the "Green Corn Ceremony," or "roasting ears time," took place in August when the new corn crop had ripened enough to taste. Eating new corn was strictly forbidden until after this important event. Messengers dispatched to announce the observance gathered seven ears of corn, each from the field of a different clan. The chief and his seven counselors fasted for the following six days as the people assembled and, after an all-night vigil, the ceremony began on the seventh day. The sacred fire was extinguished and rekindled as before, and the chief placed the sacrament of deer's tongue and kernels from each of the seven ears of corn on the sacred fire over which he sprinkled tobacco powder to carry the offering heavenward. A great feast followed for all but the chief and his advisors who were not allowed to eat the new corn for an additional seven days.[11]

The third festival, the "Ripe Corn Ceremony" was held in late September to celebrate the final maturing of the season's crops with more feasting and dancing. Brush arbors were constructed around the plaza in preparation for this event, in which the stellar dance was reserved strictly for male participation. Each man carried an evergreen bough in his right hand as he danced in single file onto the square and encircled seven times a tree positioned in the center of the pavillion. To one side, the chief's assistant or "right hand man" danced independently on a platform held aloft on the shoulders of a group of men. This ritual, performed on each of the four days of the ceremony, required extreme physical exertion. After sunset came the feast, followed by social dances in which women were allowed to participate.

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[10] Lewis and Kneberg, *Tribes That Slumber, Indians of the Tennessee Region*, pp. 176–180.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 180. Robert K. Thomas states that "the last Green Corn dance in the Cherokee Nation was performed by the Creeks under Sleeping Rabbit around the 1870's or 80's."

Some older Cherokees living today can remember a modified version of this ceremony in which they took part during their youth.[12]

Believing that the world was created in the autumn, the Cherokee new year began when the new moon of October appeared at the "Great New Moon Ceremony" or *Nvwatieguva*, meaning "big medicine." Each family that attended the festival brought produce from their own fields to share with tribesmen whose harvest had been insufficient. The observance opened with a religious dance performed by the women, who then joined the spectators in keeping vigil throughout the night. At sunrise, custom dictated that participants dip seven times into the river containing the curative powers of the fallen leaves, followed by a reading of the sacred crystal which foretold the individual's chances for survival during the coming winter months. Those who received a favorable reading withdrew to enjoy the general feast, while the unfortunate ones fasted prior to a second reading scheduled before nightfall and another all-night vigil. This short ceremony lasted only two days and nights.[13]

Then, a ten day interval of elaborate preparations preceded the most profoundly religious of all Cherokee festivals, the *Atahuna*, or "Friends Made Ceremony," which overcame hostilities within the tribe and stressed sentiments of brotherhood and atonement. This occurrence marked the opportunity for citizens to begin life anew. Old clothing and household furnishings were discarded for new and burned in a communal fire on the plaza, old debts were paid, injuries forgiven and enmities reconciled.

White, being symbolic of serenity and joy, dominated all aspects of this important occasion. The walls of the townhouse were whitened with clay and white buckskins were spread over the seats and on the ground of the area reserved for the officials. The masses assembled in the ceremonial center at sunrise to witness the ritual rekindling of the sacred fire on which a priest sprinkled tobacco powder and fanned smoke in the four cardinal directions with the wing of a white heron. Bits of cedar, white pine, hemlock, mistletoe, greenbrier, heart leaf and ginseng enclosed in a small cane basket simmered in a large white vessel filled with water on the sacred fire—the ritual medicine of purification that was used on several occasions during the five days of the festival.

Outside the temple, promenading about the pavillion striking eaves of buildings with rods made from white sycamore, seven men chanted a sacred formula to drive away evil spirits as a priest, costumed in white, ascended the roof of the townhouse to offer a holy incantation. Afterward, seven white gourds were dipped into the medicine which had been brewing on the

[12] Lewis and Kneberg, *Tribes That Slumber, Indians of the Tennessee Region*, pp. 180–181.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 181–182.

Preparing the ritual medicine of purification used in Cherokee festivals

sacred fire and handed to the headman of each clan, who drank from it and handed it on to his kinsmen. The usual ritual bathing and sacrifice preceded a leisurely feast, after which the women joined in a "Friendship" dance on the square.

This awesome scene was staged on four consecutive days, with minor variations, as all transgressors of the law of clan revenge who had previously fled to safety in "Towns of Refuge" or "White Towns" were free to mingle in peace and friendship among their tribesmen. As the occasion drew to a

close on the fifth day, the medicinal basket was withdrawn from the purification vessel and secretly stored away as the officials and priests imperiously pronounced the ceremony closed and the people dispersed, carrying new embers from the sacred fire.[14]

Although too few details have been preserved to understand its true meaning, symbolic sacrifice appears to have been the theme of the "Bounding Bush Ceremony," or "pigeon dance," the last religious celebration of the year held in December. The stellar dance of the festival consisted of men and women alternated in pairs. The two male head dancers, as well as pairs near the center and end of the dancing column, carried hoops having four spokes adorned with white feathers. The remaining dancers carried branches of white pine in their right hands. The dance movement was circular, as one man carrying a small box sang and danced independently within the circle. Ending at midnight, this dance was repeated on three successive nights. Following a feast, the dance was not begun until after midnight on the fourth night with pine needles being placed into the box on this occasion. As dawn approached and the dancing drew to a close, all dancers formed a circle around the altar fire as each one advanced three times toward the fire tossing tobacco and pine needles onto the flames the third time.[15]

This brought to a conclusion the ceremonial season of the Cherokee, although local minor observances were performed at each new moon during the year. These six great annual ceremonies reveal the following common religious characteristics: the ceremonial lighting of the sacred fire, ritual sacrifice, purification rites and supplicatory all-night dances. Survival is the tonic cord that resounds through these festivals, pertinent to the ancient and fundamental problems of food and health.

Once every seven years the eucharistic "*Uku* Dance" replaced the "Great New Moon Ceremony" in October. On this occasion the White chief of the capital town, or "First Beloved Man," was reconsecrated in his office of high priest. Attired in yellow instead of the usual white, the *Uku* was carried in a procession through the town, preceded by counselors and flanked by a musician and attendant. Majestically placed on a white throne, he kept a silent vigil as the people danced in the ceremonial grounds throughout the night and, at an allotted time, was carried to a circle in the center of the plaza to begin the "*Uku* Dance." Moving with measured dignity, he rhythmically nodded toward the spectators, who bowed to him in return. Simultaneously, lessor officials imitated his steps outside the circle in single file. Following a feast, he retired to his quarters to await the next perform-

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 183–184; Woodward, *The Cherokees*, p. 49.

[15] Lewis and Kneberg, *Tribes That Slumber, Indians of the Tennessee Region*, pp. 184–185.

ance. He was reinvested with his civil powers on the fourth day, and the ceremony ended.[16]

Thus, this segment of the religious organization of the Cherokees typifies the Southeastern Indian customs and traditions that collided with the advancement of white civilization along the Appalachian frontier in a period approaching the American Revolution, resulting in rampant social disorganization and drastic cultural change. Today, only suggestions of the ancient "Ripe Corn Ceremony" survive. Lacking many of the religious connotations of the other festivals, resulting in fewer conflicts with the doctrines of the Christian religion, it has endured into the twentieth century and remains a part of the contemporary culture of the Cherokees in tribal towns like *Nvwoti*. During the summer months, the *gatiyoi* or central meeting place, commonly called a stomp ground, echoes this great social event.

In addition to the intrinsic role played in Cherokee religious ceremonies, dances also permeated the pageant of war. The "Warrior Dance" was performed before a war party set out for battle. In this dance, braves affected blows to the enemy with ceremonial war clubs painted red and black, symbolic of blood and fearlessness. Begun slowly, the tempo of the dance steadily increased until it was abruptly ended with four loud war whoops.[17]

The momentous "Eagle Dance" was reserved for victory celebrations and peace negotiations, during which the most athletic of the young dancers decorated their heads with feathers and carried fans made from the highly valued tail feathers of the golden eagle. Moving in columns of from four to six deep, these young men exhibited their prowess with a series of short fast dances and shrill war whoops, after which sagacious elders related the exploits and adventures of their youth. To stumble during this dance or allow the fan to touch the ground was considered an unlucky omen.[18]

And finally, dances provided a primary source of recreation in the society of the Southern Indians. Social dancing usually followed the formal religious activities of the day during these festivals, and were held on the same grounds after the daytime ceremonies were over. Directed by the town's White officials acting as ceremonial priests, these all-night dance sessions were community affairs and served to promote and cement social bonds; however, they carried a religious connotation in that it was imperative that they continue throughout the night as an act of worship. If a situation

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16 *Ibid.*, pp. 185–188.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 166.

18 *Ibid.*, I. P. Evans, "Sketches of Cherokee Character, Customs and Manners," John Howard Payne Papers, pp. 22–23.

occurred that prevented the all-night dance, custom dictated an all-night vigil must follow.

At one time many of the "Social Dances" were named after animals, birds, fish and insects common to the southern forests, during which dancers pantomimed the act of hunting or portrayed some behavioral trait of the central character of the dance. Encircling the fire, usually moving in single or "Indian" file in a counterclockwise direction, these dances were accompanied by wet or "medicine" drums, rattles and singing. Men carried gourd rattles, while terrapin shell rattles filled with small pebbles were fastened to the ankles of the dancing women. Most of these dances were humorous and entertaining. If a dance honored the totem animal of a Cherokee clan, clan members were quick to feign offense at improvisations of the head singer and break rank, scattering the dancers and ending the dance with laughter.

Changing customs and beliefs have diminished the importance of the former great social dances and the simpler "Common or Stomp" dances have grown in popularity. Stomp dances are lead by a head dancer, followed by a single file of participants. Male dancers enter the square and walk around the fire several times; sometimes a hollow drum in which the medicine used in religious rituals is poured, or "medicine" drum accompaniment, is used to signal the start of the dance. Women wearing rattles take their places between the men as the leader begins the dance, singing short stanzas which are repeated in unison by the male dancers—described by one nineteenth century observer as resembling a boat song. The tempo of the dance is again set by the head dancer and women wearing leg rattles. In closing, dancers sometimes interlock hands and follow the lead dancer in turning and winding around the square, producing confusion and ending the performance with laughter. This "Wind Up Dance" may be repeated at any time during the night as a diversion, or when the leader senses a lag in the enthusiasm of the dancers.

As dawn approaches, a series of three dances conclude the night's festivities. In the first, or "Morning Dance," women remove their rattles for the night, and whoop and sing along with the men. With staggering motions, the "Drunk Dance" expresses the heady exhilaration of the dancers who, in spite of general fatigue, accomplished their goal of dancing the night through. Finally, the more religious "Olden or Grandpa Dance," solemnly repeated four times, formally ends the session at daybreak.

Once performed by women only in several of the ancient religious daytime ceremonies, the "Friendship Dance" remains in the repertoire of contemporary Cherokee culture. Following a supplicatory "Long Dance," indicative of the desire to continue dancing throughout the night, and four

Nancy Raven, who in 1931 was one of the last two Natchez speakers in Oklahoma

common dances, so named because they were common to all the Southeastern tribes, the "Friendship Dance" signifies a warm welcome to visitors and an invitation to join in the festivities. While continually shaking his rattle, the leader announces the dance as participants form a single file facing east. When the dance begins, the performers join hands and move in a counterclockwise direction around the fire. The male leader, carrying a rattle, and women wearing leg rattles set the cadence of the dance; women

owning the traditional turtle shell rattles preceding the dancers wearing the more recent milk can shakers. In fluctuating and descending melodic patterns common throughout southeastern Indian songs, short stanzas sung by the leader and recited by the rest of the male dancers in line are repeated as often as the leader wishes, depending upon the response of the dancers. Although the text of various phrases resembles the Cherokee word for friendship, *oil i*, the collection of short songs is so old that a translation cannot be elicited; however, the dance is believed to be a conglomerate of Cherokee, Natchez and Creek songs indigenous to the *Nvwoti* community.

The piquant "Mosquito Dance," thought to be a vestige of Natchez culture, is also performed by members of Medicine Spring to "liven things up" during the early morning hours. Simulating the mosquito in flight, women softly hum in unison with the singer-leader as they dance a running step counterclockwise around the fire. At intervals, designated by an accent in the beat of the drum, the mosquito "bites" as dancers prick sleepy tribesmen with long pins. Repeated four times, the women move counterclockwise around the ceremonial ground waking men in each of the "beds" or clan houses, who after being revived rejoin the dancing which continues until the break of day.[19]

Rooted in the Mound Builder cultures of the distant past, these ancient songs and dances remain interwoven in the cultural fiber of tribal towns like *Nvwoti*, not solely to arouse sleepy dancers, but to reawaken the interest of Indian youth to the heritage uniquely theirs. Descendants of the Old Southeast stand resplendent in the traditions, values and lifestyles which have evolved in the course of centuries of New World adaptation, resulting in people of infinite differences yet remarkable sameness. The once "Vanishing American" prevails and the primal fire lingers—symbolic still of what they were, what they are, and the unending cycle of their timeless ancestry.

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[19] Charlotte Heth, "The Mosquito Dance," unpublished manuscript, University of California, Los Angeles, California, 1973, p. 4.

CHEROKEE POST OFFICE

*By George H. Shirk**

Documents in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. recently reviewed for the first time resolve at long last the previous uncertainty as to the location of Cherokee. A post office of that name was established by order of the Postmaster General dated May 19, 1842, with the Reverend Evan Jones as Postmaster. No other postmasters were appointed, and the office was discontinued on July 2, 1844. In 1948 so much uncertainty existed as to the true location of this short-lived office that it was intentionally omitted from "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," compiled as a checklist of all post offices established at any time prior to statehood within the area of Oklahoma that was known in 1907 as Indian Territory.[1]

In 1926, J. Y. Bryce in his article "First Post Offices in What is Now the State of Oklahoma" listed Cherokee as the seventh office to be established in present Oklahoma.[2] His article then cast doubt upon the reliability of any assumption that the post office was in fact in the Cherokee Nation when he stated that:

> Cherokee, given as the seventh post office established in this country, as I understand it, is located on the banks of the Washita River, east of Pauls Valley a few miles. Whether I am correct in this or not, I am not sure, but I have made enquiry of old settlers of what we call Cherokee Nation, and they have no knowledge of a post office of that name.

Had Bryce given the matter further thought, he would have at once realized that for the period of the two years from 1842 to 1844 Jones was very busy at Breadtown, located three miles north of present Westville in Adair County. Reverend Jones, along with Jesse Bushyhead and his other colleagues, was hard at work establishing the Baptist Mission Press and working towards the publication of the *Cherokee Messenger*. Thus,

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* The author is currently President of the Oklahoma Historical Society and has devoted many years to the research of post office locations throughout Oklahoma. His book, *Oklahoma Place Names*, has recently been released in a second edition by the University of Oklahoma Press. This is one of a series of articles examining the location of many early-day post office sites in Oklahoma.

[1] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 179.

[2] J. Y. Bryce, "First Post Offices In What Is Now State of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1926), p. 202.

Jones would hardly have found time to have operated a post office far to the west near present Pauls Valley.

At the time of the publication of "First Post Offices" the question of location was further complicated by my correspondence with Dr. Carroll Chase of Boston, Massachusetts, then the leading authority on Indian Territory philately. He was of the belief that the 1842 post office named Cherokee was in fact the small town of Cherokee City located on the eastern side of the Arkansas line in Benton County.

There the matter lay until my interest was reactivated by the section in *Oklahoma Imprints* where Mrs. Grant Foreman writes in detail on the *Cherokee Messenger*.[3] She declared that the Baptist Mission Press was located "at Breadtown, later called Cherokee." The Oklahoma Historical Society does in fact own a complete run of the first series of the *Cherokee Messenger*, being twelve numbers that ran from August 1844 to May 1846.[4] However, an examination of the portion of this publication printed in English disclosed no reference whatsoever to the Cherokee post office, nor could be found any other language which would confirm that, in fact, there was a post office at Breadtown, and that it was named Cherokee.

The question certainly continued as an intriguing one; and if it is true that Cherokee was located at Breadtown, such would mean that there had been at the same location a post office earlier than Baptist Mission, established there on July 5, 1850.

Further search in the National Archives seemed essential. Fortunately while in Washington in May, 1975, extra available time made this possible.

The original daily order sheets of the Postmaster General were examined for both May 19, 1842, and July 2, 1844. Remarkably, for both entries the location of Cherokee was given clearly as in the Cherokee Nation. This is somewhat unusual for so very often the Postmaster General referred to a post office clearly known to us to have been in Indian Territory as though it were located in a county of Arkansas. For example Fort Gibson was often referred to as being in Crawford County, Arkansas.

It is interesting to speculate why it would be that the Postmaster General would refer to an office as little known as Cherokee as in the Cherokee Nation, yet for a well-known place as Fort Gibson he referred to as being in Crawford County, Arkansas. Perhaps his source of information on Cherokee came direct from Evan Jones who possibly told him plainly the exact location of his requested office; and on the other hand the information from Fort Gibson came perhaps via the War Department with possible uncertain

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[3] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835–1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. 29.

[4] *Ibid.*, fn 20, p. 30.

references as to precise location. Such site references make interesting speculation.

The next search turned to the index for the contractors on post routes. Cherokee was indexed, but with an entry added later by some clerk reading "re-established July 14, [18]45." If this is true then the assumption that the office forever passed from the scene on July 2, 1844 would be incorrect. I checked the daily order sheet of the Postmaster General for that day and found that the clerk had in fact made the entry along side the wrong name, for the Postmaster General's order read in its entirety: "office re-established at Cherokee Agency, Washington Co. Ark. P. M. Butler, PM." So this of course meant that the correct reference would be Cherokee Agency, a post office located several miles northwest of Tahlequah and established on January 23, 1840.

Final evidence sufficient to give the answer came with the location of the papers on contract Route Number 5826. This route ran from Fayetteville, Arkansas, to Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation via Sylva, Cherokee and Park Hill. The mileage was shown from Fayetteville to Cherokee to be 27.5 miles and from Cherokee to Park Hill to be 29 miles.

Applying this information to a modern map, Cherokee City, Arkansas, is 28.5 miles from Fayetteville and is 36.5 miles from Park Hill. Both distances would be too far to fit the clear information provided by Route 5826.

On the other hand, assuming the location of Cherokee to be that of the later post office of Baptist Mission, Baptist Mission was 24 miles from Fayetteville and 25.5 miles from Park Hill. These are direct measurements, whereas the post route could hardly be as the "crow flies." The assumption proved exact for 27.5 is to 24 about what 29 is to 25.5. To me this is complete confirmation of the implication in the statement by Mrs. Foreman that when Breadtown was referred to as Cherokee, it was so called because a post office of that name was located there.

The National Archives file on Route 5826 includes another entry: "reduced Aug. 28, [18]44 direct from Evansville to Ft Gibson." In other words, after Cherokee was discontinued as a post office on July 2, the Postmaster General on August 28 reduced the route to serve Fort Gibson via Evansville rather than via Fayetteville.

I believe that research has now been completed. We know with certainty the location of Cherokee, and that it must take its rightful place in any list of Indian Territory post offices.

THE RUSSIAN JEW IN OKLAHOMA: THE MAY BROTHERS

*By Gary Watters**

> Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
> Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost, to me
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door![1]

These immortal words of Emma Lazarus inscribed on a tablet in the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty have inspired millions of Americans since the monument was dedicated in 1886, during the high tide of immigration to this country. Almost 28,000,000 immigrants entered the United States between 1820 and 1910, representing nations from every portion of the globe.[2] But Europe, and particularly Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Russia were the greatest contributors to this exodus. The immigrants came for numerous reasons, but the most frequently cited motivations involved economic misery, political restrictions or religious persecution facing them in the old country.

One group of immigrants who had suffered all of these hardships was the Jewish population of Russia. The epic of the Russian Jew, his plight in the Tsarist Empire and his freedom and opportunity in a new land is an often-told story. But the message bears repeating, for each experience was unique in its own way.

The Statue of Liberty was only three years old when, in 1889, a Jewish father and son caught a glimpse of it for the first time as they approached their new country that waited beyond. Hyman and Ben Madanic could have had no idea what the future might hold, but confidently believed that it would be better than their past.

As Jews, Hyman and Ben Madanic were but two of the most numerically

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* The author is a Doctor of Philosophy candidate at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma. This article is the third of a series discussing European immigration to Oklahoma, and was prepared under the direction of Dr. Douglas Hale.

[1] Emma Lazarus, "The New Colossus," *Collegiate Encyclopedia* (multi-volumes, New York: Grolier Incorporated, 1971), vol. 17, p. 248. Milton May, of Oklahoma City, offered his time in numerous interviews for this project. May not only has shown tremendous interest in this project, but for all historical endeavors. Jake May and his son Mike, of Bartlesville, also gave of their time to provide information into the family background.

[2] United States Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, 1911 (42 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office), Vol. XX, p. 4.

significant groups to leave the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century. Between 1889 and 1910, a total of more than 1,000,000 Jewish immigrants from the Russian Empire were admitted into the United States.[3] The migration was prompted not only by economic pressures, but political and religious persecutions as well. Though oppression of the Jews was far from uncommon before 1880, it was after that date that a number of events made life almost intolerable for them. In many areas of Russia, restrictions were placed on where Jews might live—not only were they restricted to certain regions of the Russian Empire, but they were also banned from many localities within those regions. Often prohibited from living in the rural areas, Jews were also excluded from following many occupations, thus creating economic distress among the Jewish people. During the decade of the 1880s, further restrictions were placed on their education and political rights.[4] Many of these governmental policies had been prompted by the actions of Nicholas Pavlovich Ignatyev, Minister of the Interior under Tzar Alexander III.[5] These restrictions, coupled with the pogroms—attacks on and massacres of the Jewish communities, often officially inspired—made the idea of immigration particularly appealing.

Much of the anti-Jewish campaign was a result of the reactionary policy imposed after the assassination of Tzar Alexander II in March, 1881. The press insinuated that the Jews had been involved in the Tzar's death, and anti-Semitic literature began to appear which called for reprisal attacks upon the Jewish community. Throughout the decade of the 1880s, these pogroms forced the Jewish communities into submission. Though emigration was discouraged by the Russian government during the decade of the 1880s, it was actually promoted by governmental policy after 1890. The result was a mass exodus of the Jewish population from the Russian empire.

The year 1888 had witnessed this continued persecution against Jewish communities throughout Russia, with more than 300 pogroms being carried out during that year.[6] It was because of this turmoil in Russia and the increasing incidents of persecution that Hyman Madanic, at the age of thirty-six, decided to seek out a new homeland. As was often the case, a personal incident had prompted that painful decision.

The Madanic family, though not wealthy, had lived comfortably in Russia

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[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 271.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 265–281.

[5] I. Friedlaender, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, translated by S. M. Dubnow (2 vols., Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1918), Vol. II, p. 259.

[6] Salo W. Baron, *The Russian Jew Under Tsars and Soviets* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1964), p. 88.

and were considered a family of means. Unlike many members of the Jewish population, they had not been banned from the land and had been very successful as landowners and producers of timber and alcohol. The Madanic family lived in the "bread basket" of Russia, the fertile Ukraine, near the small village of Galena Gaberna, approximately 100 miles south of Kiev.[7]

Hyman Madanic depended upon timber and alcohol production for his livelihood, but in 1889 an explosion and fire destroyed all his vats containing alcohol. Naturally, this seriously impaired his earning power for that year, and, to make matters worse, he was questioned by Russian tax officials who accused him of lying about his losses and concealing his profits. In vain, Madanic tried to convince the officials that an actual loss had definitely been incurred, but the collectors refused to believe him or decrease his taxes. It was at this point that Hyman Madanic decided to leave Russia, even though it would mean leaving behind everything he had worked for all his life.

Emigration was not officially recognized in Russia at that time, so he believed it best that he and his sixteen-year old son, Ben, travel to the United States alone. This left his wife, Hanna, and three younger sons, Max, Harry and Paul, still in Russia. Later, Madanic would arrange passage for the remainder of the family to come to America. Madanic and his son were able to illegally cross the border separating Russia and Austria by bribing a guide. Though the two encountered little trouble in exiting Russia, it was necessary for them to swim a stream at the border. The elder Madanic later recalled that it was so cold that young Ben slept with the guide's dog that night for warmth.

Though it would be impossible to trace the exact route of the Madanics' journey across Europe, it is probable that their first stop was at Brody, a little town on the Austrian-Russian border which had become a center of Jewish emigration during the decade of the 1880s.[8] Thousands of Jewish emigrants from Russia streamed into this small border town seeking assistance and passage to a new home. From there, many of these immigrants traveled by train to a north German port where they secured passage on some ship bound for New York City. Though it is uncertain from what port the two departed, passage was secured in the steerage of a ship, and they were off for America.

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[7] Interview, Milton May, Oklahoma City, March 28, 1974.

[8] Yehoshwa A. Gilboa, *Black Years of Soviet Jewry* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1971), p. 24.

Hyman and Ben Madansky, along with the other members of the family after being reunited in America

The scene at Ellis Island, the landing place for immigrants, must have been one of confusion when the Madanics arrived in New York. Hundreds of people disembarked daily, speaking various languages and representing many different cultures. It was at Ellis Island that the original name of Madanic was changed to Madansky. When the elder Madanic registered at Ellis Island he had written "Madansky" because so many other immigrants had added the suffix "sky" to their name. The original name "Madanic" had represented the area in which the family had originated, Madan being the name of a river located on the Russian frontier in Persia, and the suffix "ic" meaning "from." But the experience at Ellis Island changed that, and from 1889 until 1921, the family was known as Madansky.

The two new immigrants settled in St. Louis, Missouri, where, surrounded by different customs and a foreign language, they sought out the Jewish community where they might feel more at home. At this time, the city had a Jewish population of approximately 4,000 members, and by 1900 an equal number of new Russian immigrants would be added to its popula-

tion.[9] After renting a flat, they began the search for a job. Their first opportunity came in the clothing industry, and it was this initial contact that would determine their future. Tailoring was as foreign to Hyman and Ben Madansky as the new country itself, but they soon showed themselves to be quite adept at the trade. Both father and son went to work for Schwab and Company, clothing manufacturers in St. Louis.

The type of industry in which the two labored carried the infamous label "sweatshop system" and was one of the social evils of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the garment trade, a manufacturer usually had an inside shop where all the cutting was done; then these pre-cut articles were distributed in bundles to piece workers who finished them in their homes. At the end of the day, the completed work was returned to the manufacturer, at which time the employee received payment for his work. Thus, the worker's apartment became a small factory. The victims of this system were usually immigrants, and though there were members of almost all the immigrant groups involved in this sweat-shop system, by 1890 the Jews had come to dominate the clothing industry. The system usually meant hard work and low wages carried out in unsatisfactory living conditions.[10]

With sewing machine, ironing board and a large heavy iron, Madansky and his son opened their new business. The father pressed the clothes with the iron, and his son then sewed the material together. Oftentimes they would also set up tables and stalls on the street where they would sell socks, shirts and various other clothing items purchased wholesale from the manufacturer. It was not the most enviable occupation; Hyman Madansky did not like the new country, often complained about the harshness of his work and lamented the fact that his wife and children were still in Russia. But the young and enthusiastic Ben Madansky would not even consider returning to Russia.

Through hard work and exceptional frugality, the two tailors were able to save enough to afford passage for the rest of the family to come to America. In the four-year interval since their departure, the Russian government had relaxed emigration regulations, and the remainder of the family experienced no problems in leaving. In fact, they were even able to bring some of their silver with them. Thus, in 1893, the wife and children of Hyman Madansky arrived in St. Louis, and it was here that the last two Madansky children, Jake and Sarah, were born.

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[9] United States Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900* (3 vols., Washington: U.S. Census Office, 1902), Vol. I, *Population*, p. 647.

[10] T. S. Adams and H. L. Sumner, *Labor Problems* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1905), pp. 113–138.

But perhaps the most significant event in the life of this family in St. Louis was Ben Madansky's marriage to Mary Somavich. She was also a Russian immigrant who had come to live with her sister in St. Louis when she was only thirteen. Ben Madansky's first encounter with his future bride occurred when he saw her picture in a photographer's window. Thinking her to be a very attractive young lady, he mentioned this to a friend who knew Mary, and the two began a courtship which resulted in marriage.

It was through his new bride that Ben Madansky got his start in the retail clothing business. Her sister was married to John Elman, who had opened a number of stores in Missouri and Illinois, and he offered his brother-in-law a position managing these small retail clothing stores. The operation was set up in such a way that the proprietors would take in a stock of merchandise, sell it and then move to another town. It was just such a venture that brought Ben Madansky to Omaha, Nebraska, where his first son, Sol, was born on June 19, 1896. Now a family man with new responsibilites, he decided to open his own clothing store.

He chose Fairfield, Illinois, a small farming community of about 3,000 people, as the site of his first venture. Purchasing a small "racket" store, or "five and dime," he quickly converted it into a men's clothing shop and christened it "The Grand Leader" after a large St. Louis department store. Many small-town businesses borrowed the more famous names of large retail operations in those days even though there was no direct connection.

The rest of the family joined Ben Madansky in Fairfield, and the operation soon became a family enterprise that prospered moderately. The family lived in a large two-story home located one block from the schoolhouse. There was a large barn situated behind the house and a corral where the horses were kept. The summer meant picnics, horse and buggy rides and, that favorite American pastime, baseball. The Madanskys had become "Americanized" very rapidly. They placed a tremendous value upon education and had rapidly learned not only the English language, but the American customs as well.

With the Fairfield store prospering, the family established two new stores at Granite City and Madison, Illinois. Paul Madansky remained in Fairfield, while Hyman Madansky and sons Max and Harry opened a store in Granite City in 1904, and Ben opened the store in Madison. Though the Madison store was very small, it was run very efficiently by the eldest of the five brothers. Also, while in Illinois, two more sons, Sam and Milton, were born to Ben.

Though the Madanskys were moderately successful in their Illinois businesses, certain events in 1908 prompted their decision to sell and move to a new state, Oklahoma. The brothers had first heard of the place from a

The original Madansky clothing store in Fairfield, Illinois—opened in 1896. Left to right Harry, Hyman and Ben Madansky

lawyer who occupied an office above the Fairfield store. After a trip to Tulsa, Oklahoma, to visit relatives, the attorney returned to Fairfield with enthusiastic tales about the oil boom and told the Madansky family that business would be great there. Not long afterwards, two other friends told them essentially the same story and encouraged the Madansky brothers to move to Oklahoma and take advantage of the tremendous growth the new state was experiencing. Thus, in the fall of 1908, Max and Harry Madansky left to explore the possibilities of establishing a new store in Tulsa.

Jewish families, though small in number, had already made a sizeable impact upon Oklahoma by the time the Madansky brothers arrived in Tulsa. The first Jewish settlers entered Oklahoma after the Civil War and were employed as suppliers and laborers on the first railroad constructed in the region. A number of Jews were responsible for building the Ardmore

station for the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, and a permanent Jewish congregation was established in that town in 1899. The opening of the Unassigned Land in 1889 brought an additional number of Jews into the area, and other congregations were established in Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Muskogee, Guthrie and Enid. By statehood in 1907, over 1,000 Jews had settled in Oklahoma, including some 145 immigrants newly arrived from Europe.

The brothers found the city to be just as exciting as their friends had predicted. Business was booming, and Tulsa, as well as the surrounding area, was experiencing remarkable growth. The reason for this excitement was oil. Tulsa's famed Glenn Pool, the fields around Bartlesville and other parts of Osage County and the oil discoveries in the Muskogee area presented abundant opportunities. In 1907, the Glenn Pool field alone produced over 43,000,000 barrels of oil. This type of "boom" activity saw Tulsa progress from a small Indian village of 1,300 people in 1890 to a progressive city of some 18,000 citizens 20 years later.[11] Because of this activity, the two brothers rented a store at 212 South Main and christened it the "Model Clothiers." This was the first of five stores opened by the Madansky family in the new state.

From the very beginning, the Tulsa store was successful, and it was decided that the family enterprises in Granite City, Madison and Fairfield should be sold. From these proceeds, the Madansky Clothing Company was incorporated on January 27, 1910, in Granite City, Illinois, with a capital outlay of $30,000. The 300 shares of stock, valued at $100 each, were issued among Hyman and his four eldest sons. Thus, with their accumulated $30,000 capital they came to Oklahoma.[12]

First impressions of Oklahoma were mixed. The youngest brother, Jake, was impressed with the area, especially the weather and the marvelous business activity which seemed to be thriving. Ben Madansky's youngest son, Milton, who was only six at the time, remembered the dirt streets and how the Indians dressed in their native costume frequented the town on Saturday. Saturday was always a big day for the Tulsa and Bartlesville communities, the day when everyone came to town. That meant business for the new store in Tulsa and another one which would soon be opened in Bartlesville.

Because of the success of the Tulsa store, the Bartlesville business was opened in the fall of 1910. Bartlesville was at that time a city of about 6,000 people, but the bustling oil activity and boom atmosphere meant that

[11] C. B. Glasscock, *Then Came Oil* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1938), pp. 165–166.

[12] From the Original Incorporation Records of the Madansky Brothers Clothiers.

nearly two-thirds of the population were men, an ideal situation for a men's clothing company. The store was begun on the original site of one of Bartlesville's oldest hotels, the Rite-Way. It had been moved to a different location because William Johnstone, one of the founding fathers of Bartlesville, had planned the construction of a new building on the site. The Madansky brothers were having difficulty acquiring a suitable location in the community, when it was recommended that they inquire about the new Johnstone Building. Finding the owner, the Madansky brothers closed the deal, and the Madansky Clothing Company of Bartlesville was formed.[13] A number of other clothing stores, including the Master's Clothing Store, the Unger Clothing Company and the C and S Totters Haberdasher Shop were already doing business in the Bartlesville community; nonetheless, the Madansky's venture proved to be rewarding.[14] The success of the Madansky family is shown by the simple fact that the Bartlesville store has been in operation for sixty-four years, and is the state's oldest men's clothing retail establishment still doing business in the same location and under the same family ownership.

The secret for much of this success can be partially understood by examining the excellent business climate present in the Bartlesville community, but it must also be attributed to the innovative nature of the Madansky brothers. The store was established by Ben Madansky with the slogan "the customer is always right" and by inaugurating a "one price system." During the early part of the twentieth century, business activity was conducted in an atmosphere of bargaining and haggling over the price. The concept of one established price for an item was relatively new, but one which was to prove successful for the Madanskys.

Though Ben Madansky opened and established the Bartlesville store, it was the youngest of the five brothers, Jake Madansky, who became its manager. He was only seventeen when the Bartlesville store opened, and before becoming actively involved in its management, he had attended the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania. When World War I broke out, he enlisted and became the first member of the Madansky family to serve the nation in a military capacity. Rising from the rank of corporal to second lieutenant in the quartermaster corps, Jake Madansky served for some time in France before coming home. Upon his return, he assumed the position of manager of the Bartlesville store.[15]

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[13] Interview, Jake May, Bartlesville, Oklahoma, April 2, 1974.

[14] Mike May, "The May Family," unpublished manuscript, p. 3.

[15] John D. Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma* (4 vols., Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1922), Vol. III, pp. 310–311.

The Tulsa store proved to be successful during the period just prior to World War I and continued to be the basis of the Madansky brothers' assets. These were good times for the family and, by 1913, two stores were carried on under the Madansky brothers' name. Continued success prompted the Madansky brothers' expansion to Oklahoma City in 1916. Upon arriving in Oklahoma City, Ben Madansky leased a building at 225 West Main that had formerly housed the Scott Drug Store. Though it was an old building in need of repairs, it offered the perfect setting for a retail clothing store. It had a fifty foot frontage on the street and ran all the way back to the alley; though it did not have a basement, it had a second floor which could be used. The secured lease was for fifteen years. The first ten years' rent was paid in the amount of $10,000, and the last five years' rent was placed at $15,000. This price reflected the highest rental paid on Main Street property in Oklahoma City up until this time.

The bustling business activity which characterized the early years of statehood had been generous to the Madansky family. Within eight years they had opened stores in Tulsa, Bartlesville and Oklahoma City. This continued success led to the purchase of the New Phoenix Clothing Store of Muskogee, Oklahoma, in 1922. Paul Madansky, who was at that time in Oklahoma City, moved to Muskogee and became manager of the store. Becoming a successful businessman, he also was one of the civic leaders in the Muskogee community, serving as president of the Kiwanis Club, president of the Oklahoma Retail Clothier's Association and director of many fund-raising drives for charities. The Muskogee store was maintained under his leadership for thirty-three years until his retirement in 1955, when he returned to Oklahoma City, where he lived until his death in 1960.[16]

As the Madansky brothers moved into a new decade of prosperity in the 1920s, they had already become prominent as one of the major men's clothiers in Oklahoma. Of the many developments which affected the family during this period, none was more significant than the changing of its name. On March 9, 1921, the Madansky brothers became simply the May brothers. The name was changed because of an embarrassing experience involving Ben Madansky, who had taken a trip to Mexico with a group from the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce to investigate the possibility of buying land for the purpose of growing citrus fruit. Upon returning from Mexico, Ben Madansky, the only one of the entire group, was stopped, questioned concerning his foreign name and forced to show proof that he was an American citizen. This experience came at a time of intense nativism in the United States. The years 1919 and 1920 had witnessed the so called

[16] Interview, Milton May, April 11, 1974.

Grand opening of the Madansky Brothers Clothing Store in Bartlesville—February, 1910. Left to right Ralph Taylor with Ben and Paul Madansky

"Red Scare," a fear of radical or alien influence within America which was an outgrowth of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. The early 1920s also saw the height of the Ku Klux Klan, whose action was not only directed against the blacks, but Catholics, Jews and other immigrant groups. This embarrassing episode convinced Ben Madansky to change his name when he returned to Oklahoma, and as the family leader, he persuaded his brothers to take this step of "Americanizing" their name. In a full-page advertisement published in the *Daily Oklahoman*, the Madansky brothers explained to the public the reasons for the change. They wished:[17]

> to prove ourselves wholly American in every sense of the word . . . There has never been a time since we first came to the United States—more than thirty years ago—that we have not been Americans in heart and deed.

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[17] *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), March 27, 1921.

As prosperity continued throughout the decade of the 1920s, the original May Brothers' store in Tulsa, the state's first fifty-foot-front men's retail business, had steadily enlarged its assets. This growth of the Tulsa store prompted Max May to undertake the construction of a new building, five stories in height. Anticipating the continued growth of Tulsa, he foresaw the necessity for a larger establishment to cater to the increased patronage of their business. What Max May did not anticipate was the stock market crash of 1929 and the "Great Depression" which followed shortly thereafter. Ben May, essentially a conservative, warned against the expansion, but the venture was nevertheless undertaken at considerable cost to the firm. Built in the Spanish style, it was considered the most modern retail clothing store in the state. With the onset of the depression, however, the Tulsa store, having incurred heavy construction costs, was unable to adjust and was forced to close in 1934. The May brothers suffered one of the few financial setbacks of their business career. This business failure, though serious enough in itself, was eclipsed by the tragedy which followed. Max May, despondent over the loss of the business and keenly sensitive to the responsibility he bore for the family, chose to take his own life.[18] Upon closing the Tulsa store, Harry May moved to San Antonio, Texas, where his son, Dr. Lester May, had established a medical practice. Here he spent the remainder of his life in retirement.

The depression years were further darkened when Hyman May, the patriarch and pioneer immigrant, died in 1932. But the other businesses in Bartlesville, Oklahoma City and Muskogee were able to adjust to the hard times, though the family's net assets plummeted. Milton May recalls how underwear was sold at twelve pairs for $1.00, men's socks at eighteen pairs for $1.00, shirts at $1.00 each and suits for $15.00.[19] But the businesses survived the economic storm, and during World War II and the postwar era they were able to regain their financial position.

In 1932, during the height of the depression, the Oklahoma City store changed its location. The original lease of 1916 expired during that year, and the landlord attempted to double the amount of the rent. Locations were scarce and all the rents were high, but Ben May refused to abandon the family business. With no place to go, the May Brothers Clothing Store in Oklahoma City closed until they could find a new location. It was at that time that the First National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City, located on the corner of Robinson and Main streets in the American National Building, announced its plans to move to a new site. Ben May made

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[18] Interview, Milton May, April 12, 1974.
[19] *Ibid.*

arrangements with the bank and leased its old building. It was this site that served as the location of the May Brothers' store from 1932 until 1970.[20]

In 1945, Ben May moved to share the management of the business with his three sons, Sol, Sam and Milton. Having graduated from the University of Illinois with a degree in journalism at the age of twenty-four, Milton May decided to follow the family interests in the clothing business. After buying out the interests of his two brothers, he emerged as the ultimate owner of the Oklahoma City operation. Under his guidance, May Brothers' continued to grow and, in 1955, when Oklahoma City opened its first shopping center at Penn Square, May Brothers opened a branch at this location. The two Oklahoma City stores continued to play an active role in the Oklahoma City business community until the retirement of Milton May in 1970.[21]

This left only the Bartlesville store, and it has continued to be an important part of the mercantile business of that city to the present time. In continuous operation for sixty-four years, the Bartlesville shop is the state's oldest men's clothing retail establishment still doing business in the original location under the same family ownership. The contribution that the May family and other Jewish immigrants have made to the growth of the state was recently recognized by the Washington County Historical Society which marked the Bartlesville store as an historic site.

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.*, March 28, 1974.

POPULATION STATISTICS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY INDIAN TERRITORY

*By Michael F. Doran**

The historical geography of Oklahoma has remained virtually untouched by students of American society. Leslie Hewes appears to have been the only academic geographer to offer publications in this area of study; of geographers resident in Oklahoma, only John Morris has contributed toward the understanding of the spatial context of Oklahoma's history, through an historical atlas.[1] This has been the source of some difficulty to those attempting to incorporate Oklahoma into the human patterns visible within the United States. For example Terry G. Jordan side-stepped the question of where Oklahoma stood in his map of the Upper and Lower South in the nineteenth century by simply leaving the region as a "terra incognita," because no base-line research had been done.[2] In Wilber Zelinsky's recent essay on the cultural geography of the United States, Oklahoma was only mentioned in passing as a "still indistinct subregion" of unclear characteristics which could only be defined through future detailed field work.[3] Even Ralph H. Brown's classic study of the historical geography of North America devoted only two pages to Oklahoma, then skipped on to less difficult matters.[4] The position of Oklahoma in the human geography of the United States has thus far been enigmatic and subject to uneasy generalization.

A starting point toward easing this dilemma may be found in examination of population characteristics in Oklahoma before the twentieth century. An interpretation of historical population statistics is of great value for getting at the qualities of a place, especially in cases such as in the United

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1 Leslie Hewes, "The Historical Geography of the Cherokee Country of Oklahoma," Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1940; Leslie Hewes, "Cultural Fault Line in the Cherokee Country," *Economic Geography*, Vol. XIX (1942), pp. 136–142; Leslie Hewes, "Cherokee Occupancy in the Oklahoma Ozarks and Prairie Plains," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1944), pp. 324–337). John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965).

2 Terry G. Jordan, "The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South on Mid-Nineteenth Century Texas," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. LVII (1967), p. 668.

3 Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 114, 117, 124, 130.

4 Ralph H. Brown, *Historical Geography of the United States* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948), pp. 364–365.

States where the filling of the land was carried out very significantly by re-settlement from older, solidifying culture areas. But locating statistical data for Oklahoma has not been easy, primarily because until 1907 most of the state constituted the Federal government's "Indian Territory," which was outside the realm of most organized census work. Delving into what material is available quickly makes obvious that even a moderately complete demographic portrayal will never be possible, both due to few statistics having been gathered and because what was collected has now largely disappeared. Nevertheless, enough material is extant to permit an outline of the situation, and there are a few sources from which further work may yield a vivid impression of local populations resident in a few different times. As a result it is necessary to present a preliminary population description of Indian Territory over several decades. Hopefully this will lead to an end of the distasteful avoidance of Oklahoma in broad regional historical surveys and stimulate the helpful micro-demographic studies that will securely implant Oklahoma into the proper sociological perspective.

The great bulk of the statistical data available to students of early Oklahoma amounts to little more than rough estimates made by persons supposedly in a position to know what was happening at the time. These were usually the agents assigned to the Five Civilized Tribes which inhabited the region—the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole. Their figures appear in annual reports submitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, collected as reference addenda after his regular missives to the United States Congress. The agents naturally varied considerably in competence and honesty, ranging from those who rarely strayed away from the annuity disbursement depots to those who ruined their health in the field working for the Indians. Consequently their estimates, especially of tribal populations, varied according to how much they really knew, what they hoped for and what they wanted their superiors to think. Sometimes for years at a time the agents would merely quote an earlier figure, giving an entirely false impression of aboriginal population stability. At times it is possible to perceive a substantial variance between population figures vouched for by the agents and those gleaned from other sources. For example, the Commissioner's *Report* for 1844 confidently stated that the Cherokees numbered 25,911 and the Creeks 24,594.[5] But in the following year, Josiah Gregg footnoted his quote of these figures with the remark that:[6]

[5] United States Department of Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1844* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1845), p. 19.

[6] Josiah Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies, or, The Journal of a Santa Fe trader, 1831–1839," in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. (32 vols., Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1905), Vol. XX, p. 317.

> many of the foregoing amounts, however, have been standing numbers in the tables of the reports of the Indian Department, ever since the removal of the tribes, and as it is known that most of them have been on the decline, the above aggregate is no doubt excessive.

According to Gregg, who had lately travelled in Indian Territory, local observers he had spoken with believed that more reasonable estimates of the two tribes' populations were 18,000 and 20,000 respectively. As all the Indian groups had suffered terribly from disease after arrival, these estimates are probably much more correct. As they are in turn sixty-nine percent and eighty-one percent of the official estimate, this example emphasizes the caution needed in reviewing the agency calculations of Indian population.

It is fortunate that better data is available from time to time. In order to facilitate the dispensation of federal annuities guaranteed the Indians in their treaties of removal, payrolls were made at the times of payment. These amounted essentially to census enumerations of the tribal populations. Most of these have disappeared, but occasionally they were quoted in the annual Commissioner's *Report*; a few, such as the Drennen Role of Cherokees made in 1852 are preserved and available for study. Other enumerations of the tribes were made at various times as regularized census tabulations, directed either by the Census Office or by the Five Civilized Tribes themselves. Previous to statehood in 1907, the Census Office made only one full-scale enumeration attempt in Indian Territory, which was published in 1894 as a part of the general demographic survey of all Indian tribes within the United States.[7] The special census taken in 1907 was the first in which regular counts of the Indians were made, and it was later carried out as part of the decennial census tabulations.[8] Each of the Five Civilized Tribes except the Seminoles made sporadic attempts to collect census data, but due to the confusion that accompanied the dissolution of tribal governments at statehood most of the valuable source material was lost or destroyed. The patient efforts of the archival staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society have been rewarded with some success in gathering various census fragments together under the protection of its Indian Archives. The Archives has a summary of the Choctaw National Census of 1867; county level manuscript schedules for that date and some later censuses; a printed summary of the Cherokee National Census of 1880; a fairly complete set of hand-copied census schedules of districts counted in the Cherokee National Census of

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[7] Census Office, *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (Except Alaska) at the Eleventh Census, 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894).

[8] Bureau of the Census, *Population of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, 1907* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907).

1890; and manuscript fragments of the Chickasaw National Census of 1890. These sources are invaluable as an aid in comprehending the character of the native populations resident in Indian Territory after the Civil War, and emphasize the enormous loss suffered with the disappearance of the other census data. For example, the Cherokee Nation alone ordered censuses in 1866, 1870 and 1876 in addition to those that are still available.[9]

Detailed statistical information on the white and black populations resident in Indian Territory is even scantier than for the Indians themselves. A few references are found in the ante-bellum agency reports on the number of workers and intruders, but it was only in 1860 that non-citizens in the territory were formally counted. This enumeration was evidently made as the result of a Census Office bureaucratic error, and it was the only one of its kind until non-citizens were included in the Indian Census of 1890. The results of the 1860 enumeration were published only as a brief part of the introductory remarks prefacing the *Eighth Census*.[10] After the Civil War, as whites began to pour into the territory, the agency reports began to mention the phenomenon and attempted to estimate its size. Up to the time of the federal enumerations, this is the only handy source available for the "intruder class," and unfortunately no distinction is made according to race or location of concentration. Of the Five Civilized Tribes, only the Cherokees attempted to make a systematized count of the intruder class, which they included in their censuses of 1880 and 1890.

This is all the information that remains concerning the populations of Indian Territory in the nineteenth century. But while the data is quite fragmentary, there is enough to permit some analysis.

The history of forced Indian removal west of the Mississippi River, predominantly into lands within Indian Territory, has been the subject of extensive research.[11] In general, however, following the American Revolution there developed a philosophy in the United States favoring transplantation of the eastern tribes to new homes beyond the white settlements. The theory was that the vast reaches of the Louisiana Purchase could not conceivably be needed for white settlement for many decades, and relocating the Indians there would serve to open the East to civilized uses and

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[9] Cherokee Nation, *Cherokee-Census (Tahlequah) 1817, 1860s, 1870s*, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[10] Census Office, *Eighth Census of the United States. Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1860), p. xv.

[11] The interested reader should consult the following works: Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946); Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emmigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932).

simultaneously preserve the aboriginals from slaughter at the hands of the frontiersmen.[12] In 1830, this philosophy was formalized with the passage of the Indian Removal Act, which empowered the president to negotiate with the Indians in this regard. Within the next few years, all of present Oklahoma save the Panhandle had become the political domain of the Five Civilized Tribes. They had been given title there as "domestic Indian nations," and formed the first population group resident there with any degree of permanence.

TABLE I

Populations of the Five Civilized Tribes at Removal

	Eastern Group	*Western Group*	*Total*
Cherokee Nation	16,542	*3,500	20,042
Choctaw Nation	17,963	**1,000	18,963
Chickasaw Nation	5,224	-----	5,224
Creek Nation	21,762	*2,400	24,162
Seminole Nation	4,883	-----	4,883
	66,374	6,900	73,274

* Probably more. ** Approximate.

The enrollment figures for the Five Civilized Tribes are the most accurate indication available of their total populations at the time of removal. As each of the tribes was negotiated with as an individual political unit, their dates of mass removal and the simultaneous military count of each group are not precisely contemporaneous. Also, the irregular military opposition of the Seminoles made any census count futile, and all that can be is a rough generality. So far as determining what the tribal totals were, there is also the problem that elements of the Cherokee, Choctaw and Creek nations had already moved west before the 1830s, and only an approximation of their numbers can be offered. It is difficult to prepare population statistics for the tribes just before they were subjected to the rigors of extended travel and the debilitation of disease. The figures indicate that the Creeks were substantially the most numerous of the five tribes with more than 24,000 citizens, while the Cherokees and Choctaws followed with about 20,000 each. The Chickasaws and Seminoles were much less numerous than the three large tribes, with only about 5,000 citizens each. Of the more than 73,000 Indians who comprised the five tribes, about 1/11 had already crossed the Mississippi River before the final treaties of removal were negotiated.

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[12] Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: the Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790–1803* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), pp. 213–249.

It should be noted that this early nineteenth century total was a considerably smaller number than that estimated for the southern Indians as a whole in the preceding century. By the decades of removal, most of the minor tribal groups had amalgamated with the Five Civilized Tribes, especially the Creeks, and 73,000 is probably not too far removed from being the entire aboriginal population of the South at the time. However, James Mooney calculated that in the eighteenth century there had been more than 120,000 Indians west of the Southern colonial frontier.[13] This drastic decline was occasioned mainly by the introduction of European diseases, which would continue to deplete the Five Civilized Tribes after resettlement in Indian Territory.

The rigors of western travel in the early nineteenth century were formidable even for well-equipped men on horseback. These were multiplied for the emigrating Indians, who were forced from their homes often with little more than the clothes they wore, and who had to travel in all seasons of the year with inferior provisions and conveyances. Mortality on the trip west can be accepted as outrageously high, although little detail is available.[14] The few secondary sources from the nineteenth century that attempted to calculate the number that died on the road were all authored by apologists for the suffering Indians, who tended to exaggerate grossly both the number of Indians removed and the percentage that never reached Indian Territory.[15] According to information taken from sources on the Five Civilized Tribes soon after their arrival, it would seem that the great majority managed to reach their new homelands. However, soon afterward they were swept by a series of epidemic diseases, and it was then that a tremendous number died.

The massive concentrations of Indians at the supply depots where they were placed on first arrival set up an ideal environment for the diseases contracted on the road. Probably less than 300 Creeks died in transit, but of the 10,000 or more who were resettled in 1836–1837, Thomas J. Farnham learned in 1839 that an incredible 3,500, in addition to 300 of the earlier arrivals, had died of "bilious fevers"![16] This amazing figure was verified soon afterward by a careful Army investigator, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, on the basis of enumerations he had supervised before and after the tribe's

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[13] James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. LXXX, No. 7 (1928), pp. 8–9.

[14] The data available has been collected in Foreman's *Indian Removal.*

[15] H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas: Headlight Printing House, 1899), p. 42.

[16] Thomas J. Farnham, "Travels in the Great Western Prairies," in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, Thwaites, ed., Vol. XXVIII, p. 128.

removal.[17] No estimates are available for the Cherokee death rate, but the Commissioner's *Report* in 1837 noted that they began dying in great numbers soon after arrival, for they had no doctors or medicine to combat disease.[18] Hitchcock learned that many died of simple starvation in both the Cherokee and Creek nations, because of blatant corruption among the agents at the supply depots.[19] The Choctaws were heavily attacked by malaria, with hundreds dying along the Red River and in their Arkansas encampments.[20] The exact number of deaths from this cause and from starvation are unknown, but were without doubt large. For example when the Chickasaws arrived to settle among the Choctaws, they brought small pox, which carried off 500 members of both tribes. Of the Five Civilized Tribes, only the Seminoles seem not to have suffered in extremity from pestilences, although they were sickly at first.[21] However, they had already been much reduced because of the terrible war of attrition that had been required to force them to remove.

TABLE II

Population Decline of the Five Civilized Tribes to 1860

	Approximate Population at Removal	*Approximate Population in 1860*	*Population Decline*	*Percent Decline*
Cherokee Nation	20,042	13,821	6,221	31
Choctaw Nation	18,963	13,666	5,297	27
Chickasaw Nation	5,224	4,260	964	18
Creek Nation	24,162	13,550	10,612	43
Seminole Nation	4,883	2,253	2,630	53
	73,274	47,550	25,724	35

The extent to which the Five Civilized Tribes declined following removal is obvious. Each continued to diminish through the twentieth century except for the Cherokees, where considerable white intermarriage and adoption was encouraged. But relative stability had been achieved by the 1850s, following the drastic reductions of the 1830s and 1840s. The Creeks and

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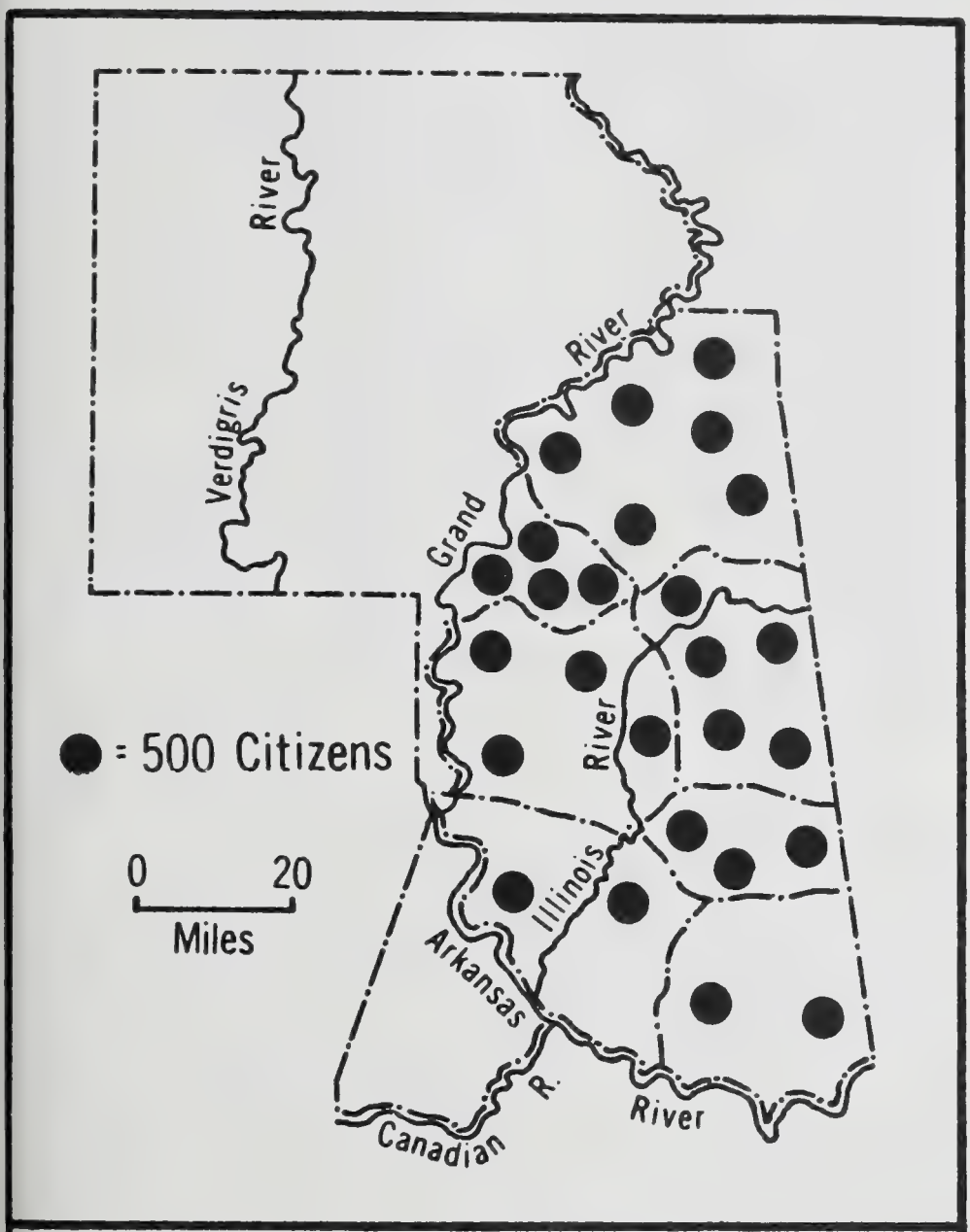
[17] Ethan Allen Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, Grant Foreman, ed. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1930), p. 120.

[18] United States Department of Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1837* (Washington: Longtree and O'Sullivan, 1837), p. 541.

[19] Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, Foreman, ed., p. 89.

[20] Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians*, p. 94; Grant Foreman, ed., *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 34.

[21] United States Department of the Interior, *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report for the Year 1842* (Washington: Alexander and Barnards, 1842), p. 76.



CITIZEN POPULATION OF THE CHEROKEE NATION, 1852

Seminoles suffered the greatest losses, with close to half their populations dying. Each of the remaining tribes were seriously injured also, if not to the same degree. The average decline by the 1850s amounted to roughly one-third of all Indian citizens! A price of more than 25,000 human lives was paid to free the South for the planters and farmers pressing west along the Piedmont, seeming to belie the expressed altruistic motivations of the pro-removalists.

When the Five Civilized Tribes arrived in Indian Territory, they tended to focus their settlements in the eastern districts. Although almost all of the present state of Oklahoma had been granted them in return for their holdings given up east of the Mississippi River, they did not advance too far into their new country. Being agriculturally inclined, they tended to favor establishment in the wooded valleys of the humid east where conditions were similar to those they had known formerly. Here also there was less chance of attack from the marauding, comparatively barbaric Indians of the Great Plains. They preferred open country, and in addition were inclined to avoid the outposts of the United States Army, of which there were several to the east. As a result, before the Civil War the western two-thirds of Oklahoma remained nearly empty. The eastern one-third was sparsely occupied for the most part, with concentration along the major river courses.

The most important fragment of ante-bellum statistical data that provides information on the pattern of occupance developed by any of the Five Civilized Tribes is the Drennen Payroll of 1852. Per capita annuity payments were made to each of the tribes for a number of years, but only this record remains intact. This payroll described the number of Cherokees receiving payments in 1852, and was helpfully noted in terms of the nation's eight political districts. As the Indians convened without fail to accept their money, the 13,821 citizens accepted as valid recipients give us a reasonably accurate idea of the size of the Cherokee citizenry at that date. The home districts of each were summarized by the payroll clerks, providing the means of drafting a dot map of the Cherokee population. It should be noted that there was also a substantial slave population and an enclave of white laborers and intermarried whites that were then resident but not indicated in the record.[22] In 1852, the Cherokees had become focused in the hills and valleys of the Ozark Plateau; they avoided the plains country west of the Grand River because of the unfamiliarity of the environment and because of the menace of the roving Plains Indians. This

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[22] United States Department of the Interior, *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report for the Year 1855* (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1855), p. 125.

pattern, once established, was maintained through much of the nineteenth century.

In 1860, the United States Census Office made a unique aberrant count of the white and black population of Indian Territory. However the actual publication of the results of this enumeration was limited to a few lines; and the utilization of this census material requires a hand count of the manuscript census schedules. These are available either at the National Archives, or in the form of microfilm copies.[23]

TABLE III

Population Resident in Indian Territory, 1860

	Indian Citizens	*Per-centage*	*Whites*	*Per-centage*	*Slaves*	*Per-centage*	*Total*
Cherokee Nation	13,821	81	716	4	2,511	15	17,048
Choctaw Nation	13,666	81	804	5	2,349	14	16,814
Chickasaw Nation	4,260	79	148	3	975	18	5,384
Creek Nation	13,550	86	596	4	1,532	10	15,678
Seminole Nation	2,630	71	35	–	1,000*	29	3,665
	47,927	82	2,299	4	8,376	14	58,594

* The Seminoles forbade any census of their Negro population in 1860. This figure is taken from the estimate of N. Sayer Harris, *Journal of a Tour in the 'Indian Territory'* (New York: Daniel Dana, 1844), p. 16.

The number of Indians resident in the Indian Territory in 1860 was not tabulated by the census enumerators, as they were not citizens of the United States in the ordinary sense. It is possible, however, to use the population decline of the Five Civilized Tribes prior to 1860 in association with the results of the hand count of white and black populations to gain some insight into the relative proportions of the three major racial groups in 1860. The non-citizen population of the territory amounted to almost one-fifth of the overall total, a percentage that seems surprisingly large at first. The explanation is found in the fact that after the American Revolution the Five Civilized Tribes began to acquire slaves as a function of acculturation and to allow small numbers of whites to reside among them as traders and employees. At the same time that the Indian population suffered a steep decline in the early nineteenth century, the number of aliens steadily increased, creating a substantial minority group by the Civil War.

Both the whites and the blacks exerted a continuing influence on the behavior of their hosts that was disproportionate to their numbers. One contemporary writer voiced a majority opinion when he wrote that it was

[23] Microfilm Publication Roll 11 and 12, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

the mixed-bloods, who were leading the move of the Indians toward civilization.[24] Another held that it was the example also of their slaves that was moving the Indians out of savagery.[25] The importance of these two groups in moulding the character of Indian Territory should not be overlooked.

TABLE IV

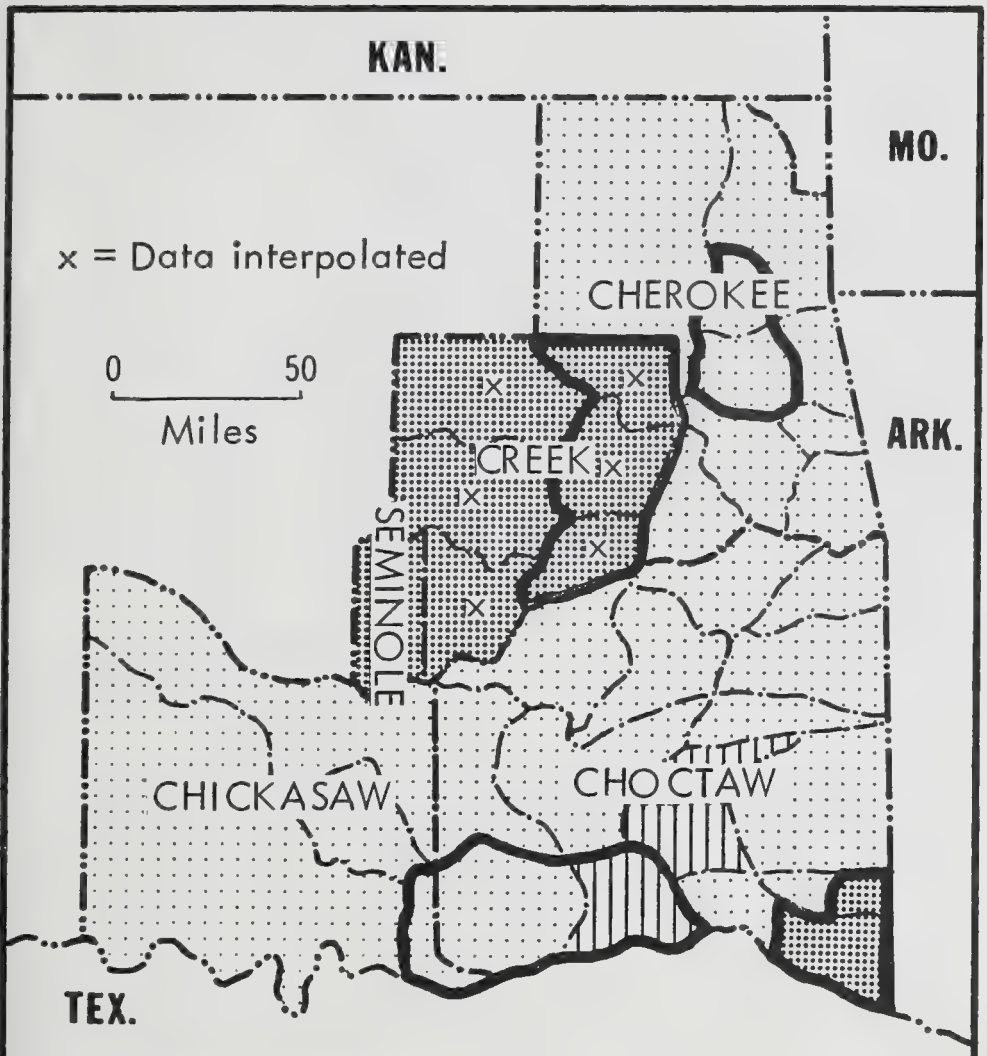
Origins of the White Population of Indian Territory, 1860

	Number	*Percent of Total*
Upper Southerners (Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee)	704	36
Lower Southerners (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi)	437	22
Eastern Southerners (Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina)	247	13
Texas	87	4
Northerners (New England)	303	16
Others born outside Indian Territory	167	9
	1,945	100
Whites born in Indian Territory	354	
	2,299	

The great majority of the whites were Southerners, and of these the largest group was that from the Upper South. Indian Territory was located directly astride two important thoroughfares along which thousands of persons moved toward Texas after the 1830s. The Texas Road cut across the Cherokee, Creek and Choctaw nations; the Military Road connecting Fort Smith, Arkansas, with Fort Towson, in Indian Territory, angled through the southeastern part of the Choctaw Nation. These were major arteries for the emigration of Upper Southerners into the Southwest. Some of these persons were permitted to linger in the territory as employees, and through this they achieved a dominant position in the alien white population. The other portions of the Southern population presumably were a part of the great Lower Southern thrust along the Arkansas and Red river valleys. The Northern contingent was largely of educators and divines sent to the Territory through missionizing organizations that recognized the Five Civilized Tribes as a fertile field for work and of merchants and

[24] Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, Foreman, ed., p. 185.

[25] United States Department of the Interior, *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report for the Year 1859* (Washington: George W. Bowman, 1860), p. 172.



ALIEN POPULATION OF INDIAN TERRITORY, 1860

professionals who had emigrated in order to garner wealth in a few years then return home. The acculturative influence of the missionaries was slight, as they were few in number, but mainly because "the direct operations of these men have been chiefly limited toward religion and literature."[26] Northerners as a whole had little impact on the Indians, compared to that of the Southerners. The main transfusion of culture probably came from those persons in the most common everyday association with the Indians, the laborers and intermarried persons of whom the Upper Southerners formed the majority. Upper Southerners were mostly independent small farmers who had few slaves and concentrated on the production of corn and wheat, with a supplement perhaps in tobacco and hemp. Lower Southerners might be either a part of the yeomanry which was similar to the average in the Upper South, or they might be inclined toward possession of slaves, plantation activity and production of sub-tropical cash crops such as cotton and tobacco. Where each group was present, they tend to serve as vectors in acculturation toward the system that had been the norm in their previous homes.

It is possible to get some idea of where each alien group had a dominating influence in the territory through mapping population origins. The 1860 census data was collected by local political units, except for the Creek Nation and the small Seminole Nation. The population of Indian Territory in 1860 represents the major alien population characteristics of Indian Territory according to the Eighth Census' manuscript schedules, is therefore partly the result of interpolation from other sources. The political boundaries as shown are those established immediately after the Civil War.

In 1860, Upper Southerners constituted the largest alien group in most of the districts of Indian Territory. There were three exceptions, the most striking being that of the Creek and Seminole nations. Here Lower Southerners were twice as numerous as any other group, though exactly why this occurred is uncertain. Many of these Southerners may have moved west in association with the final Creek departures from Alabama and Georgia in the late 1840s.[27] As these two states provided the largest contributions of white population to the Creek Nation, a connection is implicit. The concentration of Lower Southerners in the extreme southeastern part of the territory amounted to only thirty-nine persons and presumably represents a minor salient of migrants moving up the Red River from Shreveport,

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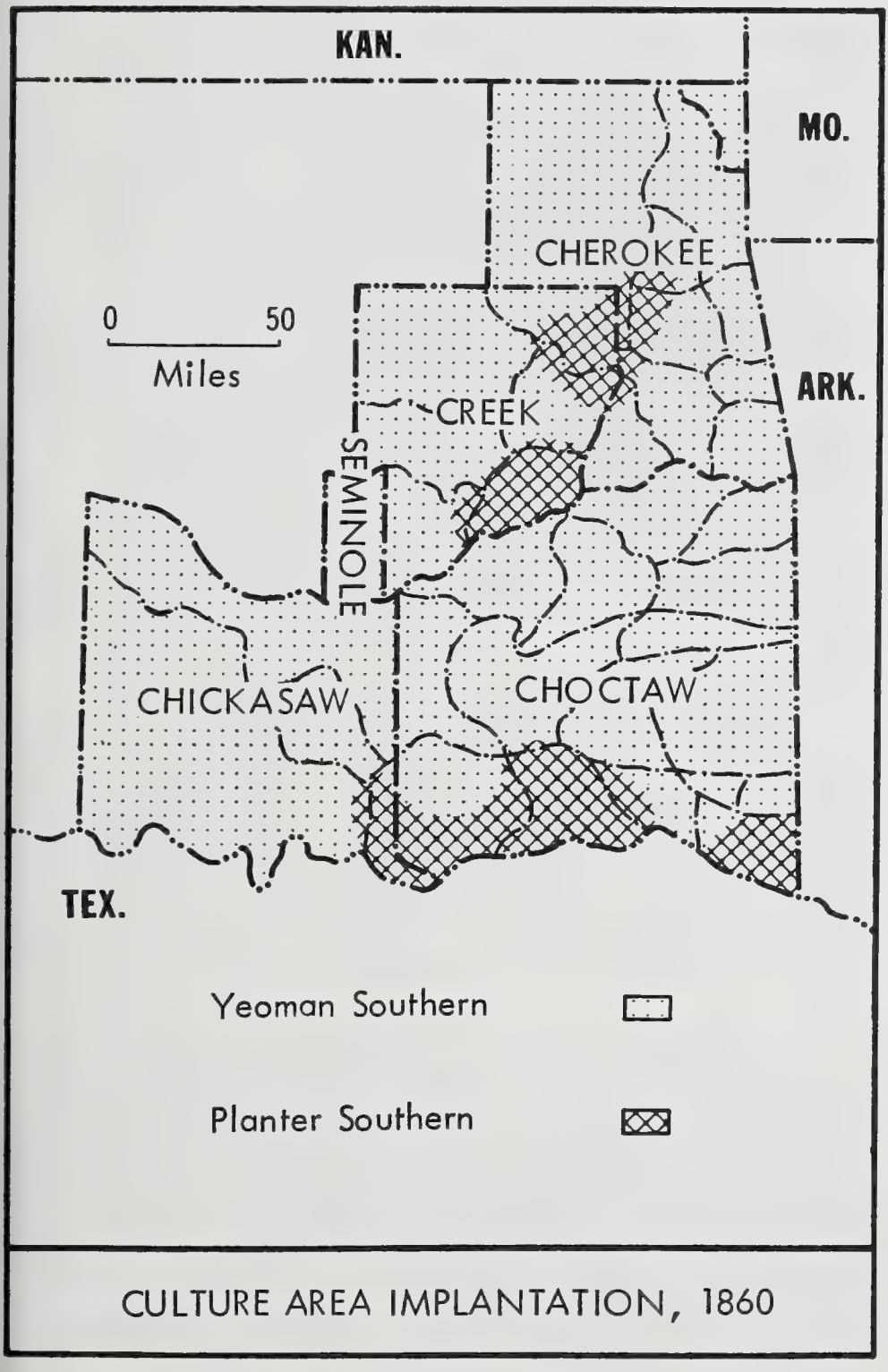
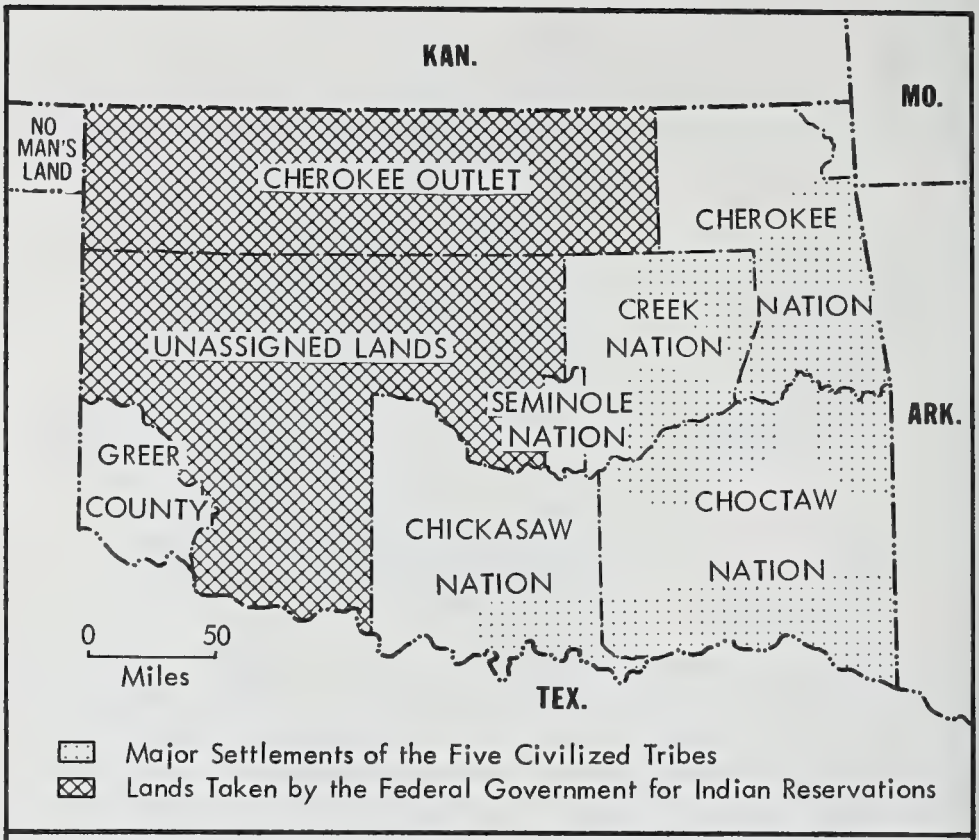
[26] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma. A History of the State and Its People* (4 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1929), Vol. I, p. 223.

[27] United States Department of the Interior, *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report for the years 1847* (no imprint), p. 880.



CULTURE AREA IMPLANTATION, 1860



INDIAN TERRITORY FOLLOWING THE CIVIL WAR

Louisiana. The two Choctaw counties showing a majority of Northerners were anomalous cases. The sixteen whites in the more northerly of the two were divines and their dependents who had located a mission in a poor and desolate part of the territory. The other county was a trading center which had attracted a small majority of merchants and professionals from the North.

The most important slave-holding regions were found in four places. Two concentrations of slaves were found along the Red River in locales where mixed-bloods and adopted whites were emulating the plantation South and were engaged in the commercial production, mainly of cotton. The blacks in the southern part of the Creek Nation were employed in cotton and some tobacco and dry-field rice agriculture. Further north such farming was more difficult, and attention was given more to large-scale corn and cattle production. In the Cherokee Nation, blacks were also important in the commercial production of salt.

From the population statistics in 1860, and through augmentation by means of other source material, it was possible to hypothesize the cultural-

economic regionalization prior to the Civil War. Although information is scanty, all indications are that most of the territory's whites and acculturating Indians tended to fall better into the class of the small farmer yeomanry type of Southerner than anything else. In four separate areas conditions were closer to those in the slave-owning, large-scale cash crop production Southern plantation regions.[28]

The commencement of active hostilities between the North and the South placed the residents of Indian Territory in a tenuous position. On the East and the South were the westernmost states of the Confederacy, on the North the loyal state of Kansas. It required little imagination to see that before long opposing armies would be crossing the territory, bringing destruction in their wake, and the Indians realized that they must choose the winning side if they were to maintain themselves. Unfortunately they were led by early Confederate victories in the West to side with the South, and with the defeat of the Confederacy the Five Civilized Tribes suffered the loss of their western lands. They had also suffered considerable injury during the war due to the raiding bands of both sides, with evacuation of population and annihilation of improvements most evident in the Creek and Cherokee nations. The Indians were subjected to similar trials of Reconstruction as was the South.

TABLE V

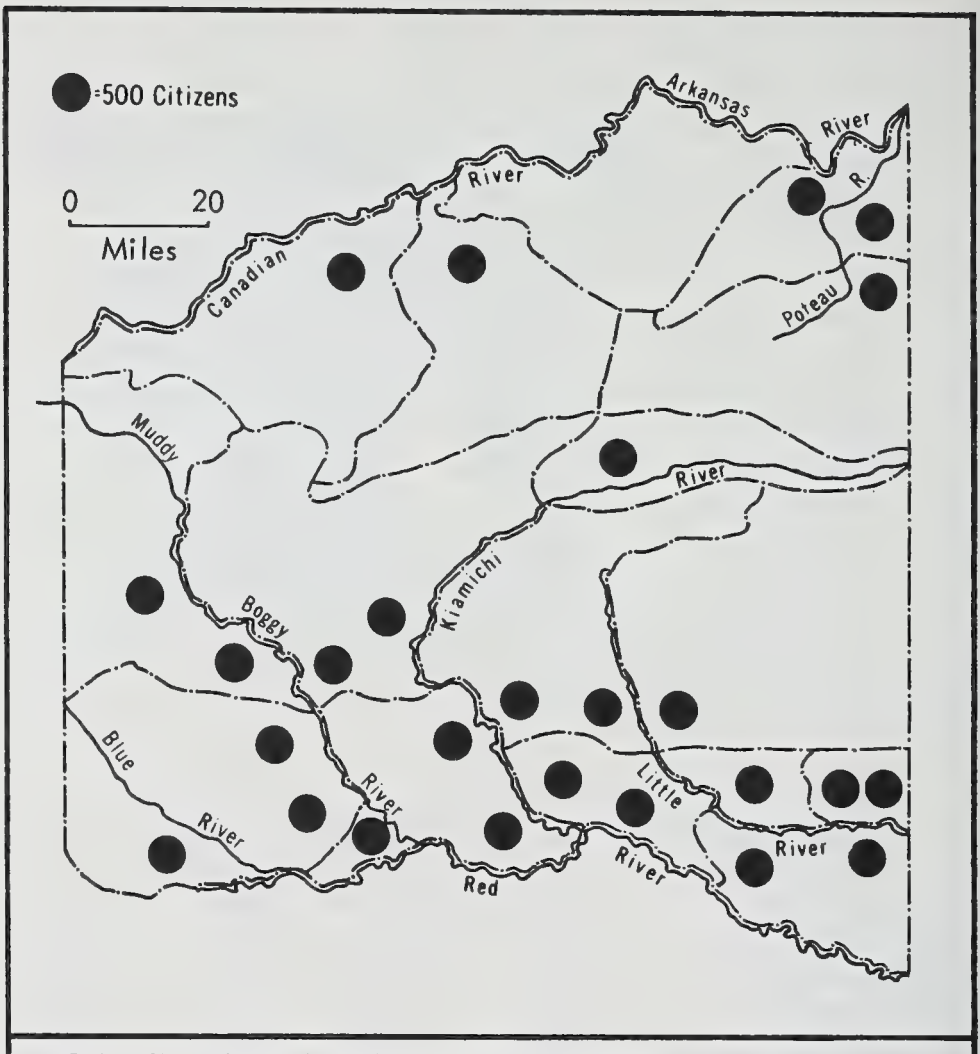
Citizen Population Change in Indian Territory, to 1890

	1867	*1876*	*1885*	*1890*
Cherokee Nation	13,566	18,672	23,000*	22,015
Choctaw Nation	12,500	16,000*	18,000*	11,057
Chickasaw Nation	4,500	5,800*	6,000*	5,223
Creek Nation	14,300	14,000	14,000*	9,999
Seminole Nation	2,000	2,553*	3,000*	1,761
	46,866	57,025	64,000	50,055

* Probably over-estimated.

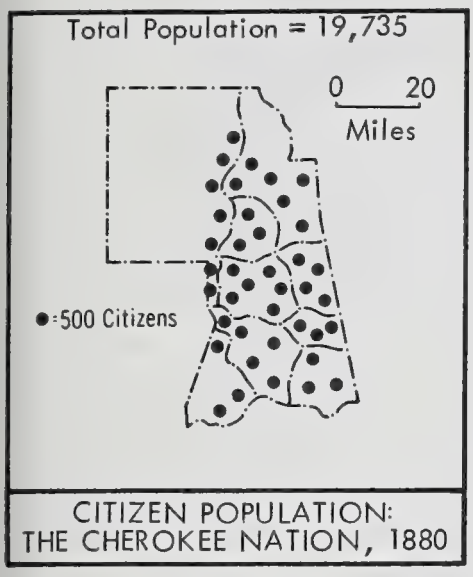
The United States made little effort to assemble accurate statistical data on Indian Territory until 1890, leaving a virtual dearth of reliable and precise information. Estimates of the territorial citizenry were made regularly by the Indian Office and showed a steady decline in each of the nations save the Cherokee and Chickasaw, where adoption and intermarriage with whites continued apace and where standards of education and living were higher. The total citizenry of the territory had increased by a

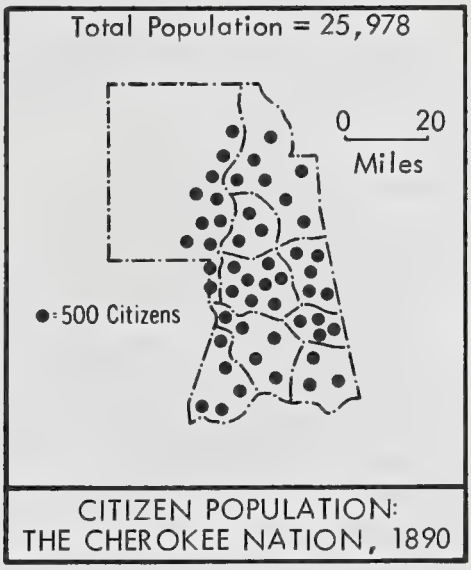
[28] Terry G. Jordan, "Population Origins in Texas, 1850," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. LIX (1969), p. 87.



CITIZEN POPULATION OF THE CHOCTAW NATION, 1867

little over 3,000 persons by the 1890s, mainly due to expansion of the Cherokee population. The Commissioner's *Reports* offer a rough guide to population change during this time if they are used with caution. The more sophisticated elements within the territory saw the lack of statistical data as a misfortune, for it was hard to plan for the future without having a reasonably accurate idea of the present. Various population and agricultural censuses were discussed by each tribal group, but few seem to have reached fruition, with even fewer surviving to the present. The tribal censuses that are in useable shape are: the Choctaw National Census of 1867; the Census of the Cherokee Nation, 1880; and the Census of the Cherokee Nation,





1890.[29] Fragments of other censuses are carefully filed with the Oklahoma Historical Society, but are of limited value.

The three Indian censuses are of great interest, as they form the best statistical data available to us on the actual total populations and local distributions of the two most important of the Five Civilized Tribes.[30] In 1867, the Choctaw summary of the census recorded native populations resident within fourteen of the sixteen counties extant at that time, totaling 13,161 persons. With interpolation based on fragments of later censuses, it was possible to construct a dot map of the citizen population as it was just after the Civil War. There was a decided concentration of population along the Red River, largely in the fertile alluvial areas. A few families were found in the interior, mainly groups that had moved up the Kiamichi and Muddy Boggy rivers away from the planting activities of the mixed-bloods. The only secondary focus of population of any significance was that in the northeast, in the drainage of the Poteau River. The settlement pattern exhibited by the map conforms to what is known about the initial dispersal of the Choctaws into their new land, during which they tended to emigrate mainly into the southern, richer part of their holding. Settlement in the northern portion was left almost exclusively to that faction of the tribe which formed a minority favoring retention of traditional ways. The tendency of all Choctaws was to seek out the better agricultural country and to avoid the rugged and inhospitable wilds of the Ouachita.

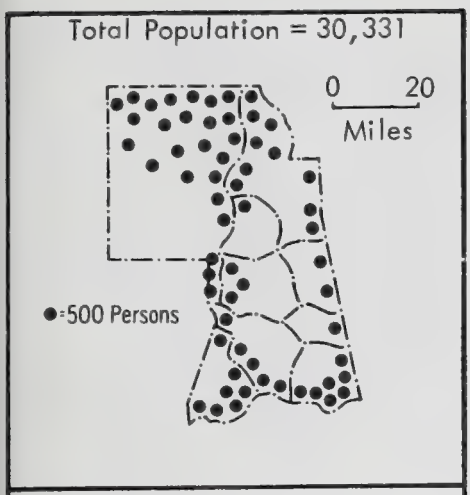
[29] A printed summary of this census is available in part from the Census Office.

[30] Agricultural statistics were also recorded with the population data, and await detailed analysis.

The two Cherokee census provide a picture of the population distribution found within the nation at two dates in the late nineteenth century. While the citizen population as a whole was increasing, the distribution of settlement tended to remain fixed roughly in the pattern seen in 1852, although by 1880 some families, most likely those of the adopted or intermarried whites, were locating west of the Grand River. After 1880 whites began to flood into Indian Territory in the rush that would eventually cause them to dominate through population majority, and later lead to incorporation of the Five Civilized Tribes' lands into the state of Oklahoma. The census of 1890 gives a clear indication of how the invasion of intruders was proceeding after a decade or more of increasing entrance. The citizen population remained roughly where it had been in 1880, although a substantial increase of population had occurred with greater settlement west of the Grand River. The striking thing about the population data available is how clearly it shows where the white invasion was concentrating. The more than 30,000 non-citizens were moving across the border from Kansas in the greatest numbers, but they were also advancing up the Arkansas River drainage in a second push of similar intensity. Squatters were found in all the districts of the Cherokee Nation, but there was a distinct tendency for Southerners to enter along the riverine lowlands, and for settlers used to the condition of the Great Plains to move directly south across the border of Kansas onto the very similar country west of the Ozark Plateau.

The Cherokee Nation presents the clearest example of how the mass American invasion was pushing into Indian Territory, but this must not obscure the fact that intrusion was found in each of the nations. Elsewhere than in the Cherokee Nation specifics of the invasion are more difficult to represent cartographically. Although the United States Census of 1890 did record both Indian and alien populations, the two were published as separate units only for the Cherokees. A new hand count by an interested researcher is no longer possible, as ninety percent of the manuscript schedules of the Eleventh Census were destroyed in an accidental fire. However, the published overall totals can be used with some success to get an idea of what was happening at the time.

By 1890, there could be no doubt that the status of Indian Territory as a final preserve for Indian tribes was quickly becoming archaic. At that date, the census recorded a native population of about 50,000, but an intruder population of more than 128,000. The citizen population of the Indian Territory now amounted to only less than thirty percent of the total people in the territory. The Indian nations fronting against the neighboring states were feeling the brunt of the invasion as might be



NON-CITIZEN POPULATION: THE CHEROKEE NATION, 1890

expected, with about ninety-three percent of the intruders recorded in the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw nations. The Chickasaw Nation held both the largest absolute number of aliens, with more than 50,000, and the greatest percentage number, with ninety-one percent of all recorded people being noncitizens. The Creek and Seminole nations had not yet become as important a target of immigration because of their protected internal positions but still had alien minorities of approximately forty percent each.

TABLE VI

Proportion of Indian Citizens to Aliens, 1890

	Indian Citizens	*Percentage*	*Aliens*	*Percentage*
Cherokee Nation	22,015	39	34,294	61
Choctaw Nation	11,057	25	32,751	75
Chickasaw Nation	5,223	9	52,106	91
Creek Nation	9,999	56	7,913	44
Seminole Nation	1,761	64	978	36
	50,055	28	128,042	72

As the Indian citizenry had by 1890 become a definite minority group, a dot map of the total population of Indian Territory at that time can be conceived as giving a rather good indication of the overall pattern of intrusion before the turn of the century. As has been shown, the Chickasaw Nation was bearing the heaviest force of invasion. This was predominantly into Pickens County, which abutted that part of Texas where an expanding population had created a land-poor situation and where recent drought had made many persons wish for new pastures. Another area receiving a considerable immigrant population was Cooweescoowee District of the Cherokee Nation, where settlers were moving in to take up land on the plains west of the Grand River. The third important focus of invasion was from Arkansas along the Arkansas River, then along the Canadian River west toward the Chickasaw Nation. The population of Indian Territory in 1890 gives a solid preliminary idea of the spatial extent of the invasion.

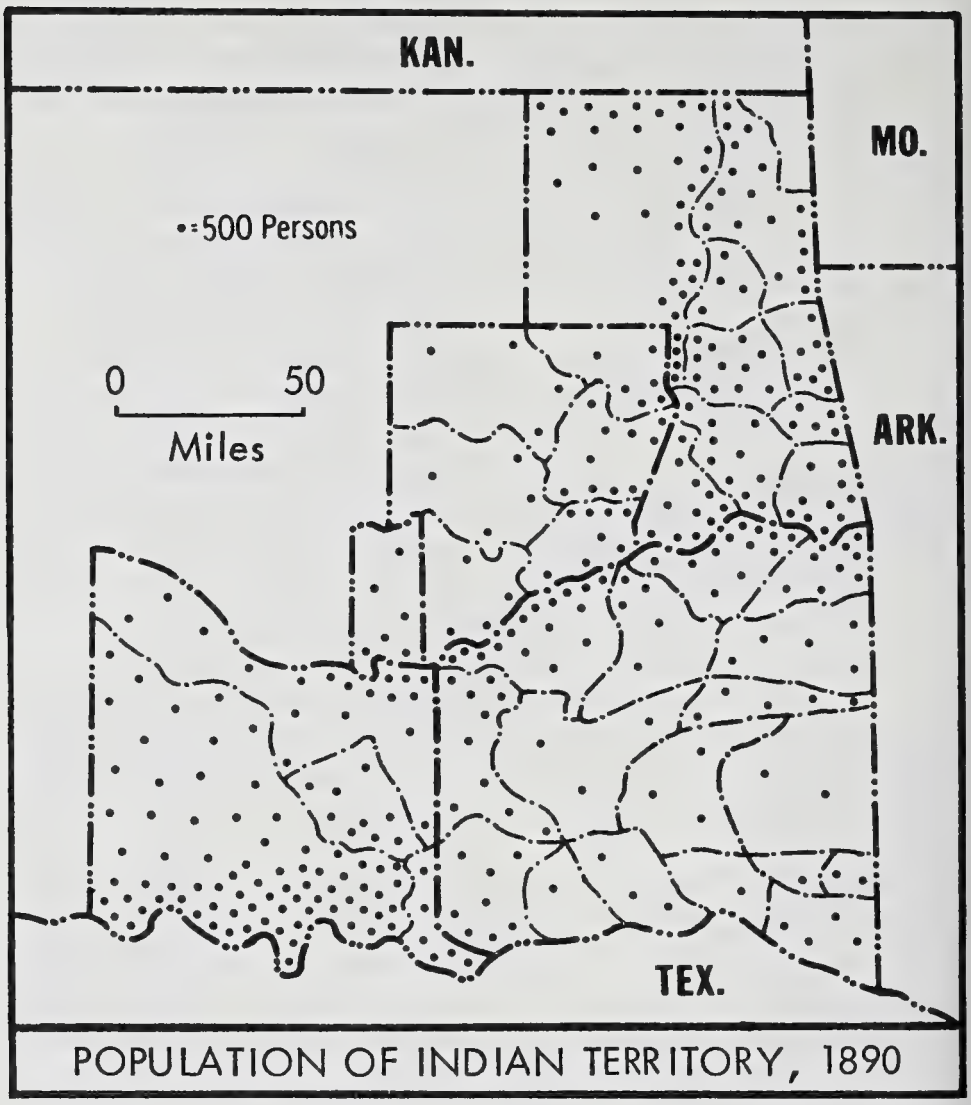


TABLE VII

Racial Character of Aliens in Oklahoma, to 1900

	*1890**	*Per-centage*	*1900***	*Per-centage*
Whites	109,393	85	649,814	91
Blacks	18,636	15	55,643	8
	128,029		705,457	

* Includes only the holdings of the Five Civilized Tribes.

** Includes all of Modern Oklahoma except the "Big Pasture," the Panhandle, the Osage, Ponca, Oto-Missouri and Wichita-Caddo reservations.

The Indian population within the borders of the Five Civilized Tribes' holdings has been shown to be substantially in the minority by 1890. By this date literally thousands of intruders were passing across the boundaries in a stampede that could no longer be restrained. These invaders formed the cultural building blocks of which would come the essential human characteristics of Oklahoma. The Oklahoma pioneers were dominantly Caucasian in their racial heritage, with whites forming eighty-five percent of the aliens enumerated in the Eleventh Census. By 1900, this had grown to ninety-one percent, and whites have retained roughly this advantage since that time. As a result an analysis of the origins of Oklahoma's white population in 1900 may serve as an indication of the cultural heritage of the state's people.

TABLE VIII

Origins of the White Population of Indian Territory, 1900

State of Birth	*Number*	*As a Percent of Whites not Born in I.T.*	*As a Percent of Total Whites in I.T.*
Northern			
Kansas	7,724	4	3
Illinois	8,124	4	3
Indiana	4,729	2	2
Iowa	2,356	1	1
Ohio	3,183	1	1
Pennsylvania	1,355	1	–
Lower Southern			
Alabama	8,851	4	3
Georgia	6,959	3	2
Louisiana	1,309	1	–
Mississippi	8,360	4	3
Upper Southern			
Arkansas	46,300	21	16
Kentucky	7,834	4	3
Missouri	31,052	14	11
North Carolina*	2,413	1	1
Tennessee	16,655	7	6
Virginia*	1,798	1	1
West Southern			
Texas	55,350	25	19
Oklahoma Territory	1,756	1	1
Indian Territory	65,522	–	23

*The yeoman immigrants of these two Eastern Southern states are included with the Upper South for simplicity's sake.

In 1900 the remnant holdings of the Five Civilized Tribes had become known as what was left of Indian Territory. Most of the remainder, in the west, had by that time been given up to homesteaders and was associated in the public and political realms with the name Oklahoma Territory. There were thus two separate census designations in 1900, helpfully giving separate impression of the eastern and western halves of the soon-to-be-created state of Oklahoma. There is little argument with the evidence that here Southerners were by far the most numerous group of white settlers in Indian Territory in 1900, for the Northern population amounted to only thirteen percent of the total invaders. Nearly one-half of the migrants had come from the yeoman-dominated Upper South, with Arkansas and Missouri alone contributing more than one-third. Texas gave most liberally, twenty-five percent of the total came largely from the northern Texas counties that had a generation before been colonized and imprinted from the Upper South.[31]

Oklahoma Territory was an entirely different case. Here much the largest group of pioneers were Northerners amounting to fifty-three percent of all emigrating whites. The Upper South made the next largest regional donation, yielding twenty-six percent of the whole body. Texas was again an important source, adding about ten percent to the yeomanry moving across the border. The Lower South's three percent representation was virtually insignificant. From these data it would appear therefore that western Oklahoma was the scene of a mixture of Midwestern and Upper Southern ideas and heritages. This was indeed true to some extent, for there was rarely any example of a given land opening being taken up purely by one cultural group; however, there was a strong clustering tendency.

It is obvious in the settlement of Oklahoma by white pioneers that the eastern portion was strongly taken up by Southerners, mainly small farmers from the Upper South. While western Oklahoma was partly incorporated into the Upper South, and partly into the Midwest, through differential invasion out of these two culture areas.

Because so little work has been undertaken in this area of Oklahoma's history, there remains a considerable amount of valuable work for the interested student: demographic analyses of the United States Census of 1860 and the several surviving Indian censuses; consideration of the agricultural statistics collected along with the population data of the Indian censuses; detailed population origins work in the manuscript schedules of the United States Censuses of 1860 and 1890; and so forth. Especially valuable would be the before-mentioned detailed history of immigration into the state, which

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[31] Jordan, "Population Origins in Texas, 1850," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. LIX, p. 880.

TABLE IX

Origins of the White Population of Oklahoma Territory, 1900

State of Birth	*Number*	*As a Percent of Whites not Born in Oklahoma Territory*	*As a Percent of Total Whites in Oklahoma Territory*
Northern			
Kansas	58,256	19	17
Nebraska	8,330	3	2
Illinois	27,302	9	8
Indiana	17,288	6	5
Iowa	19,213	6	5
Ohio	14,971	5	4
Michigan	2,561	1	1
Wisconsin	2,639	1	1
New York	4,024	1	1
Pennsylvania	5,691	2	2
Lower Southern			
Alabama	3,119	1	1
Georgia	2,464	1	1
Mississippi	2,367	1	1
Upper Southern			
Arkansas	10,406	3	3
Kentucky	10,722	3	3
Missouri	46,305	15	13
Tennessee	9,178	3	3
Virginia*	3,270	1	1
North Carolina*	1,816	1	1
Maryland*	503	-	-
West Southern			
Texas	30,456	10	9
Oklahoma Territory	52,695	-	15
Indian Territory	7,692	3	2

* The yeoman immigrants of these Eastern Southern states are included with the Upper South for simplicity's sake.

would utilize both the statistical sources mentioned plus in-depth gleaning from contemporary newspapers and federal records.

Statistical analysis to augment progress in understanding Oklahoma's history is possible with recognition of the potential source material. Hopefully it will no longer be ignored.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE FORT TOWSON POWDER MAGAZINE

*By Douglas D. Scott**

Fort Towson, first built in 1824, has recently been the focus of intensive archaeological and historical research. This post is of particular historical interest to Oklahomans because it was one of the first permanent American settlements on what was, at that time, America's Western frontier. The fort, the ruins of which are located in what is now Choctaw County, played a significant role in the development of the region of what is now southeastern Oklahoma and northeastern Texas. The site of Fort Towson is currently being preserved by the Oklahoma Historical Society, and as a result of these preservation efforts, on-site personnel have undertaken the study and excavation of the post powder magazine.

The reasons the magazine was chosen for investigation are multifold. Previous archaeological and historical research has focused on the habitation structures, and the magazine presented a unique change to this type of research. In addition, a detailed study of the architectural features and the associated artifacts would be made to determine the structure's original appearance and construction date. Also, the excavation and study would be a part of the on-going, on-site interpretation program for the public. The goal of the research is to gain a better understanding of the style of construction and relationships of the buildings at Fort Towson to one another. In addition, this information may be applied to the study and comparisons of the construction of other frontier forts.

Neither history nor archaeology alone can hope to obtain a complete understanding of the advancement of the frontier or the cultural transitions that resulted. But a combination of the two disciplines can, at least, give a more complete picture of the past, and this is the ultimate goal of the research at this once important military post. The research at Fort Towson was conducted during the fall of 1974 and the winter of 1974–1975. The archaeological excavations, artifact cleaning, sorting, cataloging and historical research were completed by on-site personnel, including the author, William Vandever and C. E. Jones.

Fort Towson was established in the year 1824 to protect the interests of American citizens on the frontier and to protect America's border with the

* The author is currently completing the Doctor of Philosophy degree under Dr. David A. Breternitz at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, and is presently the Archaeologist/Curator for the Oklahoma Historical Society for the Fort Towson Historical Site.

Site of the Powder Magazine prior to excavation in 1974

The Powder Magazine as it appeared after its excavation in 1975

Spanish colonies.[1] The post, then named Cantonment Towson, was located six miles north of the Red River on Gates Creek. In 1829, the army abandoned the fort, which was promptly burned by irate local citizens.[2] However, the fort was reestablished in late 1830, in anticipation of the arrival of the Choctaw Indians as a result of the signing of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek.[3]

By 1843 the buildings, built in 1830, were in such a dilapidated condition that a rebuilding program was instituted. This program consisted of adding limestone foundations to the buildings, rebuilding some structures and tearing others down.[4] During its active years, Fort Towson was a typical frontier post. It served as an annuity distribution point for the Choctaws and as a general protectorate of the local inhabitants. In addition, during the Mexican War, the installation acted as a staging station for troops on their way south.[5]

By 1854 the army no longer considered Fort Towson a vital defense link in the line of the steadily advancing frontier and ordered the post abandoned. The Department of the Interior took over the abandoned installation for a few years as the Choctaw Agency.[6] During the Civil War, Fort Towson served as the headquarters for Confederate Major General S. B. Maxey, who commanded the troops in the Indian Territory, and as a disbursing station supplying displaced Choctaws.[7] Since 1865 the fort has been abandoned and in ruins.

In spite of its once colorful history, very little documentary evidence is currently available to identify the construction design, architectural details or size of Fort Towson's Powder Magazine. The earliest reference to a magazine at Fort Towson is found in the 1827 inspection report of Colonel George Croghan, who described the magazine as a "building of Stone . . . well ventilated and dry."[8] The next mention of a magazine occurs in a

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1 William B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1936), p. 48.

2 Emma E. Harbour, "A Brief History of the Red River Country since 1803," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (March, 1936), p. 71.

3 Francis P. Prucha, *A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1964), p. 113.

4 William B. Morrison, "Fort Towson," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (June, 1930), p. 227.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 230–231.

6 Ed Bearss and Arrell M. Gibson, *Fort Smith Little Gibraltar on the Arkansas* (Norman: University of Cklahoma Press, 1969), p. 233.

7 Allen C. Ashcroft, "Confederate Indian Conditions in 1864," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1963), p. 279.

8 Report of Colonel George Croghan, August, 1827, Office of the Inspector General, 1827, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

letter written by the post commander in 1842, Major Thomas T. Fauntleroy, who stated that the "position of the magazine is in the highest degree dangerous, being in almost immediate contact with two ranges of buildings, and it is wholy unsuited in size and plan for the safe keeping of ordnance stores—ammunition."[9] Another reference to the magazine, in the period documents, is a letter dated October 1, 1845, which mentioned that the magazine had been newly covered.[10]

The only known description of the magazine is to be had from a newspaper interview with Henry L. Gooding, son of the Fort Towson sutler. Gooding described the magazine as standing:[11]

> at the east end of the officers' quarters and just a few feet away. It was a single room structure made of red brick and cement, cement floor and heavy timbered ceiling, two barred windows and one door. This building was used for the safe keeping of monies and ammunition, and valuable papers. At one time there were more than two wagon loads of gold, silver, and paper money in this building.

The maps of the post, one in 1833, one in 1843 and one in 1851, locate the magazine at the northeast corner of the parade ground—oriented to the north and set between and almost touching the east officers' quarters and the east storehouse. The size is roughly indicated on the maps to be twenty feet north-south by fifteen feet east-west.[12]

In examining the documented data, a rough picture of the magazine emerges. It was located at the northeast corner of the parade ground, between the east and north ranges of buildings. Apparently the proximity of the structure and its volatile contents to other fort buildings worried at least one commanding officer. The statement of Major Fauntleroy, as well as the name magazine, implies that the structure was used for ordnance and powder storage as intended. In addition, the magazine seems to have served as a storehouse for valuable papers and monies. The structure was probably constructed of brick sometime between 1827 and 1833. The stone magazine previously referred to belongs to the 1824–1829 fort, and the precise location of this post and even its total appearance are still shrouded in mystery. The latter magazine probably measured fifteen feet by twenty feet and seems to have had a cement floor, a single door, two barred windows and a heavy timbered roof, which was recovered in 1845.

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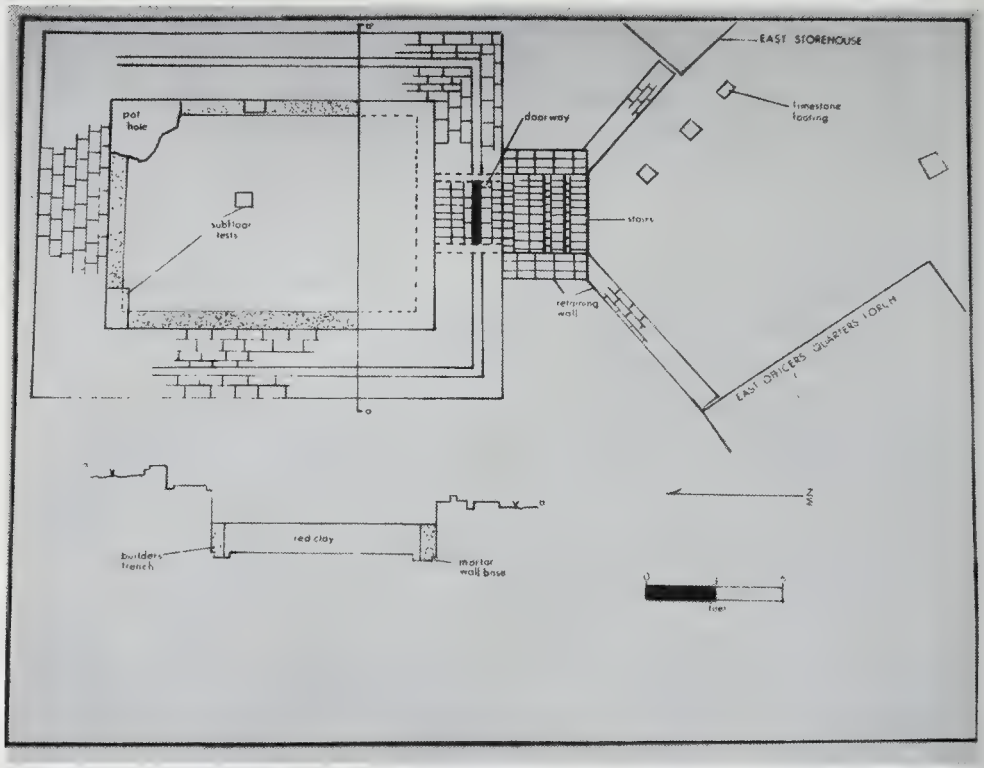
[9] Thomas T. Fauntleroy to Roger Jones, February 13, 1842, Office of the Quartermaster General, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[10] Edwin B. Babbit to Henry Stanton, October 1, 1845, *ibid.*

[11] Edmond J. Gardner, "Old Fort Towson," *Antlers American* (Antlers), August 25, 1933, pp. 7–8.

[12] Maps, Office of the Adjutant General, National Archives, Washington, D.C.



Plan and profile of the excavation project of the Oklahoma Historical Society on the Powder Magazine at Fort Towson

Prior to excavation, the site of the magazine was a mound of brick rubble that stood about five feet above the level of the parade ground. The mound was situated at the northeast corner of the parade ground and just to the north of the corners of the east officers' quarters and the east storehouse. The area of rubble covered an area some thirty feet square. The north side of the mound stood about three feet higher than ground surface on that side. Ground surface behind the magazine falls away quite rapidly to form a natural earth mound six to seven feet higher than the rear yards of the officers' quarters. The northeast quadrant of the mound contained a disturbed area of the "Pothole" variety.

The excavation of the magazine was divided into three phases, commensurate with the goals of archaeological research and providing an excavated structure for public view. The first phase was to define and clear the walls of the structure; phase two was to clear the interior of debris; and the third phase was to remove the extraneous rubble from the exterior of the building.

The magazine remains, as defined by excavation, are the foundations and portions of the walls. The magazine was constructed of brick and measured

twenty feet, three inches, north-south by sixteen feet, two inches east-west on the exterior; the single interior room measuring fourteen feet, eight and one-half inches north-south and nine feet, nine and one-half inches east-west. The walls and foundation of the building are laid in brick in the American Bond style and are thirty-seven inches thick. There is a dead air space in the wall one brick wide, one foot in from the outside edge of the wall and continuing completely around the structure. This dead air space probably acted as insulation to keep the powder and ordnance dry and also acted as a buffer in case of fire. The only area in which the dead air space was not open was on the center section of the south wall. This central area defined a doorway that still held remnants of a plastered doorjamb.

Access to the doorway was gained by going up three brick steps. The steps were bounded on each side by a brick retaining wall one foot thick. The retaining wall remains angled away from the magazine at the front edge of the steps. The retaining walls met at approximately right angles the east officers' quarters porch foundation and the east storehouse front wall foundation. In neither case were the brick retaining walls at true right angles to the walls they met, nor were they tied into the walls. The retaining walls appear to have been laid prior to the construction of the adjacent structures.

Four cut limestone pillar bases were found in the area between the three structures. These pillar bases do not appear to have any direct relation to the extant foundations and may well be foundation pillars for the log sills of the 1830 period structures. They could also be pillars for the porches of the buildings, although orientation does not suggest this, or they may be associated with some other structure that is currently unidentified.

The difference between the parade ground elevation and the magazine door threshold is about three feet. Sterile red clay has been packed around the magazine to the foundation level, leaving only the area between the east officers' quarters, east storehouse and the magazine steps clear. This clay pack rising some three feet above the parade level readily illustrates the need of the retaining walls at the front of the structure.

The interior of the magazine was filled with brick and mortar rubble mixed with some soil. The interior walls of the structure retained evidence of having been white-washed at one time. The floor of the magazine was found two feet below the level of the doorway and was constructed of hard packed red clay. Several subfloor tests were made below the floor level to determine the technique of construction. The tests revealed that a trench, eight inches wider than the walls, had been dug into a sterile native red clay hill. The trench was then laid up with solid brick foundations for eighteen inches. At this point, the dead air space and walls were begun. The

foundation walls had been laid in the builder's trench, touching the outside of the trench. The remaining eight inches of trench width were filled to floor level with rubble and sand to form an informal drain for the interior of the magazine. This drain, in fact, still functions and the magazine is the only structure on the parade that does not hold water during a heavy rain today.

The floor of the magazine was made of specially prepared native clay. During excavation, a layer of charcoal and burned rubble were found in contact with the floor. This charcoal proved to be the remains of a burned and collapsed roof. From the few sizable fragments that remained, the wood was determined to be pine. The wood appears to have been cut into rough-shaped poles approximately three or four inches in diameter and possibly flattened on one or two sides.

No evidence was noted for interior steps or other form of entry. The door threshold had been partially damaged prior to excavation and this may account for the lack of evidence.

The artifactual material recovered was not particularly abundant. Most of the items recovered were square cut nails, many probably not directly associated with the magazine. The 6d size nails, most commonly recovered, were normally used for siding and finish work; the magazine, however, does not appear to have been sided.[13] Most of the nails recovered probably came from the siding of the adjacent structures. This supposition is further borne out by the presence of various fragments of domestic ceramic items from the fill of the magazine interior and from the rubble that surrounded the exterior. Besides the ceramic fragments, tin cans and a fireplace crane hanger were also recovered, and this again further suggests that much of the material came from the collapse of the adjacent structures. Several fragments of window glass were found in the brick rubble near the center of the east wall. The context was unclear as to whether the glass was associated with the magazine or the east storehouse. Most of the artifacts retained indications of being burned, confirming other indications of the site having been destroyed by fire, which is verified in the historic record.

A few artifacts were recovered that could be directly associated with the magazine itself. Several were found on the floor of the structure while the others were found in the dead air space between the walls and apparently date to the period of construction. The items found on the floor were retrieved either directly on the floor or in the charcoal layer immediately above the

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[13] Bernard C. Fontana, J. Cameron Greenleaf and *et. al.*, "Johnny Ward's Ranch: A Study in Historic Archaeology," *The Kiva*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1963); *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1963).

Artifacts the author recovered during the excavation: a. butt hinge; b. anthropomorphic pipe bowl; c. mother-of-pearl shirt button; d. key plate; e. forty-four caliber lead balls; g. and h. clay marbles; i. pocket knife

floor. The artifacts consisted of several fragments of barrel hoops and one complete example. These hoop remains were small and could have conceivably come from powder kegs. A wire bail from a small bucket was also present, as were a large key and a five inch butt hinge. The key plate is of the type commonly associated with very large box locks. The hinge is heavy iron, and it and the key plate could conceivably have been associated with the magazine door. In addition, there was a small mother-of-pearl shell shirt button found in the floor cleaning operation.

There were two groups of items found in the dead air space between the magazine walls, and both groups appear to have been deposited there during construction. The first group is represented by a single artifact, a horn handled folding or shut knife, which was found in the west wall in close proximity to a brick that had fallen into the dead air space. This brick apparently fell during the early construction phase, as it is stuck in the mortar of the foundation top. The pocket knife was found on the north side of the brick under the rubble fill and with the blade open. The blade was iron and only about one inch of it remains. The blade, based on configuration of the handle, must have been four to five inches long.

The second group of artifacts were found in close proximity to one another below the rubble layer in the southeast corner of the magazine wall. The group consisted of four forty-four caliber lead rifle balls, two clay marbles of slightly different sizes and a green glazed anthropomorphic reed stemmed pipe bowl. The proximity of the artifacts to one another leads to several possible conclusions concerning their deposition and ownership. The fact that they were found close to one another suggests deposition at the same time. This further suggests that they either fell from a pocket or were in a pouch or sack that was lost. They apparently did not fall from a great height as the pipe is not broken or chipped, as it might well have been if falling from a great height to a brick and cement base. The fact that the items were not recovered suggests that either the owner was not aware of their loss or that the height of the wall had been laid to a point greater than the length of an arm.

The owner of the objects apparently indulged in smoking as is evidenced by the pipe bowl and probably played one or more of the many games involving marbles. Finally, the four lead balls suggest that the owner may have owned or had access to a firearm of forty-four caliber. This particular caliber was a reasonably common civilian rifle caliber during the early nineteenth century but was not a common military caliber until the Mexican War.

The brick and brick bats found during the excavation indicate two sizes of brick were used in the construction of the magazine. Both sizes are rea-

sonably crude pressed brick and may be of local manufacture. They are dull red to salmon in color and measure eight inches by four inches by two and one-half inches and eight inches by three and one-half inches by two and one-half inches. There is no apparent reason for the difference in size of brick as they are used indiscriminately throughout the structure. Only one brick was recovered that contained any markings. This brick is of the larger size, and one side is marked 444 or when read upside down, 777. The mark has been put into the brick by hand using a blunt instrument, possibly a twig or small stick. The reason for the marking is not now apparent.

The historic documentation indicates a magazine on the site of the excavations at least as early as 1833. The artifactual material recovered and the style of construction do not disagree with this date. The documentation referred to previously notes the fort was rebuilt in 1830 or 1831. This suggests that the magazine was built during that time period.

The brick work in the structure is in the American Bond style. The bricks are laid with three courses of stretchers to one of headers, and this type of American Bond was more common in the early nineteenth century.[14]

A statistical treatment for dating bricks was employed using the South Index number.[15] The index numbers that were computed fell within the style range for American made brick and generally fell within a 1790–1860 time range with the larger example clustering in the 1830s.[16] Although the South Index number must be interpreted with care, the results of the analysis of the magazine brick suggest, at least, an early nineteenth century date.

The artifactual material indicates only a mid-nineteenth century date, except for the anthropomorphic pipe. This pipe, with the features of an oriental, is of a style common from the late eighteenth century to about 1840.[17] Anthropomorphic reed stem pipes were common in the nineteenth century with the plain or ribbed stemmed variety coming in about 1840.[18]

The artifactual material agrees in general with the presumed date of construction derived from the documented sources. The single most diagnostic artifact suggests a date prior to 1840.

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[14] Ivor Noel Hume, *Historical Archaeology* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), p. 123.

[15] Stanley South, "Some Notes on Bricks," *The Florida Anthropologist*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1968), pp. 67–74.

[16] William C. Lazarus, "A Study of Dated Bricks in the Vicinity of Pensacola, Florida," *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (Fall, 1969), p. 82.

[17] Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1970), p. 303.

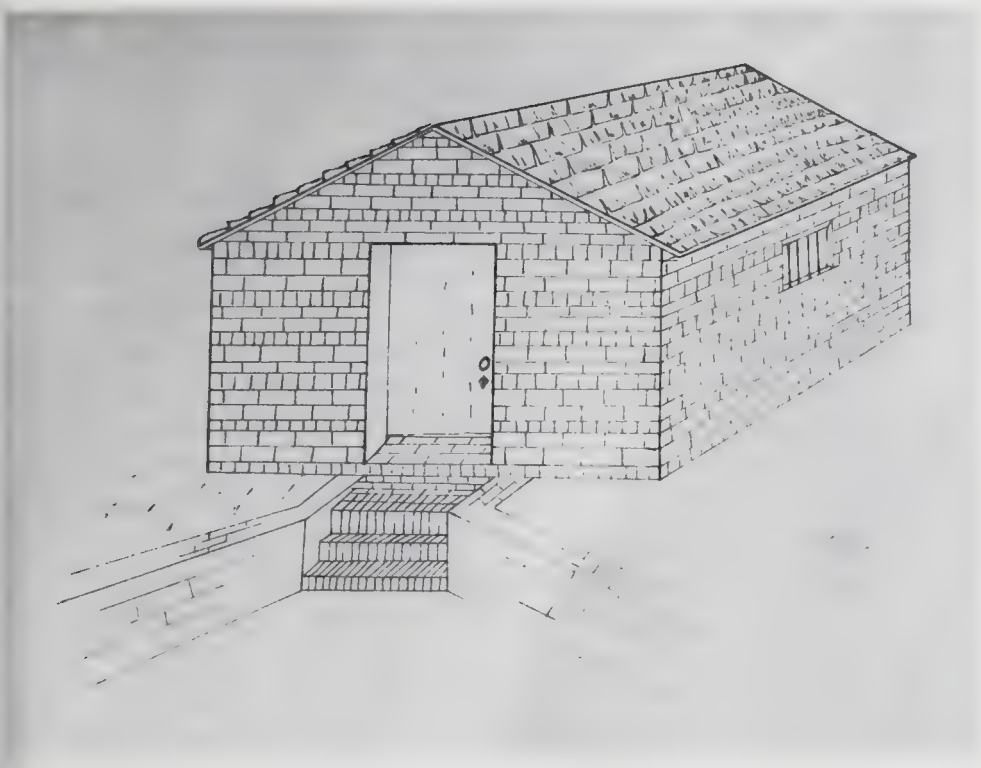
[18] Edward J. Lenick, "Nineteenth Century Clay Tobacco Pipes: (A Preliminary Study) L.C.," *Archaeological Society of Virginia*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Fall, 1972), pp. 175–177.

The description of the magazine agrees in general with the archaeologically recovered data. The two sources agree that the building was built of brick, had a timbered roof and contained one door. The archaeological data has added the facts that the structure was built above ground, with earth packed around its base to protect the adjacent structures from possible explosion. The clay packed around the building was held back from the entry by a retaining wall. Access to the magazine was gained by going up three stairs and entering a doorway with a plastered jamb. The interior of the building was whitewashed and kept dry through the use of a double wall construction and an informal interior drain.

There is no archaeological evidence for the form of interior entry to the floor of the magazine, and there are no known documented statements addressing the problem. Neither is there archaeological evidence for the location of windows, except for some window glass of uncertain association. The only point of disagreement between the historical sources and the archaeology pertains to the floor of the magazine. The floor as excavated is a hard packed red clay, whereas the historical source states it was cement. The discrepancy may be mitigated by the fact that a hard packed earth floor could easily be mistaken for cement if kept dry and under continued use for several years, and this is probably why Gooding mistook the clay floor for cement.

Using the historical sources and the archaeological evidence, a conjectural sketch of the building may be made. The magazine was set at the northeast corner of the parade ground, slightly north of the east officer's quarters and the east storehouse. It was built above ground, with earth packed around it to the top of the foundations and with retaining walls across the front. The door was located in the center of the south wall, and entry was gained by going up three brick steps. The side walls contained small barred windows, and the north wall was solid. The roof was timber, and the floor was hard packed clay. The level of the floor was eighteen inches lower than the level of the door threshold. The magazine served as a storage area for gunpowder and ordnance supplies. On occasion it also served as the post vault, storing for safekeeping valuable papers and, at one time, money.

In summary, the archaeologically excavated structure fits very well the documentary descriptions of the magazine. The archaeology agrees with the historically derived construction date of 1830 or 1831. The magazine was a single room structure with thick brick walls and earth packing around it to protect the adjacent structures. It apparently served its intended purpose as there are no indications of alterations for other uses. The structure yielded few artifacts, but those that could be associated with the building tended to verify its intended function.



Artist reconstruction of the Powder Magazine ca 1845

The Powder Magazine at Fort Towson is a uniquely military structure designed and built for a military purpose. The excavation of this unique structure has added a new phase to the interpretation program at the post. Powder magazines were strongly constructed buildings meant to be used for specific purposes. As with many things considered a part of mundane daily life for the time, details of construction and function are lost to history. The archaeological and historical research on the Powder Magazine at Fort Towson has attempted to preserve some of this information for future research and public enjoyment.

COUNCIL GROVE MARKER DEDICATION

Dedication ceremonies took place on Sunday, May 25, 1975, for the Council Grove Marker. This marker is a part of Melrose Park east of Council Road on Melrose Lane which was designated by the Oklahoma Historical Society as an historical site.

During the run of 1889 there was a nine section area of land held back from homesteading. Bordered by what is now Melrose Lane on the south, the Canadian River on the west, to one-quarter mile north of Northwest Thirty-Sixth Street, and going east to present Ann Arbor Street, this land was posted so that it would not be homesteaded by a double furrow plowed around it. This heavily wooded area was known by various names such as the Grove, The Woodpile and The Woodlot. Wood from this reserve was for the use of Fort Reno and was guarded by Cavalry troopers who erected a stockade approximately one-quarter mile east and 225 yards north of this marker. When the fort had no more use for the land it was appraised by a government official and auctioned at a brush arbor set up near the west edge of the reserve. At the first sale, held in 1899, the land sold in forty acre lots for about $2.00 per acre. Another sale was held some years later, and the land sold for $11.00 to $17.00 per acre.

One of the first schools opened in Oklahoma County was located originally on west Reno Street. Later it was moved by wagon to the corner of Melrose Lane and Council Road. A second school building was constructed in 1900, and the present red brick structure was erected in 1893. It is the third building to stand on that site.

On June 11, 1892, a post office was established just north of the present railroad crossing on Council Road. It was first named Council Grove, but on December 7, 1894, the name was changed to Council and was discontinued August 15, 1906. This structure served as a general store and was also a ticket agency for the Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad which eventually became the Rock Island.

This marker stands on part of the original homestead of Mr. and Mrs. Isaac F. Melrose, and the land for the marker was donated by Mr. and Mrs. Dana R. Melrose.

ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT, OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

The History Department of Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma announces the following activities and staff changes effective with the autumn semester of 1975: Carl N. Tyson, part-time instructor, became assistant professor; James M. Smallwood, director of the Gainesville, Texas, American Revolution Bicentennial Committee, became assistant professor; H. James Henderson, professor, returned from a leave of absence as visiting professor of history at the University of Virginia during the 1974–1975 academic year; Kenneth E. Anderson, doctoral candidate, became associate director of the Technical Institute of Oklahoma State University; James E. Thomas, part-time instructor, became visiting assistant professor of history at Southwestern Oklahoma State University for the 1975–1976 academic year; Thomas Knight, instructor, became associate professor of history and assistant to the vice-president for academic affairs at Alabama State University.

PUBLICATION OF COUNTY HISTORIES

By George H. Shirk

A most important aspect of the renewed recognition of the importance of our heritage incident to the Bicentennial is the work of county historical societies in the compilation and publication of local histories. At least ten have been published to date, and the societies for Tillman, Creek, Mayes and Delaware counties are actively at work on similar projects.

These volumes make a most vital and invaluable contribution to the recorded and printed history of Oklahoma. The county historical society projects are of particular merit in that great emphasis is placed on individual and family histories. In countless cases these publications will be the one and only place such material is ever made of permanent record, and it is not unreasonable to say that with the passage of time these volumes will be the only source of vital and worthwhile personal information that would otherwise be lost forever.

A collection of these publications will constitute an invaluable addition to an Oklahoma library, and reference librarians and archivists are urged to make arrangements for the acquisition of as many volumes as possible while they are yet in print.

To date, the following county societies have completed their publications. The address from which each may be purchased, together with the price, is listed. If other societies have completed publication, and the same has not come to the attention of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, it is hoped the editor will be promptly advised.

Sequoyah County Historical Society
P.O. Box 503
Sallisaw, Oklahoma 74955
Volume I—Price $17.00 plus $1.00 for packaging and postage, if mailed.

Dewey County Historical Society
P.O. Box 53
Camargo, Oklahoma 73835
Volume I—Price $17.00 plus $1.00 for packaging and postage, if mailed.

Woods County Historical Society
Drawer G
Alva, Oklahoma 73717
Volume I—Price $19.50 plus $1.00 for packaging and postage, if mailed.

Ellis County Historical Society
P.O. Box 44
Gage, Oklahoma 73843
Volume I—Price $17.50 plus $1.00 for packaging and postage, if mailed.

Alfalfa County Historical Society
P.O. Box 201
Cherokee, Oklahoma 73728
Volume I—Price $19.00 plus $1.00 for packaging and postage, if mailed.

Harper County Historical Society
P.O. Box 455
Laverne, Oklahoma 75848
Volume II—Price $19.00 plus $1.00 for packaging and postage, if mailed.
Volume I—Supply is exhausted, but will reprint.

Kingfisher County Historical Society
P.O. Box 122
Kingfisher, Oklahoma 73750
Volume I—Price $19.00 plus $1.00 for packaging and postage, if mailed.

Plains Indians and Pioneers Historical Foundation
P.O. Box 292
Woodward, Oklahoma 73801
Volume I—Price $17.00 plus $1.00 for packaging and postage, if mailed.

Washita County History
Cordell Chamber of Commerce
103½ East Main
Cordell, Oklahoma 73632
Volume I—Price $21.50 plus $1.00 for packaging and postage, if mailed.

Major County Historical Society
Mr. Ed Montgomery
Cimarron Tower
Fairview, Oklahoma 73737
Volume I—Price $21.00 plus $1.00 for packaging and postage, if mailed.

GREAT PLAINS AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, 1870–1930

A symposium on Great Plains Agriculture, 1870–1930 will be held on June 23–25, 1976, at Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana. Individual members of the Agricultural History Society will receive program information by mail. Others may obtain program and reservation information by writing Professor Thomas R. Wessel, Department of History and Philosophy, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana 59715.

THE PAPERS OF CHIEF JOHN ROSS

Dr. Gary Moulton, a member of the history faculty at Southwestern Oklahoma State University, has recently received a grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission to compile and edit the papers of Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation John Ross. To insure that all possible material relating to Ross is included in the project, he requests that anyone having any Ross papers in their personal collections to contact him at Southwestern Oklahoma State University, Weatherford, Oklahoma 73096.

INDIAN MEDICINE

*By R. Palmer Howard**

Reconsideration of the cultural development of the North American Indians has received attention from tribal members and historians in recent years. On the Indian reservations during the nineteenth century the Federal government provided health care through agency physicians with standard American medical qualifications. At that time the government policy was to oppose all the cultural activities of the native medicine men. On some reservations recently the cooperation of Indians aware of their traditional culture has been welcomed by government physicians in order to assist in the provision of beneficial health programs. A brief definition and review of the term, Indian medicine, appears timely.

Indian medicine refers to the administration of herbal mixtures by mouth or externally, but the term is also applied to the complete ritual of the medicine men. Native practices changed considerably during five centuries of contact with white men of varied races and with different skills.[1] Although European medicine gradually became more scientific, the medical beliefs of the general populace in Europe and America remained essentially traditional and empirical from the sixteenth century until the late nineteenth century. Then the recognition of the specific microbial agents of infectious diseases led rapidly to successful measures for treatment and prevention. From the current scientific viewpoint, Indian medications and medical practice appear primitive, mystical and unprofessional, but these terms are applicable also to white man's medicine in previous centuries.

Native doctors were trained men and women who treated individuals with problems of love, grief, despair, childbirth, pain, disease and wounds. The early white travelers benefited particularly from their treatment of arrow wounds and diseases, and hence called them "medicine men." The ceremonies and herbs of these doctors apparently cured minor illnesses and other conditions with important psychological components. Prolonged sweating in heated "sweat houses" and plunging in cold streams probably invigorated the strong Indians and relieved aching muscles and joints, but such practices provided no defense against deadly epidemics. The white invaders brought smallpox, measles, typhus, typhoid, cholera and other

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* The author is currently a Professor of the History of Medicine at the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The research necessary for this article was partially supported by a research grant from the National Library of Medicine, National Institutes of Health.

[1] John Duffy, "Medicine and Medical Practices among Aboriginal American Indians," *International Record of Medicine*, Vol. CLXXI (June, 1958), Pp. 331–349.

infections to the non-immune Indians. Epidemics spread widely and decimated many Indian tribes.

To the explorers and settlers, America meant treasure and natural wonders. This discovery of new edible plants might be matched by herbs with particular, perhaps universal, healing powers, so these were eagerly sought. Although Peruvian bark—containing quinine, beneficial for malarial fevers—ipecac, cocaine and curare from South American plants acquired prominent places in worldwide medicine, no new botanicals of similar significance have yet been discovered in our northern hemisphere. Some, such as ginseng, enjoyed brief popularity. Nicotine from tobacco, and mescaline from the peyote cactus have pharmacological effects on the nervous system. Nicotine and peyote were and are still used, but curative properties for major medical illnesses have not been discovered.

Herbals used by various North American tribes provided symptomatic relief for digestive complaints, coughs, aches, bites and other common discomforts. Such medicines gained popularity on the frontier. The Indians, however, placed more emphasis on the details of location, collection, preparation and ceremonies surrounding the administration, than on the dosage of these concoctions. Separate tribes often used different parts of one plant for similar or even conflicting purposes. Many Indian herbals were included in official American pharmacopoeias.[2] These listings establish their widespread use, but do not confirm the efficacy of the aboriginal manner of using the herbs.[3]

Indian herbals are still available, but red and white men use them less frequently in the present age of antibiotics and other specific pharmaceuticals. Native medicine men and women still practice in the rural areas of several states including Oklahoma.[4] Regular physicians in private practice and the clinics of government hospitals, however, now are the principal providers of medical and surgical care for the health problems of the Indians in this country.

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[2] Virgil J. Vogel, *American Indian Medicine* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), Pp. 267–472.

[3] James Mooney and Frans M. Olbrechts, "The Swimmer Manuscript, Cherokee Sacred Formulas and Medicinal Prescriptions," United States Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 99* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932).

[4] David E. Jones, *Sanapia: Comanche Medicine Woman* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972).

THE FLATHEAD INDIANS. By John Fahey. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974. Pp. 366. Preface. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $8.95.)

Historians are fond of writing books on the Indians who violently resisted the onslaught of the white man. In Montana the Blackfeet, Sioux and Nez Perce resorted to arms to preserve their land and their rights. Countless books have been written on these tribes and their struggles. Most Montana history books devote sections to the Indian wars and skirmishes. But what of the tribes such as the Flathead who welcomed the white man, remained friendly and refused to join the revolting tribes in their wars against the whites? They were not treated with respect by the United States government and are almost entirely neglected by historians. John Fahey's book on the Flatheads attempts to redress the imbalance.

The Flathead Indians presents the tribal history chronologically, beginning with their creation mythology and their early culture. Fahey then traces the political, social and economic changes that overwhelmed them in the nineteenth century. The author relates the effects of the fur trade, the Christian missionaries and the treaty of 1855. This treaty marked the beginning of the end. It was the first demonstration of how untrustworthy the United States government could be.

As more and more whites settled in the Flathead's homeland—the Bitterroot Valley—and in adjacent gold mining communities, the Flatheads became apprehensive. The government Indian agents did little to help the tribe; they were either incompetent or could not persuade the Federal government to take a sincere interest in helping the Flatheads make the painful transition from nomadic hunters and gatherers to sedentary farmers and ranchers. As the buffalo disappeared and homesteaders crowded in upon their territory, the Flatheads were confined to an ever constricting reservation. In spite of their many grievances, the tribe refrained from joining the Nez Perce who crossed Flathead territory in their bold war against the whites. In sum, this book is a lesson on how to mistreat your friends.

As Volume CXXX in the Civilization of the American Indian Series of the University of Oklahoma Press, this book deserves a place on any bookshelf or in any library that wishes to present a complete history of the American Indian. The book is abundantly footnoted, has an extensive bibliography, is well illustrated and evidences diligent research. The material is organized well and written in a clear manner. My main criticism is that Fahey concentrates too much on facts and details, failing to stress generalizations and overviews. He does not empathize with the people whose story he is telling.

This book could have been a dramatic review of a tragic history; rather, it is a dry catalogue of events. But, on the whole, it is a book worth reading because it reminds Americans that the power and greatness of this country is based upon the land of a people who tried to be our friends.

Lee Silliman
Deer Lodge, Montana

THE AMERICAN COWBOY. By Harold McCracken. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1973. Pp. 196. Illustrations. References. Index. $15.00.)

The author conveys the reader, through vivid text and unique illustrations, into the American West. He begins with a discussion of the origins of both horses and cattle, and the Spanish *conquistadors* transportation of them to the Americas in the 1500s. The Spanish *vaqueros*, forerunners of the American cowboys, are examined, as is the widespread dispersal of cattle and horses on the frontier. Both animals were to later become the stock-in-trade of the American cowboy, and they multiplied prodigiously during the 300-year span before his arrival.

The term "cowboy" itself is traced to the young men left to tend the family cattle in Texas during the Civil War. These "cowboys" proved invaluable after the Civil War in moving the herds north to market, and many graduated into manhood with a resolve to stay in the cattle business.

Cowboy life, divorced from the Hollywood myth, is shown to the reader in its rawest, most demanding form. This life was a survival of the fittest, and the cowboy had to contend with hostile weather, Indians and rustlers, as well as a dozen other adversaries, notably a numbing monotony and loneliness. As McCracken states they, "punched no time clock for the daily beginning or end of each strenuous day; didn't know that Sundays were supposed to be days of rest" and never dreamed of a respite during holidays. Sometimes working twenty-four hour days, the rugged existence of the American cowboy was not a life for the physically or mentally weak. The book provides the reader with a true picture of the grinding, semi-nomadic life that the frontier cowboy led.

Coupled with the text is a selection of paintings and drawings by the West's finest artists. The two big names, Frederic Remington and Charles M. Russell, are of course well represented, as are other artists lesser known to the layman, but no less talented. Edward Borein, W. H. D. Koerner, Frank Tenney Johnson and Nick Eggenhofer, as well as several others, have works illustrated in the book. Several photographs are also included, par-

ticularly of scenes within the author's home state, Wyoming. McCracken's experiences and reminiscences from his state's history are also drawn upon in the book.

Both text and illustrations create a mood that comfortably surrounds the reader. The book is an interesting and readable account of cowboy history; a not-too-deep, yet well rounded treatment of the subject.

Dale Edwards
Marlow, Oklahoma

ILLITERATE DIGEST. Volume III. The Writings of Will Rogers, Edited by Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1974. Pp. 230. Index. $7.95.)

Under the joint sponsorship of the Will Rogers Memorial Commission and Oklahoma State University, the publication of all of the writings of Will Rogers is now well underway. Of the five projected series, Series I will comprise the six published volumes of this great American. The *Illiterate Digest* is the third volume of this series, and it will prove even more popular than the first two.

During the last decade of his life, Will Rogers wrote with a high degree of regularity weekly articles distributed to newspapers throughout the United States by the McNaught Syndicate. In these writings the incomparable wit and style of Rogers was at its best. He touched on the timely topics of the day whether the same be diplomacy, business practices or, above all, politics and politicians. Humor and common sense practicality were combined with a rare insight unique to Will Rogers. The title preceded the original publication of the book by several years, as Rogers first used "Illiterate Digest" in reference to a series of movie shorts he had made several years earlier. Remarkably, the title gave offense to then prestigious *Literary Digest*, and the successful rebuttal to a somewhat arrogant assertion by the *Digest* that he discontinue the use of the name was resolved as only could be done by Will Rogers himself. The details are included in the introduction by the editor, Joe Stout, and the actual correspondence has been reproduced.

The volume itself, published in 1924, contained thirty-three of these weekly articles carefully selected as choice examples of the Rogers' wit and style. Each article was illustrated by Nate Collier, a cartoonist then of national prominence. It of course has been long out of print and is now a collector's item.

The editing by Joe Stout is excellent, and he has wisely collected his editorial comments and footnotes into a section at the rear of the volume, rather than to dilute each page of the original text by the new or additional

editorial material. Both the cartoons and the articles are as timely today as they were then. Due to his friendship with Henry Ford, in several instances references are made to "President Ford," and it is indeed an odd turn of history that fifty years later the White House is occupied by a president of that name.

Those who have not done so should start at once acquiring the volumes as they are published, as the complete set will be a must for every Oklahoma collection.

George H. Shirk
Oklahoma City

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF ALABAMA. By Donald B. Dodd. (University, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1974. Pp. vii, 160. Illustrations. Maps. Index. $10.00.)

Richard W. Stephenson's recent article entitled "Atlases of the Western Hemisphere: A Summary Survey" indicates that the United States is now on its way to having a complete inventory of state atlases (*Geographical Review*, 1972, pp. 92–119). As of January, 1972, twenty-eight of the fifty states have atlases. The *Historical Atlas of Alabama* is a welcomed addition to the list.

This atlas is the combined effort of an historian and a cartographer who depict the geography and events of Alabama history. For each of twelve chapters a brief historical comment is followed by a series of maps. The narrative and associated maps are grouped under these headings: The Land Called Alabama, Under Five Flags: Europeans Invade Alabama, The Creek Indian War 1813–1814, Territorial Changes in Alabama 1798–1974, Antebellum Alabama, Civil War Alabama, Reconstruction, Bourbon Conservatism and Reform 1865–1907, Alabama Enters the Twentieth Century, Alabama in Depression and War 1930–1950, Alabama Politics after World War II, Alabama Industry and Population after World War II and Alabama Trends 1860–1970.

The 160 page *Historical Atlas of Alabama* by Dodd and Dent contains over 100 maps portraying information ranging from physical features to population, illiteracy, industrialization and urbanization. Even though the atlas is well organized, comprehensive in nature and interesting to read, there are a few shortcomings in the cartographic presentation that detract from the overall appeal of the publication. First, I believe it is particularly important for the state to be mapped at different scales, noticeably lacking is a large scale map to allow for regional comparisons within the state.

Second, the proportional circles used to portray total population by county does not give an exact representation of the actual distribution of the population except in the most general terms (see for example pp. 41, 76, 101 and 122). Furthermore, the mapping of population could be improved if some distinctions were made between urban and rural populations (pp. 122 and 127). Third, a foldout map depicting county names and current boundaries would be helpful for those not familiar with the state. Finally, I was disappointed in the portrayal of physical features, particularly landforms. The only map dealing with landforms depicts major physiographic provinces. A map showing relief or slope would be more useful to those concerned with the relationship between the true nature of the terrain, settlement patterns and other elements of the physical and cultural landscape.

By comparison, the Alabama atlas is not in the category of atlases published by the University of Oklahoma Press (see for example, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 1965 or *Historical Atlas of New Mexico*, 1969). One of its major deficiencies is the absence of a bibliography, citations and specific source material on the maps. Nevertheless, the atlas is worthy of praise as a much needed addition to the literature. The positive factors outweigh the negative ones, and this publication should be beneficial to students at the secondary and college levels and to those professional scholars concerned with a general historical and geographical perspective for the state of Alabama.

Hubert B. Stroud
Arkansas State University

TECUMSEH! By Allan W. Eckert. (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1974. Pp. x, 176. Play. $2.50.)

Four-time Pulitzer Prize nominee, Allan W. Eckert, exhibits his talent as a playwright in the drama, *Tecumseh!* Eckert retells the struggle for America's Northwest Territory, those critical days when the continent's destiny rested on the shoulders of two men—Tecumseh, a Shawnee Indian fighting to protect his beloved homeland and William Henry Harrison, future President of the United States, striving to open the frontier for settlement. The forces of the two men finally converge at the Battle of Tippecanoe, a furious conflict that shatters the dream of one man, fulfills the desire of the other and determines the fate of a nation.

Eckert portrays Tecumseh and Harrison as historians have generally described them, proud, intelligent and visionary. Tecumseh hoped to unite all the various Indian tribes against their common enemy—the white settlers. The coordinated efforts of the tribes would increase the ability of

the Indians to resist the westward movement of the Americans and would create a confederacy of Indians which would extend from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. Harrison, realizing the implications of such a plan was determined to frustrate Tecumseh's efforts. The final blow to the Shawnee Indian was the nightmarish defeat at Tippecanoe.

The author has, however, taken liberties with the historical facts. According to the play, Harrison, who was Governor of Indiana Territory at the time of the battle at Tippecanoe, was looking for a major conflict with the Indian tribes which would serve as a springboard to the presidency. There is little evidence that he had designs on the office as early as 1811, the year the battle took place and twenty-nine years before his presidential election in 1840. The characterization of Tecumseh's brother Tenskwatawa, known as the Prophet, also is misleading. Eckert would have us believe that the Prophet was an egotistical, power hungry individual whose source of power was being Tecumseh's younger brother. In fact, he played a major role in the plan for Indian confederacy and for many years was more famous than his brother. Playwrights often take literary license with history, but such a practice does degrade the play. Tecumseh was a true genius. A powerful orator and a great organizer, he had a deep insight into the needs of his people. His stature does not need the aid of historical inaccuracies.

The play is well written and interesting. The dialogue is lively. The amount and type of scenery necessary for production could hinder high school presentation, but it would be excellent for college, amateur or professional performance.

Glen Roberson
Oklahoma State University

BRIGHT EYES, THE STORY OF SUSETTE LA FLESCHE, AN OMAHA INDIAN. By Dorothy Clarke Wilson. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974. Pp. 396. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $8.95.)

Susette La Flesche is one of those shadowy figures in Indian history. After a little reflection some will recognize her as the vaguely familiar Indian heroine of the Ponca removal controversy. In 1879–1880, in company with Thomas H. Tibbles, whom she later married, and Helen Hunt Jackson, Susette toured many eastern cities in the capacity of interpreter to the eloquent Ponca chief, Standing Bear. This book is the story of her life and that of the La Flesche family.

Susette's father, Joseph La Flesche, was a mixed-blood son of a French fur trader and an Omaha woman. Her mother, Mary Gale, also the product of a French-Indian union, was educated in St. Louis, Missouri, where she

lived with her step-father, Peter Sarpy. Joseph La Flesche won his position as a leader among the Omahas as a result of his knowledge of both Indian and white ways and his formal adoption by a dying former chief. Convinced that the Omahas could not successfully resist the advance of white civilization, Joseph cooperated with the missionaries who wished to establish a school on the reservation, fought for a treaty which would protect tribal lands, insisted that all his children be educated and encouraged the Omahas to adopt an agricultural way of life. As a consequence of their father's refusal to participate in ancient rites and his acceptance of white ways, the La Flesche children were increasingly divorced from tribal life. The legacy of being part Indian and part white, which Joseph La Flesche bequeathed to all his children, forms the major theme of this partially fictionalized biography.

Susette, the oldest child, was educated at a fashionable boarding school in New Jersey after the mission school was closed. Returning to the reservation in 1875, she found the local Indian agent opposed to her application as a teacher in the government school. Only after carrying her case to Washington, D.C. and waiting several years did she finally realize her dream of becoming a teacher to her own people. Her half-brother, Francis, after an even more frustrating search for identity, at last obtained a position in the Indian Service where he eventually became an ethnologist of some reputation. With the pioneering anthropologist, Alice C. Fletcher, he co-authored a basic study of the Omahas which was published by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1906. Two other sisters, Rosalie and Susan, were also educated at the Elizabeth Institute in New Jersey. Both returned to the reservation where Rosalie and her white husband fought to protect the tribal pasture lands from white intruders, and Susan, the first Indian woman to graduate from an accredited medical school, became the government physician. A third sister, Marguerite, graduated from the Hampton Institute, and took Susette's place in the government school when her older sister went on the lecture circuit.

Dorothy Clarke Wilson has done an admirable job in rescuing Susette La Flesche from obscurity. Primarily a novelist by trade, she has taken numerous liberties with her sources. She has freely juxtaposed events, created and dramatized conversations and fabricated motivation. While this will no doubt irritate professional historians, it will probably enhance the book's acceptance by the general public. In fairness to the author it should be noted that even where she has improved upon her sources for dramatic effect, her speculations appear well grounded in the sources she has unearthed.

Lawrence C. Kelly
North Texas State University

THEODORE GENTILZ: ARTIST OF THE OLD SOUTHWEST. By Dorothy S. Kendall. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974. Pp. 127. Illustrations. Index. $17.50.)

A great deal of time and effort was spent on this publication and the color reproductions are a sincere effort to offer something of value along with the historical text that is well presented and satisfactorily informative. But the fly in the ointment is Gentilz himself who is hardly worthy of so generous a book. The artist was also a surveyor, and obviously he should have worked harder at his painting and abandoned his surveying or visa versa.

While some of his paintings have a remarkable quality of "finish" to them, many of the others are sadly lacking in anatomical truth and probability. One can accept much of the poor rendition by simply giving credit to Gentilz for his documentation; yet this too falls short. His work fails to charm as the Indian portraits of George Catlin charmed in an earlier period. Two of the artist's Indian portraits, "Big Tree" and "Otter Belt," look much like copies from photographs. If they were done from actual sittings then he is due both an apology and credit for outstanding portraiture. In contrast, his self portrait and that of his wife are not examples of his best work.

A few of his scenes such as "Carreta Mexicana," "Jacal Con Enramada" and "San Francisco de La Espada" catch an emotional spark and convey an informative feeling, but there is an inconsistency when considering all the works. True enough, an artist grows and develops. Certainly the early works do not measure up to later ones, but here there is no great achievement at the last. Somehow, Theodore Gentilz does not come through as a significant artist. Somehow, he did not make the most of the opportunity to present his statement. There are those who will appreciate his work and certainly this book presents him in the best light, but when he stands with other artists of early America, Gentilz will not stand very tall.

Frederic Olds
Oklahoma Territorial Museum

A NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF DAVID CROCKETT OF THE STATE OF TENNESSEE. By David Crockett. Edited with an Introduction and Annotations by James A. Shackford and Stanley J. Folmsbee. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1973. Pp. xx, 211. Illustrations. Map. $7.95.)

The legend of David Crockett has grown since his death at the Alamo almost a century and a half ago until it has become increasingly difficult to separate the man from the myth. Many unreliable works and questionable

accounts of his life have been published, culminating in the 1950s with the television series by Walt Disney about "Davy;" this led to recordings and novelties exploiting the legend of this American folk-hero. Such inaccurate accounts have twisted the facts; indeed, during Crockett's own lifetime, authors were offering fictitious stories of his daring deeds. To correct the record, Crockett in 1834, drafted an autobiographical narrative of his life aided by a ghost writer, Thomas Chilton.

Crockett's *Narrative* itself is a myth-making saga of his life, but it also is the most reliable source of information about the frontiersman, Indian fighter, humorist and congressman from Tennessee. In addition, it is one of the earliest published American autobiographies, an example of early American humor and an historical document.

In search of accuracy the current editors have carefully scrutinized and annotated Crockett's work of 1834. This has been done in the margins, leaving the original text intact. The late James A. Shackford's dissertation research, conducted at the University of Tennessee, provided the basis for this edition. Stanley J. Folmsbee, a professor emeritus at the University of Tennessee, skillfully has polished this earlier work and made it into a valuable product. Replete with background information to illuminate the *Narrative* and to substantiate historical facts, the resulting edition is a most accurate, valuable and welcome addition to the literature on the famous frontiersman.

Dennis Shockley
Oklahoma State University

WHO'S THE SAVAGE?: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE MISTREATMENT OF THE NATIVE AMERICANS. Edited by David R. Wrone and Russell S. Nelson, Jr. (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, Inc. 1973. Pp. 576. $1.25.)

Seventy-five years ago or so, one of the more common subgenres in American popular literature was the collection of narratives of Indian atrocities. Zealous believers in the savage nature of the Native American assiduously collected tales of barbarities inflicted by Indians on various and sundry whites, giving special emphasis on those relating to women and children. A number of these works are still available in reprint form and illustrate what might be termed the former commonly accepted white American evidence for the necessity of exterminating or at least severely restricting the freedom of the Native American. Times, of course, have changed and the historiographical climate of the present usually presents the Indian as more

sinned against than sinning, although not often in such a sustained systematic treatment as in the collection issued by professors Wrone and Nelson.

Who's the Savage? is a collection documenting white atrocities committed against the Indians somewhat similar in its initial sensational impact to the work *100 Years Of Lynching* (published about a decade ago) concerning Afro-Americans. The editors have diligently excavated archival materials and government documents revealing a harrowing array of data and narrative illustrating physical and cultural genocide perpetrated against the Native American by every European influence on the continent, including the English, Spanish, Mexican, Swedes, Danes, Russians and French. The editors make it clear, however, that in their minds the white Americans have proven to be the most "savage" of all invaders of the Indian domains and that their barbaric assaults on Indians and their ways have been sustained to the present.

The editors divided their collaborative efforts to the pre- and post-1810 periods, with Professor Nelson assuming the responsibility for amassing the documentary evidence and writing the historical introductions for the entries in the first section and Professor Wrone taking up the more recent materials. Each editor provides a general introduction to the chapters placing the subsequent entries into their general historical context, followed by specific introductions to the separate group of entries within the chapters. The documents themselves range in time from excerpts dealing with Viking contacts with Indians from the Norse sagas to materials relating to the present campaign to resume a government reservation status for the terminated Menominee Indians of Wisconsin. The documents included cover a broad range of topics concerned not only with accounts of conflict and battle atrocities but also entries dealing with Indian health, education, the trading post situation and the land grabbing practiced by whites in gaining Native American domains.

This is a distinct difference in the tone of presentation between Nelson and Wrone, with the former utilizing a calmer, more balanced presentation as compared with the polemical and at times almost hysterical commentary of Professor Wrone. Wrone evidently sees little if any virtue in the manner in which whites have treated the Indian through the years, and his contributions reflect his bias.

The collection, in spite of the above reservations, is an important contribution to the study of Indian-white race relations in America, if used with the realization that the work seeks to express a definite point of view and is not a balanced account of the pluses and minuses of the white impact on Native American identity. The editors have done a tremendous amount of research in their compiling of a mound of irrefutable data sustaining the

argument that white discrimination and worse against the Indian has been a pattern of oppression involving every aspect of contact between the two peoples. It is unfortunate that given the issuance of this book only as a paperback it will probably not receive the attention of reviewers that it deserves and will tend to be ignored by the acquisition sections of libraries. The book definitely deserves publication in hardcover.

Norman Lederer
Camden County College

MONEY ON THE HOOF—SOMETIMES. By Edith Wharton Taylor, (Fort Collins, Colorado: The Old Army Press, 1974. Pp. 115. Illustrations. Notes. Selected Bibliography. Appendix. $8.95.)

The cattle industry is the subject of this book, and the author covers its history in Texas from initial introduction by Spanish settlers to the establishment of the modern cattle markets. Tracing the development of the trade from the long trail drives to the north in search of markets for the longhorns, Mrs. Taylor concentrates especially on the growth of Fort Worth as the cattle center for all of Texas. Throughout the long history of cattle-raising, beef on hoof often brought riches, but only after dealing with the threat of splenetic fever which nearly made Texas cattle unacceptable in other states. The trade again faltered when several attempts at establishing a meat-packing plant in Fort Worth failed. But in spite of the fever, the packing failures and the depression, Fort Worth managed to not only survive as a cattle center, but thrive as it attracted the attention of the big stock yards such as Armour and Swift. The men who figured in the history of the Fort Worth industry are also included in this story. Many of them, such as Ted Gouldy, publisher of the Fort Worth *Livestock Reporter*, were able to personally recount their earliest memories of the cattle market.

Though the author's gentle narrative style enlivens the cold facts of her extensive research, one cannot help but feel that the emphasis of the research has been misplaced. It is a thorough report on cattle, but because of this the historical sense has been lost. A great deal of time is devoted to discussing the statewide tick eradication program which eventually limited the spread of splenetic fever, but the cattlemen's apparently violent revolt against the program is mentioned only in passing. The connections between cattle and their effects upon the history of Texas have been largely disregarded. As previously stated, the book is a history of cattle, and the reader ultimately wishes that the author had turned her not inconsiderable talents toward an historical question of larger importance.

Sandra Lee Ames
Southwestern University

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

July 24, 1975

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order at 10:00 a.m., Thursday, July 24, 1975, by President George H. Shirk. Senator Herschal H. Crow, Jr., attending his first Board meeting since being elected to the Board, was introduced by Denzil D. Garrison.

Executive Director Jack Wettengel called the roll. Those present were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydstun; O. B. Campbell; Herschal H. Crow, Jr.; Joe W. Curtis; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Bob Foresman; E. Moses Frye; Denzil D. Garrison; W. E. McIntosh; Dr. James Morrison; Fisher Muldrow; Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt; H. Milt Phillips; Jordan B. Reaves; Miss Genevieve Seger; George H. Shirk and H. Merle Woods. Those who had asked to be excused were Nolen J. Fuqua, Dr. A. M. Gibson, John E. Kirkpatrick and Earl Boyd Pierce.

In his Executive Director's report, Mr. Wettengel announced that eighty-four persons had made application to join the Society during the quarter. Of these, two had applied for life membership—Mrs. Zella Zane Bower, former annual member, and Mrs. O. Alton Watson. Mr. Frye moved to elect the applicants to membership; Miss Seger seconded the motion, which passed.

Mrs. Bowman gave the Treasurer's report, reading the total cash receipts and disbursements of Cash Revolving Fund 200 for the period. She distributed copies of the state audit, conducted early in fiscal year 1975, and asked the Board's instructions on the procedure to follow in the handling of the July payment of interest from the Life Membership Endowment Trust Fund. Miss Seger moved and Mr. Finney seconded to return the interest to the Endowment Fund for investment. The motion was approved.

As instructed by the Executive Committee, Mr. Shirk announced Governor David L. Boren's open meeting policy. He read his letter written to the Governor, reaffirming the Society's longstanding policy of open meetings, and also read the Governor's response.

The first of the committee reports was given by Mr. Phillips. He advised that the State Library had set up a microfilm processing plant and were processing rolls for the Society's Newspaper Library, but that they had been unable to catch up a backlog of 500 rolls of microfilm. Plans have been made

to forward the rolls to the Eastman Kodak processing plant in Dallas, Texas, for processing.

Mr. McIntosh said that a meeting of the Historic Sites Committee had been held at 9:00 a.m., prior to the Board meeting, and that the business of the meeting would be discussed as a special item on the agenda.

Regarding insurance for historic sites, Mr. Wettengel advised that he had been requested by C. E. Metcalf, Director of Historic Sites, to ask the Board to reconsider the policy of insurance for sites the Oklahoma Historical Society would have to replace if they were damaged. Mr. Finney asked if appropriated funds could be used for such insurance, and Mr. Wettengel answered they could.

Mr. Wettengel reported on the increase in the amount of paperwork demanded of the Historic Sites Division in complying with Federal programs. He said that another full time secretary and a part-time typist would be needed next year in order to process all the reports.

Mr. Wettengel spoke of the dig by the Society's archaeologist, Dr. Douglas D. Scott at Fort Towson now in progress; announced that two new sites had been transferred to the Society from the Tourism and Recreation Department—the Museum of the Cherokee Strip, Enid and the Cherokee Strip Museum, Perry. Mr. Wettengel told the Board that the Society is charged with the care of at least twelve cemeteries over the state for which there is no special appropriation. He recommended that this maintenance be dropped. Mr. Shirk objected to the application of this policy to the Worcester Cemetery at Park Hill. Mention was made of the need for funds for the rapidly deteriorating Teamsters' Cabin at Fort Supply. The needs of many sites throughout the state are increasing, according to Mr. Wettengel.

Dr. Morrison reported that restoration of the South Barracks is continuing at Fort Washita.

Mr. Shirk announced in his Publication Committee report that the revision of the Society's *Mark of Heritage* has gone to press and should be ready by Christmas. It is being printed by the University of Oklahoma Press at a cost of $15,000 and will be available in soft and hardbound editions. This work was first published in 1957 and is a guide to the location of each historical marker in the state.

Mr. Shirk also referred to the success of *The Chronicles*' reprint, *Territorial Governors of Oklahoma*, a signed copy of which was handed to each Board member.

The Museum Committee also met at 9:00 a.m. Dr. Fischer, Chairman, advised that the Museum is being rewired for the first time since its dedication in 1930. He spoke of the work of the members of the Junior League who will return for volunteer work in the fall. They have benefited the

Society immensely in the care of artifacts; some have attended museum workshops at the Smithsonian Institution.

A list of proposed artifact disposals had been presented to the Museum Committee for approval by the Committee and the Board. It was recommended that all items be disposed of by the proposed means, with the exceptions of Accession Numbers 7341–7342, cups and saucers which had belonged to George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, and Accession Numbers 7464–7467, four Japanese scrolls. It was moved by Dr. Fischer that all items be disposed of and title transferred by the means stated in the request with the recommended exceptions of the cups and saucers and the Japanese scrolls. Mr. Campbell seconded the motion, which carried.

Mrs. Bowman advised the Board that the Society carries insurance on loaned art works displayed in the Museum's Feature-of-the-Month program.

Mr. Wettengel called attention to the need for a coordinator of the associations working with the Overholser House project. Mr. Gene Cunningham, Architect, had agreed with this concept. The need is for a person who would represent the Oklahoma Historical Society and who would have considerable interest in Overholser, the American Institute of Architects and the Heritage Hills preservation area. It had been recommended that Margot Nesbitt be appointed by the President to fulfill this need. The recommendation was placed in the form of a motion by Mrs. Bowman and was seconded by Senator Garrison. Motion carried. She was then so appointed.

Mr. Boydstun spoke of continued efforts in securing land for the Honey Springs Battlefield Park. He also advised that several oil companies have requested permission to lease portions of the Honey Springs land for drilling. Honey Springs Commission members were opposed to the execution of a conventional lease. Mr. McIntosh suggested that the lease should be under unitization, and that wells should not be located directly on the Society's acreage. Service Drilling Company has submitted a five year term Oil and Gas Lease with such a provision covering 68 acre mineral interest in land in the SW¼ of Section 11–12N–17E, McIntosh County. It is the Company's intention to reenter an existing well within six months after acquisition of all leases covering this portion of land. Mr. Boydstun moved that the Board approve the lease with the McIntosh amendment. Mr. Frye noted that Oklahoma State University receives free gas if oil or gas is discovered on land owned by the University and asked if such a provision could be granted to the Historical Society. If so, it would be General Fund money. It was agreed that no wells should be drilled on any of the lands herein described:

N½ SW¼ NW¼ and the N½ S½ SW¼ NW¼ and the SE¼ NW¼ and the W½ SW¼ SW¼ and the W½ E½ SW¼ SW¼ and the North 20.0 acres of the East 50.0 acres of the S½ SW¼ Section 11–12N–17E McIntosh County, Oklahoma;

Dr. Fischer seconded this motion, which passed.

Mr. Foresman reported that the Education Department will be sending out letters this fall to all schools about the Society's Heritage Club project. Guthrie is the most active city in the state in the Heritage Club program with six groups.

The Department is planning an exhibit for the annual Oklahoma Education Association meeting, and will assist the state's fifth graders in Bicentennial projects. Mr. Foresman said that Oklahoma is one of the three most active states in the Union in Bicentennial planning. The films, "America" and "Civilisation" will be repeated this winter and a program of heritage highlights will be presented on Sunday afternoons during the winter.

Mr. Wettengel referred to the number of visitors and acquisitions to the Research Library. Mr. Wettengel referred to a serious theft problem that has arisen in the Library. To prevent further thefts, a visitor check-out system has been instituted. The State Bureau of Investigation has been working on the case, and one person has reported seeing someone taking a book. The Daughters of the American Revolution have requested a complete inventory of their holdings in the Society's Library. They asked that the Library be closed during the evening hours of July 23–25 for this purpose. Mrs. Simpson reported thirty-eight books are known to be missing from the Genealogy Section. These books are valued at nearly $3,000. Mr. Shirk asked the Board's cooperation in suppressing wild and untrue gossip regarding this matter. All were in favor of retaining the check-out procedure, which is used by major research libraries.

Mr. Shirk referred to the State Capital Press Building in Guthrie as one of the architectural gems of the state. The machinery still in the building looks as it did in 1906 and is in working order. The building is listed on the *National Register of Historic Sites* and Governor David L. Boren is interested in its preservation. It was purchased from Mrs. Myrtle Jackson by the Guthrie Chamber of Commerce, newspaper publishers over the state and individual contributors, and will be rehabilitated with the cooperation of the Chamber, the Oklahoma Press Association and the Oklahoma Historical Society. Title has not been accepted by the Society, pending the appropriation of adequate funding.

Mr. Shirk, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Wettengel met in Guthrie July 8, 1975 with representatives of the two other groups. Federal matching money in the amount of $75,000 has been designated for Phase I of the rehabilitation.

Approval has been received for $325,416 as the local share in kind to go through three phases of the project. The Guthrie Chamber of Commerce and the people of the community will have prime care of the structure.

Mr. Phillips pointed out that the Capital Press Building was not a newspaper, but a job printing operation.

Dow Gumerson, American Institute of Architects, has been selected as the architect for the project. After renegotiating, a ten percent fee was agreed upon but the State Board of Affairs has not as yet approved. They are being asked to reconsider the eight percent allowed originally. Further discussion followed on the funding of the Press Building. Mr. Phillips submitted a Memorandum of Understanding with Guthrie. He moved its adoption as the policy of the Society. Seconded by Miss Seger and adopted. The Memorandum is part of these minutes.

The Society's appropriation bill, "Senate Bill Seventy-three," was reviewed by Mr. Wettengel. He discussed Sections 1 and 2 of the bill which contained most of the items vetoed by Governor Boren—those items sponsored primarily by local groups. Section 3 of the bill was the Income Tax Adjustment Fund for "Unspecified Projects." Section 4 set the salary of the Executive Director and also set the number of employees. The Society was asked to limit and cut the number of staff members, but in order to carry out the programs given to the Society by the legislators, the Society requested that the number of staff members be increased to sixty-nine.

Section 5 appropriated from Revenue Sharing Fund monies for capital improvements to the Wiley Post Building; Section 6 stated that the Society will be subject to federal audit for the expenditures of Federal Revenue Sharing Funds; Section 7 reappropriated funds for the same purposes in the original amounts, less expended amounts, on accounts about to expire; Section 8 reappropriated funds for the Green McCurtain House, less expended amounts; Section 9 stated that Indian Hardrock Mining Museum has an account of its own in the State Treasury. Section 10 transferred the Cherokee Strip Museum and Henry S. Johnston Library, Perry, from the Tourism and Recreation Department to the Oklahoma Historical Society; Section 11 transferred the Museum of the Cherokee Strip, Enid, from the Tourism and Recreation Department to the Historical Society; Section 13 authorized the War Veterans' Commission to expend certain funds to prepare new office space, thereby vacating the Wiley Post Building.

Mr. Wettengel referred to a list of Capital Outlay Projects approved by the legislature as a guide for spending funds appropriated in Section 3. Discussion followed regarding the allocation of these funds: Mr. Shirk said that he and Mr. Phillips had met with the Governor three times, and the Governor had expressed his wish that the Society look after its existing

sites first and then make a judgment as to which other proposed projects would serve the cause of preservation statewide.

Mr. Shirk said the Executive Committee has met three times to review requests for appropriations, and he urged the Board to authorize the appointment of a committee to report to the next Board meeting with a recommended allocation list and in this manner discharge the obligation of the Society to the Governor, the legislature and the members of the Society. Mr. Shirk said the Governor was not for new projects, nor for projects where financing by local groups is available.

Mr. Muldrow moved that Mr. Shirk be given authority to appoint a committee to study requests for approval of allocation of funds from Section Three, "Senate Bill Seventy-three." Mr. Boydstun seconded and the motion passed.

Mr. Shirk then asked Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Mr. Phillips, Senator Crow, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Finney to serve on the Fund Allocation Committee. Dr. Fischer was asked to serve as Chairman of the Committee, whose members had been chosen because they represented all areas of the state and were familiar with each area entitled to have preservation attention and concern. The members accepted the responsibility and agreed to hold the first meeting following adjournment of the Board meeting.

Mr. Shirk informed the Board members of the gift in December, 1974 of non-producing minerals of property in Texas from Carolyn Skelly Burford to the Oklahoma Historical Society, the proceeds of which would be used generally for the care and restoration of historic homes, such as the Frank Phillips Home and the Overholser Mansion. Mrs. Nesbitt said the value of this gift had been appraised around $150,000, and asked that the Board formally accept the gift of the minerals as of the date of the conveyance. Mr. Curtis so moved; Mr. Boydstun seconded, and the motion carried.

Mr. Wettengel said that an appropriation was made a few years ago in hopes that a museum would be established to commemorate the Tinker Field area. A committee was appointed by the Board to investigate a possible site for such a museum. The Pate Organization, at the request of Major General Melvin F. McNickle, Chairman of the Tinker Area Air Force Museum Committee, submitted two proposals for the development of the museum and has approved payment for the feasibility study. The Science and Arts Foundation Building, to be vacated by that organization, was approved as the site.

The Oklahoma Historical Society has been requested to assist in the gathering of aeronautical history artifacts. Mr. Wettengel was asked to draw up a letter informing people of the need for donations of such artifacts before they become lost or donated to museums out of the state. Materials such

as documents, letters and books would be accepted and donors would be advised they were giving to a private trust, rather than the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. Reaves moved that the Board approve the offer, with the Tinker committee, of which McNickle is chairman, continuing its work on the project. Dr. Deupree seconded the motion and it was passed.

Dr. Fischer presented to the Board a Policies and Procedures statement which he had drafted as a codification of the Board's long-established policies regarding its Historic Sites program. Mr. Phillips moved to accept this statement and it was seconded by Mr. McIntosh. The motion carried and is an exhibit of these minutes.

Mr. Wettengel referred to the State Examiner's Report of the audit of the Oklahoma Historical Society and advised that the Society's handling of federal grant funds had been approved.

Mr. Phillips reported on a visit he and Mr. Wettengel had made to the 1894 home near Cowlington of Russell Overstreet and his sister, Margaret Overstreet. They have offered their home and its contents to the Society, but were advised that the Society could not accept such a gift unless there were provisions for maintenance and repair. Suggestions had been made for such, but further study was needed of the offer. Senator Garrison moved to give the offer to the newly-appointed Fund Allocation Committee for their study and recommendations. Miss Seger seconded the motion, which passed.

Stating that it was with considerable personal sorrow, Mr. Shirk advised the Board that Mrs. Gladys Washbourne Howard, great, great granddaughter of Major Ridge and sister of Major General Lee Washbourne died suddenly on Wednesday, July 23. It was recalled that she had almost single-handedly been responsible for the rehabilitation of Polson Cemetery and for the erection in the cemetery of a large granite marker as a memorial to Stand Watie. She also caused the remains of Mrs. Watie to be reinterred from Monkey Island on the Grand Lake O'The Cherokees to the Polson Cemetery beside those of her husband. Mrs. Howard was a nominee for the vacancy existing on the Board. By ballot, it was agreed to postpone the election until the October 23 meeting. Mr. Wettengel was instructed to follow the notification of nominees procedure.

Mr. Shirk read a letter received from Dr. William Murtagh of the United States Department of the Interior's National Park Service wherein Dr. Murtagh criticized the Society for not having a professional staff consisting of a full time architect, historian and archaeologist. It was also pointed out that Oklahoma only has 269 historic sites, whereas some other states have "thousands of sites" on the *Register*. The National Park Service suspects this

weakness is due to the lack of a professional staff. The Society does have a professional archaeologist in Scott, assigned to the Fort Towson restoration.

Mr. Shirk recommended that the staff be reorganized in such a way as to meet requirements as set forth by the National Park Service, Mr. Phillips moved that Mr. Shirk follow the recommended procedure; Senator Garrison seconded, and the motion passed.

Mr. Woods presented each of the Board members a booklet describing Fort Reno and notified them that he would present a resolution at the next meeting to be sent to the Department of the Interior requesting that no more buildings be torn down at the fort. This fort is still intact and to destroy buildings which now exist which might be reconstructed at some future time would be acts of gross extravagance.

Certificates have been prepared for all sites in Oklahoma which are on the *National Register*. Mr. Shirk asked that Board members work with Mr. Wettengel to arrange ceremonies on behalf of the State of Oklahoma to present the certificates to representatives of the sites. Mr. Wettengel will contact each Board member about registered sites in his area.

Mr. Reaves commented on a letter he had received from Mrs. Norma Reed of Tulsa, who had donated a sewing machine to the Confederate Memorial Hall of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The machine was bought by Mrs. Reed's grandmother, Ellen Boult Thayer, who supported herself as a very young woman by making Confederate uniforms. She and her husband moved to Oklahoma in 1899.

Dr. Fischer moved that J. A. Tomkins, Jr. be awarded a Certificate of Commendation for his volunteer work in saving artifacts from the Oklahoma City urban renewal area. The motion was seconded by Dr. Deupree, and was adopted.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 1:20 p.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

JACK WETTENGEL,
Executive Director

MEMORANDUM

(*State Capital* Building (Co-op) Project)

FROM: George H. Shirk
MEMORANDUM: Synopsis of understanding reached at conference in Guthrie 8 July 1975
There were in attendance at a meeting at 3:30 p.m. Tuesday, 8 July 1975 in

the City Council chambers in Guthrie all of the needed participants required to accomplish the necessary understandings. See attached list of conferees.

FACTS

Following are the salient facts as understood by the conference:

1. The State Capital Building is presently owned by the Guthrie Chamber of Commerce including all of its contents, machinery and equipment. $25,000 of the original purchase price remains unpaid.

2. It is not feasible for the State Preservation Officer to use Fiscal Year 1975 Federal funds to pay the remainder of the purchase price. If so, having been purchased in part by federal money, the real estate, buildings and personal property would not be eligible as the local "in kind" match.

3. The appraised value of the real estate, improvements, machinery and equipment for federal "in kind" matching purposes is $323,416. Washington accepts this figure based upon document executed by the former owner, Myrtle Jackson, to the effect that she recognizes she sold it to the Guthrie Chamber of Commerce for less than its true value.

4. The State Preservation Officer has allocated $75,000 of Fiscal Year 1975 federal funds for rehabilitation and restoration (Phase I).

5. Rehabilitation will be done generally in three phases under the supervision of Dow Gumerson, American Institute of Architects. Washington has advanced to the State Historic Preservation Officer $6,750 for architectural fees. This sum has been turned to the State Board of Affairs.

6. The level of funding for Fiscal Year 1976 from Washington available to the State Historic Preservation Officer for matching fund projects has not yet been determined. It is hoped it will be higher than Fiscal Year 1975.

7. The State Historic Preservation Officer has indicated full agreement to make a portion of future years federal apportionments available so that the three phases of rehabilitation could reach the total of $323,416.

8. None of the federal money may be used for acquisition or for operation and maintenance.

9. A line item in the Oklahoma Historical Society's Fiscal Year 1976 appropriation for this project is $2,500. No other state funds are available to the Society for this project prior to Fiscal Year 1977.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Guthrie Chamber of Commerce will do whatever is required, using Bicentennial funds or otherwise, to clear the title of any liens or other claims so that it may be conveyed in fee simple to the Oklahoma Historical Society as an outright gift. The machinery, equipment and personal property will be simultaneously transferred by bill of sale. Certain items of personal property will be retained by the Chamber.

2. This gift to the State of Oklahoma will qualify under the National Historic Preservation program as a local "in kind" matching share to the amount of $323,416, unless for some reason unknown at this time Washington reduces that amount to some other appraised valuation.

3. Using federal matching money the State Historic Preservation Officer will proceed to rehabilitate through the Board of Affairs the entire structure under plans as prepared by Dow Gumerson, American Institute of Architects. Of Fiscal Year 1975 funds $75,000 will be made available to accomplish Phase I.

4. Phases II and III, as determined and defined by Gumerson will be accomplished out of Fiscal Year 1976 et seq. funds as they are available to the State Historic Preservation Officer but in no events for more than the state "in kind" matching share.

5. The Society will operate the facility as a satellite activity of the Guthrie Territorial Museum.

6. The Society will be obligated to expend in the years ahead for operation, utilities, custodial care, etc. the greater of:

(a) $2,500; or

(b) the amount of each year's line item appropriation from the Legislature in the Society's annual appropriation bill.

7. Guthrie will at all times actively participate through docents, voluntary activities, organized local clubs and otherwise to provide to the custodian of the Guthrie Territorial Museum enough voluntary help so that the facility will be a worthwhile aspect of the heritage of Oklahoma.

8. The Oklahoma Press Association will provide to the Society an advisory committee and will at all times take an active, but not necessarily financial, interest in the project.

9. The ability of the Society to provide custodians, curators, receptionists, printed pamphlets, etc. will be limited to the level of its funding for this project. At the present time the most that the $2,500 could be expected to provide would be such things as utilities.

10. Guthrie will at all times keep its legislative delegation actively informed on the progress of the project and its importance to the heritage of Oklahoma.

11. Staff members of the Society will provide to the extent that time permits technical advice as required and on call.

12. The State of Oklahoma does not maintain insurance on its properties and none will be maintained on this facility by the Society.

13. All of the foregoing is subject to the approval of the Board of Directors of the Society at its quarterly meeting on Thursday, July 24.

POLICIES AND PROCEDURES
HISTORIC SITES PROGRAM
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society, authorized by state law to own, maintain, operate, lease or accept by gift, historical sites, structures or objects, is also a corporate association of persons interested in preservation and display of such sites, structures and objects. This dual responsibility to state government and to its membership over the state and nation, requires the Society to establish and follow guidelines in the acceptance, operation, maintenance or funding of sites, structures or objects within the State of Oklahoma. Oklahoma Historical Society follows the rules set out herein, as guidelines for decisions by the Oklahoma Historical Board of Directors, its officers and staff:

1. The Society will accept for operation and maintenance only such sites, structures or objects as are of statewide historical interest and for which adequate and continuing maintenance and operation funds are assured. This applies to both individual gifts and to governmental or legislative acquisitions.

2. Statutory and legislative authority places upon the Oklahoma Historical Society extensive obligations and responsibilities. To fulfill these obligations and responsibilities, including operation of the Society (Wiley Post) building with its extensive museum, libraries, artifacts and objects, the Society depends upon annual state appropriations for its complete operation and maintenance. It is the policy of the Oklahoma Historical Society, through its officers, directors and staff to consult, counsel with and fully inform state governmental officials, legislators and local governmental entities, on all functions and activities of Oklahoma Historical Society. It is the policy of the Society to meet the requests of governmental, legislative or educational institutions when the essential resources are available and the requests fall within the categories set out herein.

3. State significance of historic locations is ascribed to buildings, sites, objects or districts which possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the historical (history and archeology) aspects of our state such as:

(a) Structures or sites at which events occurred that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified prominently with, or which outstandingly represent, the broad cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of Oklahoma from which an understanding and appreciation of the larger patterns of our heritage may be gained.

(b) Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of persons significant in the history of Oklahoma.

(c) Structures or sites associated significantly with an important event that outstandingly represents Oklahoma.

(d) Structures that embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type or specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction; or a notable structure representing the work of a master builder, designer or architect.

(e) Objects that figured prominently in state significant events; or that were prominently associated with state significant persons; or that outstandingly represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or that embody distinguishing characteristics of a type specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction; or that are notable as representations of the work of master workers or designers.

(f) Archeological sites that have produced information of a major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have produced, or which may reasonably be expected to produce, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.

4. When preserved or restored as integral parts of the environment, historic buildings not sufficiently significant individually by reason of historical association or architectural merit to warrant recognition may collectively compose a "historic district" that is of historical significance to Oklahoma in commemorating or illustrating a way of life in its developing culture.

5. Sites, structures or objects must possess state significance, a historic or prehistoric structure, district, site or object must possess integrity. For a historic or prehistoric site, integrity requires original location and intangible elements of feeling and association. The site of a structure no longer standing may possess state significance if the person or event associated with the structure was of major importance to the development of the state's history.

6. For a historic or prehistoric structure, integrity is a composite quality derived from original workmanship, original location and intangible elements of feeling and association.

7. For a historic district, integrity is a composite quality derived from original workmanship, original location and intangible elements of feeling and association inherent in an ensemble of historic buildings having visual architectural unity.

8. Structures or sites which are of significance only in the field of religion or of religious bodies, unless they also have made a significant contribution

to the broad cultural, political, economic, social, military or architectural fields of the history of Oklahoma, are not eligible for consideration.

9. Birthplaces, graves, burials and cemeteries, as a general rule, are not eligible for consideration and recognition except in cases of historical figures of great importance. Historic sites associated with the actual careers and contributions of outstanding historical personages are more important than their birthplaces and burial places.

10. Museums to be considered for funding support must possess thematic collections and displays which are in general one-of-a-kind in Oklahoma and which primarily display a content which is of unique historical significance to the state.

11. Projects with local matching funds will have priority preference in the allocation of funds from the Oklahoma Historical Society. Support to the project by Bicentennial funding must be considered to avoid possible duplication.

12. Any historic project, structure or function designated by legislative enactment, or by legislative appropriation, will be accepted for operation by the Oklahoma Historical Society. This acceptance shall apply and will be in full force and effect so long as adequate funds are provided for operation of such project, structure or function, including adequate funding for administration and supervision.

Codified, affirmed and readopted by the Board of Directors July 24, 1975.

GIFT LIST FOR SECOND QUARTER, 1975

LIBRARY:

Descendants of Nancy Ward—Beloved Woman of the Cherokees. Compiled by David Keith Hampton, 1975.
Donor: Author/compiler, Norman, Oklahoma.

Thrilling Lives of Buffalo Bill—Colonel William F. Cody, Last of the Great Scouts and Pawnee Bill—Major Gordon W. Lillie, White Chief of the Pawnees, by Frank Winch, 1911.
Donor: Mary DeBusk Voth, Des Moines, Iowa.

The Presson Family in the South 1690–1974—Nicholas Presson, the Elder of York County, Virginia and Some of His Descendants. Researched and written by Mary Lee Martin Ervin, 1974, under the direction of William Howard Pat O'Bryan.
Donor: William Howard Pat O'Bryan, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Land is Free by Essie Richardson Cornett, 1974.
Donor: Miss Jo Richardson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society 1814–1824, Vol. I, 1814–1819. Compiled/edited by Karl J. R. Arndt, 1975.
Donor: Donald S. Kennedy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Baseball's Hall of Fame by Ken Smith, 1947.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Charles Saulsberry, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

File of newspaper clippings of Oklahoma collected by Miss Gertrude Bracht.
Donor: Mrs. Vernon Beals, Oklahoma City in Memory of her sister, Miss Bracht.

Key to Migration Sources Great Britain and North America by Norman E. Wright and David H. Pratt, 1967.
North American Genealogical Sources Southern States. Compiled by Norman E. Wright, 1968.
Donor: Sybil Barker and Patty Eubanks, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Weather, 1975 by Gary England of KWTV Channel 9, Oklahoma City.
Donor: Michael and Richie Hull, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Frontier Lore, 1975, No. I.
Donor: Pottawatomie County Historical Society, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

The Choctaw Nation and the Chickasaw Nation, Plaintiffs vs. The Cherokee Nation, Defendant; In the United States District Court For the Eastern District of Oklahoma, No. 73–332 Civil Court, April 15th, 1975.
Donor: Earl Boyd Pierce, Fort Gibson and Muskogee, Oklahoma.

The Long Ago by Celeste C. Lael, with additions by L. L. Shirley, 1964.
Donor: Jeanne Dark, Wynnewood Historical Society, Wynnewood, Oklahoma.

Indian Law Enforcement History, by Eugene F. Juarez, Sr., Chief Division of Law Enforcement Services, 1975.
Donor: Author/compiler, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Law Enforcement Services, Washington, D.C.

Death Listing Mt. Pleasant Presbyterian Church or Tomahuski of Mayhew, Oklahoma. Copied by Mrs. Beulah Markham, Caddo, Oklahoma.
Donor: Compiler, Caddo, Oklahoma and Mr. and Mrs. Dee Casey, Cleveland, Oklahoma.

Clippings of Death Notices in Oklahoma City; Schubert Choral Club clippings, 1933–1934 and other items of historic interest.
Donor: Mrs. O. O. McCracken, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Sheridan Cemetery, Kingfisher County, Oklahoma. Copied by Nancy Barr Impastato, 1975.
Dover Cemetery, Kingfisher County, Oklahoma. Copied by Nancy Barr Impastato, 1975.
Donor: Mrs. David Impastato, Studio City, California.

Collection of Oklahoma newspaper clippings.
Donor: George Desper, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Perspective on Police Assaults in the South Central United States, Vols. I, II and III, by Samuel G. Chapman, Charles D. Hale, C. Kenneth Meyer, 1974.
Operations Research Manual by Samuel G. Chapman, 1974.
Donor: Samuel G. Chapman, Projects Director, Norman, Oklahoma.

The White Man's Road: The Physical and Psychological Impact of Relocation on the Southern Plains Indians by Dr. Virginia R. Allen, 1975. Offprint from *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. XXX, No. 2, April, 1975.
Donor: Dr. Allen, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Divorce Seeker's Paradise: Oklahoma Territory 1890–1897 by Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. and Lonnie E. Underhill, 1975. A reprint from *Arizona and the West*, Vol. XVII.
Donor: Authors, Little Rock, Arkansas and Tucson, Arizona.

Laban Stafford—His Ancestors and Descendants by Ernest N. Stafford, 1962.
Donor: Author, Escondido, California.

Persimmon Hill, Vol. V, No. 2, 1975.
Donor: Director and Managing Editor, Dean Krakel, Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Plat Book of Lafayette County, Missouri, 1879.
Donor: Ms. Ellen Husky, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Our Hubbard Ancestry and American Heritage by Jean H. Lorenz, 1974.
Donor: Author, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Army National Guard—An Annual History, Vol. VI, 1973. State Historian, Warrant Officer Clem J. Reeder.
Donor: Oklahoma National Guard, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Illiterate Digest by Will Rogers, edited with an Introduction by Joseph A. Stout, Jr. Sponsored by the Will Rogers Memorial Commission and Oklahoma State University; Registered Book Number Twenty-three to Oklahoma Historical Society.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Town and Place Locations by Ralph Hicks and Oklahoma Department of Highways, 1975.
George Bowman and His Descendants. Compiled by Anna H. Bowman, 1973.
Moving West of the Appalachians by Harry Emerick, 1971.
Some Kentuckians Move West. Compiled by Anna H. Bowman, April 1970.
First City Directory of Oklahoma City, Indian Territory, August 22, 1889. Xeroxed copy.
Record of Marriages Morgan County, Missouri, 3 July 1881 to 23 February 1888. Copied by Ilene Sims Yarnell, 1974.
1850 Census—Tennessee, Vol. III, Gaskell Through Jonas. Transcribed/Indexed by Byron and Barbara Sistler, 1975.
Ash Tree Echo, Vol. IX, 1974.
(The) *Backtracker*, Vol. III, 1974.
Central Illinois Genealogical Quarterly, Vol. X, 1974.
Decatur Genealogical Society Membership Directory, 1974–1975.

East Kentuckian, Vol. IX, 1974–1975.
Echoes, Vol. XX (East Tennessee Historical Society), 1974.
Kansas City Genealogist, Vol. XII, 1974–1975.
Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XL, 1974.
Kentucky Ancestors, Vol. X, 1974–1975.
(The) *Kentucky Historical Chronicle*, Vol. IX, 1975.
Midwest Genealogical Register, Vol. IX, 1974–1975.
Mississippi Genealogical Exchange, Vol. XX, 1974.
Santa Clara County Historical and Genealogical Society, Vol. XI, 1974–1975.
Trail Blazers, 1975.
Yellowed Pages, Vol. III, 1973.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

File Case containing personal and business items of the late A. W. Nicklas of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. Alma (C. C.) Brewer, Edmond, Oklahoma.

The Paul S. Cooke Memorial Collection.
The Augustan, 1973.
Inaugural Program of Governor Raymond Gary, January 10, 1955.
"Cadet Days of Will Rogers," 1935. A 1970 reprint of original.
Oklahoma Silver Jubilee Anthology Poetry Society of Oklahoma, 1934–1959.
Numerous newsclippings from Oklahoma papers.
Musical Arts Scrapbook of Mrs. Paul S. Cooke.
Appointment of Paul S. Cooke as an Honorary Colonel on the Governor's Staff, July 13, 1957.
Memory Scrap-Book of Katherine Joss Cooke.
Historical Album of Haskell, Oklahoma compiled by Katherine Joss Cooke and Paul S. Cooke.
The 1948 Chieftain Annual of Muskogee Central High School.
Two political scrap books regarding Paul S. Cooke.
Collection of Dance Programs.
Muskogee—The Biography of An Oklahoma Town by Grant Foreman, 1943.
Oklahoma Constitutional Studies. Directed by Dr. H. V. Thornton, 1950.
Grace Church, Muskogee, Oklahoma—Notes on Confirmation Lectures, 1946.
Programs of The Oklahoma City Gridiron Club for 1951–1964.
Audit—Report on Oklahoma Aviation Commission for July 1, 1947–September 30, 1951.
Audit—Report on Mental Health, July 1, 1950–December 31, 1951.
"Seeing Muskogee" by Frances Rosser Brown, 1944.
Muskogee Junior College Bulletin and General Catalog, July 1947.
Souvenir Hollywood Invitational Premier of "Oklahoma" at Egyptian Theatre, Hollywood, California, November 17, 1955.
Oklahoma Game and Fish News, December 1951.
State Governments in the South: Functions and Problems by L. Vaughan Howard and John H. Fention, 1956.
Donor: Mrs. Paul S. Cooke, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Inez B. Biggerstaff Memorial Collection.
Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd. Series, Vol. III.

Lancaster County, Virginia, Abstract of Wills, 1653–1800, by Ida J. Lee.
Land Lottery List—Oglethorpe and Hancock Counties, Georgia, Martha Lou Houston.
Melbourne H. Ford—Michigan Representative.
Soldiers of the Revolution Buried in Ohio.
Soldiers of the Revolution Who Lived in Ohio, Daughters of the American Revolution.
Loyalist in North Carolina During the Revolution, Robert O. Demond.
Official Register Land Lottery of Georgia by Martha Lou Houston.
Kentucky Cemetery Records, Daughters of American Revolution of Kentucky.
West Virginia—Archives & History, Virgil A. Lewis.
Jamestown, Virginia—Townsight and Its Story, Charles E. Hatch.
The Douglas Register, by Mac Jones.
History Henrico Parish and Old St. John's Church, J. Staunton Moore.
Bible Records and Marriage Bonds—Tennessee, by Jeanette Tillston Acklen.
Cherokee Land Lottery by James F. Smith.
History of Roane County, Tennessee, Emma Middleton Wills.
Twelve Virginia Counties by John H. Gwathmey.
Register of Albemarle Parish—Surry & Sussex Counties, by Gertrude R. B. Richards.
1800 Census of Pendleton District, South Carolina by William C. Stewart.
Records of Walker County, Alabama, by Florence Knight Guttery.
Quit Rent Roll of Virginia, 1704–1705, by Weurtenbaker.
Maury County, Tennessee Marriage Records, by Virginia Wood Alexander.
Records of Walker County, Alabama by Florence Knight Guttery.
Preble County, Ohio, Marriages 1808–1830, by Short and Bowers.
Brunswick County, Virginia Marriage Bonds 1750–1810, by Catherine Lindsay Knorr.
Halifax County Virginia Marriage Bonds, 1753–1800, by Catherine L. Knorr.
Sketches of Virginia, by Reverend William H. Foote.
Index to Eight Counties of Pennsylvania, by I. D. Rupp.
Land Lottery Grants—Georgia, by Alex M. Hetz.
Passports Issued by Governor of Georgia, 1810–1820, by Mary G. Bryan.
Robertson County, Texas—Marriage Bonds, by Inez Boswell Biggerstaff.
Clinton County, Missouri—Wills and Administrations, by Nanon Lucille Carr.
Humphrey County, Tennessee—1850 Census & Notes, by Jill Knight Garrett.
Early Quaker Records in Virginia.
Accomac County, Virginia—Marriages, 1774–1806, by Nottingham.
People Living in Williamson County, Tennessee, 1820, by Edythe Whitley.
Four Thousand Tombstone Inscriptions—Texas, by Mrs. Malcom B. Biggerstaff.
National Archives Guide to Genealogical Records, by Calket & Bridgers.
Handbook of American Genealogy, by Frederick A. Virkus.
Unpublished Parish Records of Virginia, by Katherine Gottschalk.
1820 Census—Five Counties of Tennessee, by Mary Lou Houston.
The Calhoun Settlement District of Abbeville, South Carolina, by F. de Sales Dungas.
General Aids to Genealogical Research, by National Genealogical Society.
Genealogical Research in Northeastern & Central United States, by Roberta P. Wakefield.
Genealogical Research of Southern Families, by Roberta P. Wakefield.
Passports Issued by Georgia Governors, 1785–1809, by Mary G. Bryan.
Members of Legislature of Texas, 1846–1939, by Tommy Yett.
Mississippi Genealogical Exchange, Mississippi Genealogical Society, 1956–1972.

Stanley & Kindred Families, by Florence and John Guttery.
The Staats Family Genealogy, by Harold Staats.
Biographical Data—Henry County, Virginia, by Judith P. Hill.
Descendants of Hancock, Cofer, Jones and Massie, by Helen L. Bloore.
Family of Dr. Robert Turner Allison and Martha Burnett Clinton, by J. B. Allison.
Marriages in Rockingham County, Virginia, 1795–1825, by John W. Wayland.
Sketches of North Carolina, by William Henry Foote.
The Fordham and Haskins Families, by Inez Boswell Biggerstaff.
Atherton Family Records, by Nettie L. Major and Inez B. Biggerstaff.
Meek Genealogy of South Carolina.
Morris—South Carolina, by Leonardo Andrea.
46th Annual Wyatt Reunion, Donalds, South Carolina, by Leonardo Andrea.
John Martindill Cordwainer, by Cleveland and Roe.
Franklin—South Carolina Families, by Leonardo Andrea.
Boswell Miscellany.
Chadwell Family.
Morris Family of West Virginia, by Henry William Fulling.
The Meek Family—South Carolina, by James Ballison.
Lee County, Virginia Deed Records—Ball and Gibson Bible Records.
Atherton Research—Cumberland, Chester, York and Quaker Records, by Inez B. Biggerstaff.
Atherton Research—Pennsylvania and Delaware, by Inez B. Biggerstaff.
Monasco and Kindred Families, by Mrs. John M. Guttery, Sr.
Burton and Pratt Families, by Florence Knight Guttery.
Chappell—England, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, etc., by Mrs. John M. Guttery.
Emily Donelson of Tennessee, Vols. I and II, by Pauline Wilcox Burke.
Tennessee Genealogical Records, Vols. VII, VIII, IX, X, by Edythe R. Whitley.
Hays County, Texas Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 1, 1967, by Historical and Genealogical Society.
Arkansas Traveler, by Inez R. Waldenmaier.
Gammill Family—Tennessee, copied by Jennie Bell Lyle.
The Myers Cavalcade, by Myers and Swindle; Number 2.
Protestant Immigrants to South Carolina 1763–1773, by Janie Revill.
The Riggs Family—Kentucky, by Margaret S. Hartman.
Dunn Family, by Leonardo Andrea.
Genealogical Guide—Master Index, Daughters of the American Revolution.
Glover Memorials and Genealogies, by Anna Glover.
The Huguenot—Founders of Virginia, Mrs. Joseph Wayne Green, editor.
Mortality Schedule—United States Census, The United States Census Bureau, 1944.
Descendants of Nicholas Perkins—Charles City, Virginia, by William K. Hall.
The Huguenot—Founders of Manakin, Virginia, Editorial Committee of Huguenot Society.
Genealogical and Historical Works Catalog, 1940, Daughters of the American Revolution.
Roster of National Society of Colonial Dames, 1953–1954, Colonial Dames.
Sketches of Western North Carolina, by C. L. Hunter.
Annals of Lincoln County, North Carolina, by William L. Sherrill.
D. A. R. Patriot Index, 1966, Daughters of the American Revolution.

Cumberland Parish, Lunenburg County, Virginia, by Landon C. Bell.
Lost Virginia Records—Duplicates, by Louis des Cognets, 1958.
The Old Free State, Vols. I and II, by Landon C. Bell.
The Pension List of 1818, War Department, 1820. Reprint.
Virginia Colonial Militia, 1661–1776, by William Armstrong Crozier, 1954.
Revolutionary Pensioners of 1818, War Department.
Spotsylvania County Records, 1721–1800, by William Armstrong Crozier.
Abstract of North Carolina Wills, 1760–1800, by Fred A. Olds.
Colonial Granville County, Virginia and Its People, by Worth S. Ray.
Colonial Surry County, by John B. Boddie.
How Justice Grew, by Martha W. Hiden.
South Carolina Counties—Districts, Parishes and Townships, by Janie Revill.
Early East Tennessee Tax Lists, by Mary Bennett Curtis.
Anderson County, Tennessee—1802 Tax List, by Mary Bennett Curtis.
The Virginia Genealogist, 1957–1973; *Index* 1971–1973; 1974 incomplete.
National Genealogical Society Quarterly, 1957–1969; *Index* 1957, 1958, 1960, 1968; *1958 Family Name Register.*
The Georgia Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. III, 1966–67.
The Georgia Genealogical Magazine, Nos. 21–30; Nos. 35–46; 1966–1968 and 1970–1972.
The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XXXIX, 1931; incomplete years, 1932, 1930, 1933.
Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, Vol. 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973 complete; Vols. LXXI and CI incomplete.
Flashback, all incomplete for 1953, 1964, 1965 and 1966.
The Alabama Genealogical Register, incomplete for 1960.
Georgia Pioneers, Vols. III and IV incomplete.
Tennessee Genealogical Records, Vols. IV, V, VI.
Oklahoma Genealogical Society Bulletin/Quarterly, Vols. I, II, III, IV, V complete; Vols. VI, VII incomplete.
The North Carolinian, Vols. I and IV complete; Vols. II and III incomplete.
Stewart Clan Magazine, Vols. XXI–XXV all incomplete.
The Genealogical Helper, Vols. VI–X incomplete; Vols. XII, XIV, XV incomplete.
Scrapbook of clippings from *Confederate Veteran.*
Collection of Manuscripts on following subjects and families: Jones Family; Wills-Deeds, Estate Settlement of Minetree, Jones and Powell; Correspondence—Minetree, Jones, and Powell Reference Data; Correspondence of Nanon L. Carr re Biggerstaff-Allied Families; Three on McGraw Family; Hall and George Families; Moore-Jones and Hughes; Morris of West Virginia and Kentucky; Bradshaw Family; Boswell Family; The Athertons of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania; Notes on Armistead and Churchill Families of Middlesex County, Virginia; Patterson Family of South Carolina; William P. Pressly; Dodson Family; Pranter Family; Ray Family; Henry Family; Arrington Family; Adam's Chart; collection of unsorted family histories; numerous census readings.
A Subject Card Index file.
Compiled Notebooks: "Index to Davidson's History of Kentucky;" "Dropped Stitches in Southern History" by Mrs. John Trotwell Moore; "2400 Revolutionary Soldiers Who Drew Pensions in Tennessee" by Zella Armstrong; Accomack County, Virginia Mar-

riage Records" by Nottingham; "North Carolina Petitions to the State of Franklin and the Signers—North Carolina Colonial Records;" "Marriage Bonds in Goochland County, Virginia;" "Roane County, Tennessee Will Index;" "List of Ministers and Congregations of the Synod of Ulster and the Presbytery of Antrim Ireland;" "Settlers By the Long Grey Trail;" "King's Mountain Men;" "Microfilm Records in the State Department of Archives and History Raleigh, North Carolina;" "Register of St. Stephens Parish, Northumberland County, Virginia;" "Virginia Quit Rents, 1704;" "Marriage Records of Wythe and Montgomery Counties of Virginia;" "Georgia Archives;" "Fairfax County, Virginia Land Records"; "Revolutionary War Records of Members of the Dodson Family;" "Tombstone Inscriptions From Robertson County, Texas."

Some Tombstone Inscriptions—Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas. by Inez Boswell Biggerstaff.

Williamson County, Tennessee Will Book 1819–1825 by Hayes and Duke.

Index to Alabama Wills 1808–1825, by Alabama Daughters of American Revolution.

Abstracts Of Wills and Other Records North Carolina, by Gordon C. Jones.

1790 Heads of Families, North Carolina, S. N. D. North, Director.

They Were Here—Georgia Genealogical Records, Frances Wund, Editor, Vols. I-V all incomplete.

Donor: Family of late Mrs. Malcom Biggerstaff, Fort Worth, Texas.

PHOTOGRAPH SECTION:

S. M. Ware and Friend? Babcock, President and Secretary of first County Fair in Stillwater, Payne County, Oklahoma.

Donor: James S. Pope, Kirkwood, Missouri.

Copy of tintype of Frances Jones, daughter of Robert M. Jones, 1865.

Copy of charcoal sketch of Frances Jones ca 1875–1885.

Photograph of dining table from "Rose Hill" home of Choctaw Robert M. Jones.

Donor: Mrs. E. Watson, Idabel, Oklahoma by Doug Scott, Fort Towson, Oklahoma.

Pine Belt Hotel, Fort Towson, Oklahoma.

Donor: Mrs. Evelyn Sanders, Idabel, Oklahoma, by Doug Scott, Fort Towson, Oklahoma.

First Joint Session of Oklahoma State Legislature in New Capitol Building, January 19, 1917.

Donor: Dr. and Mrs. O. Alton Watson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Color enlargement of Cal Farley's Boys Ranch Band of Amarillo, Texas leading Oklahoma City parade on July 4, 1973.

Donor: L. E. Fitzjarrald, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

"Hell's Half Acre," Perry, Oklahoma Territory, 1893.

The Dust Storm at Perry, September 17–18.

First Train Leaving the Line north of Orlando for Perry, September 16, 1893.

Waiting for the Signal on the South Line of the Cherokee Outlet ("Strip") Opening, September 16, 1893.

Donor: Miss Alice M. Owens, Denver, Colorado.

"The Eisenhower College Collection"—portfolio of four reproductions in color of the original paintings done by the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
"Miniatures, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma"—tiny pictorial booklet-album of twenty-four photographs, 1906, published by Vosburgh's Book Store, Oklahoma City by Tom Jones, Scenic Souvenirs, of Cincinnati, Ohio.
Donor: Miss Mary Alice Boyd, Mrs. Edward de Lancey of Glendale, California and Miss Florence O. Wilson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

First Scheduled Electric Car of Oklahoma Railway Company at Edmond, Oklahoma May 28, 1911.
Group of Employees of Oklahoma Railway Company.
"Kerr's Half Holiday" postal card.
Donor: Mrs. Sam Harlan, Mangum, Oklahoma by John Womack, Noble, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Author, Blanche Seal Hunt of Fallis, Oklahoma, and her friends—numerous dolls representing her beloved brain-child, "Little Brown Koko."
Donor: Dr. John Morris, Norman, Oklahoma.

The W. J. Pettee Hardware Store, January 21, 1901.
A Hanging at old Oklahoma City Court House (formerly located on South Broadway, south of Sheridan on west side) prior to statehood.
Two of the brewery located at Third and Santa Fe streets established by William A. Krafft, Sr., prior to statehood.
Donor: Mrs. Max Pritschow, Oklahoma City, by George H. Shirk.

Marlow Depot ca 1905.
Donor: F. N. Livengood, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Album of Pauls Valley, Guthrie, Oklahoma City water works, dam sites and Kingfisher photographs—total thirty-seven.
Donor: Mrs. Alma M. Brewer, Edmond, Oklahoma. Part of A. W. Nicklas Collection.

MUSEUM:

Two watercolor paintings, "Moved to Town" and "Fort Washita" by donor.
Source: Allen Richards, San Antonio, Texas.

Items associated with history of Chisholm Trail.
Source: Chisholm Trail Museum Historical Association Waurika, Oklahoma, by Willis Worley, President.

Military patches collected by donor during World War II.
Source: J. Guy Fuller, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Political material: Broom, "Boren For Governor."
Source: John Womack, Noble, Oklahoma.

Family items.
Source: Mrs. Lucille Lake Burris, Yale, Oklahoma.

Personal items.
Source: Mrs. A. S. Monroney, Washington, D.C.

Photograph, "Houston F. Fleetwood;" stake pin; whiskey bottle; fruit jar; wagon sheet.
Source: A. B. Cardwell, Ringgold, Texas.

McCurtain family items.
Source: Mrs. Greenwood M. McCurtain, Fort Worth, Texas.

Women's suits, 1945–1950.
Source: Mrs. Ann Hays Johnsey, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

PBX 740 system, including switchboard, window, and numerous miscellaneous items; originally installed at Harbour-Longmire store in downtown Oklahoma City.
Source: Southwestern Bell Telephone Company, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Two books, 1903 *Statutes of Oklahoma*, Vol. I and Vol. II.
Source: P. C. Largent, Jr., Waurika, Oklahoma.

Square nails, straight edge razors, from early day Tishomingo.
Source: Joe V. Ratliff, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Envelope with pictures of early day Tishomingo; invitation, 1907.
Source: Mrs. James Peters, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Commemorative plate, the third in a series of four being produced by the Fenton Art Glass Company, depicting four major aspects of the American Revolution. The production of these plates is an official United States of America Bicentennial Commemorative Project of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.
Source: Oklahoma State Federation of Women's Clubs by Mrs. Randall Spears, President, Ardmore, Oklahoma.

Old soda bottle, found in Tishomingo near Pennington Creek.
Source: Danny Kite, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Drill, ca 1900; bit gauge, made by donor in his blacksmith shop.
Source: A. L. Jackson, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Nineteenth century maps.
Source: Mrs. Arthur Scott, Chickasha, Oklahoma.

Oil portrait of Elmer Fraker, painted by Frederick A. Olds.
Source: Commissioned by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Pottery plaque, bas-relief of Will Rogers.
Source: Mrs. Ora J. Trollinger, Temple, Oklahoma.

Cornsheller, ca 1879; shaving cup, belonged to donor's grandfather.
Source: Mr. Stanley Lewis, Marlow, Oklahoma.

Photograph of Ada hanging, 1912.
Source: Mrs. L. J. Tripp, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Table fork brought to this country from England in 1824 by donor's grandmother; nutmeg grater.
Source: Mrs. Jodie McGregor, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Eighteen piece barbed wire exhibit.
Source: Willis Worley, Jr., Waurika, Oklahoma.

Buggy bolt.
Source: Mrs. Robert D. Elkins, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Medical equipment, books, silk umbrella, used by Dr. C. F. House ca 1900.
Source: Kenneth Tucker, Burkburnett, Texas.

Cottage Bible And Family Expositor in two volumes, Vol. I, Genesis thru Solomon's Song, Vol. II, Isaiah thru Revelations.
Source: Bruce Inman, Abilene, Texas.

Teapot; books, belonged to donor's father.
Source: Mrs. Faye Pepin Hall, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Eyeglasses; metate and mano.
Source: George A. Brown, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Dental certificates and books which belonged to donors' father, Dr. R. H. Pendleton.
Source: Mrs. Xyla Pendleton Woodall and Mrs. Ruth Pendleton Riggs, Norman, Oklahoma.

Three photographs
Source: C. D. Shaw, San Francisco, California.

Collection baskets, ca 1903.
Source: Presbyterian Christian Church, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Family items.
Source: Mrs. Roy Pool, Ardmore, Oklahoma.

Ladies' cape, belonged to donor's grandmother.
Source: Mrs. Edith Waswo, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Three phonograph records.
Source: Mrs. Earl C. Heilman, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Brick from sidewalk in front of Guthrie's old City Hall; tatted runner.
Source: Mrs. Bill McCurdy, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Oil painting, "Last Day On The Trail," by donor.
Source: Mrs. Loweta Chesser, Altus, Oklahoma.

Book, *A Prairie Woman Sings.*
Source: Mrs. Thelma Largent, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Wedding dress and shoes worn by donor in 1945.
Source: Mrs. Harold McCallister, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Photograph, Sallie Oxbury Colbert Alberson, aunt of Cyrus Harris.
Source: Mrs. Julia B. Smith, Norman, Oklahoma.

Wedding dress, ca 1890, belonged to donor's grandmother.
Source: Mrs. Betty Jean Wadkins, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Oil painting of Cyrus Harris, first Governor of the Chickasaws, by donor.
Source: Mrs. Juanita Keel Tate, Ardmore, Oklahoma.

Examining table used in Altus and Moore, Oklahoma, ca 1930s.
Source: Fred W. Becker, M.D., Moore, Oklahoma.

Animal tooth.
Source: C. B. Herd, Hasting, Oklahoma.

Typewriter, early twentieth century.
Source: R. W. Martin, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Stained glass window panel which depicts Chisholm Trail from Mexican border to Abilene, Kansas.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. I. D. Malone, Carnegie, Oklahoma. In memory of the A. L. Davis and P. B. Turner families.

Animal bone.
Source: Henry A. Ramsey, Jr., Terral, Oklahoma.

Three stuffed fowl.
Source: Spec Harrison, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Projectile point.
Source: Ernest Hutchings, Addington, Oklahoma.

Oil painting of the Waurika Depot; oil painting of Jesse Chisholm, by donor.
Source: Mrs. Ruth Wigley, Pryor, Oklahoma.

Photograph of Joe Ravia.
Source: John Moore, Ravia, Oklahoma.

One Edison phonograph and seventy-three records.
Source: Mrs. Gailys Stewart, Guthrie, Oklahoma and Mrs. Reba Burright Stanfield, Bowie, Texas.

Steamer trunk.
Source: Mrs. Joyce J. Chase, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Harvesting knife, ca 1900.
Source: William R. Lokey, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Water well pulley.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. Jimmie Way, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Leather shoes, ca 1918.
Source: Mrs. Daisy Lawler, Comanche, Oklahoma.

Saddle, ca 1905.
Source: Homer Antrim, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Wood yardstick, ca 1913.
Source: Mrs. Vinia Armstrong, Ringling, Oklahoma.

Felt library table runner; floor lamp and shade.
Source: H. Tom Kight, Jr. and Mildred H. Kight, Claremore, Oklahoma.

Silk wedding dress, 1890.
Source: Mrs. H. L. Ruyle, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Doll, ca 1870.
Source: Mrs. Grace Watkins, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

One pair portiere drapes and one pair valances, pre-1903.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Moritz, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Family items.
Source: Mrs. Virginia Hagan Hinton, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Rope supported bed.
Source: Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Murray and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Able, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Sweet potato planter.
Source: John T. Morris, Comanche, Oklahoma.

Certificate of election, 1903; school register, 1902, for Emet, Indian Territory School.
Source: Jack Walker, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Photograph; wedding dress, veil, and beads worn by donors' mother, 1921.
Source: Mrs. Vergil N. Brown, Jr. and Mrs. Kaye Jones, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

INDIAN ARCHIVES:

Arbeka, Childhood Recollections by Mrs. Pearl Davis Dovell.
Donor: Author, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Summary of the Census of the Cherokee Nation in the Year of 1890.
Donor: Marcia Odell, Ithaca, New York.

"Historical Letter Describes Race," *Paris Beacon News*, March 17, 1975.
Donor: William A. Givens, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Cherokee Baptist Association: Annual Meeting, 1928.
Donor: Mrs. Clista Anderson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Cherokee Genealogical Sources Pamphlet by Jack Baker.
Donor: Author, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Descendants of Nancy Ward, Beloved Woman of the Cherokees by David Keith Hampton.
Donor: Author, Norman, Oklahoma.

The Index and Final Rolls of the Creek and Seminole Tribes.
Donor: William Haney, Seminole, Oklahoma.

Papers of Captain Maxwell Phillips, Company G, 3rd Regiment, Indian Home Guards.
Donor: Kenneth N. Phillips, Portland, Oregon.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

April 25, 1975 to July 24, 1975

Ballard, Omega	Bethany
Bennett, Harvey	Kansas City, Missouri
Bilger, Edeltraut L.	Stillwater
Briggs, Mrs. Bernice	Blackwell
Clarke, W. A.	Oklahoma City
Coombes, Mrs. Katherine	Sand Springs
Cooper, D. L.	Bethany
Coulter, Dan	Ardmore
Cox, Mrs. Dorris P.	Tulsa
Davis, Mrs. R. L.	Muskogee
Dry, Glatha V.	Oklahoma City
Duggar, Charles Bailey	Lawton
Duggar, William E.	Lawton
Edelin, Mrs. Bonnie B.	Oklahoma City
Ellis, Mrs. James L.	Phoenix, Arizona
Erbar, Tom	El Reno
Ewer, Carol P.	Huntington Station, New York
Fluke, Mrs. George F.	Oklahoma City
Foreman, Harry G.	Norman
Friedemann, Theodore E.	Boulder, Colorado
Gilstrap, Lucille	Norman
Hampton, Vivian Bethell	Jay
Hargis, Mrs. Fred	Tahlequah
Harris, Richard L.	Tulsa
Hathcoat, T. L.	Emory, Texas
Hentry, Douglas J.	Oklahoma City
Hollingsworth, Mrs. F. W.	El Reno
Horowitz, Florence B.	Tulsa
Jordan, Karma Y	Odessa, Texas
Kelley, H. S.	Tulsa
Kennedy, James A.	Tulsa
Lalli, Steve F.	Bristow
Lazalier, Dr. James	Norman
Lewis, Larry	Del City
Lillie, Foress B.	Guthrie
Macklanburg, Mrs. Robert A., Jr.	Oklahoma City
Maness, Don	Bartlesville
May, H. Michael	Bartlesville
May, Dr. Lester M.	San Antonio, Texas
McCurtain, Ward C.	Beaumont, Texas
McGalliard, William A. "Mac"	Ardmore
McGowan, Mrs. K. J.	Shelby, Missouri
McGregor, Mrs. F. H.	Oklahoma City
Moore, Rex R., Sr.	Oklahoma City
Noirsain, Serge	Brussels, Belgium

Nuckolls, D.	Miami
Osius, Mrs. Larry C.	Springfield, Virginia
Overton, Mrs. James H.	St. Joseph, Missouri
Pennington, Dr. William D.	Tulsa
Poteete, Troy Wayne	Webbers Falls
Proctor, Mrs. Nancy	Pryor
Qualls, D. D.	Midwest City
Qualls, Dewey L.	Kansas City, Kansas
Quinn, The Most Reverend John R.	Oklahoma City
Rockwell, Stella Campbell	Enid
Sadler, Mrs. Henry	Park Hill
Sala, Kenneth E.	Oklahoma City
Saulsberry, Charles W.	Oklahoma City
Saunders, Stella	Oklahoma City
Saville, Jeff	Lawton
Schooling, Forest G.	Oklahoma City
Schooling, R. A.	Big Spring, Texas
Scott, Michael W.	Fayetteville, Arkansas
Sears, C. E.	Mendocino, California
See, Ernest G.	Tonkawa
Simpson, Alice M.	Oklahoma City
Skirvin, O. W.	Oklahoma City
Smith, Roderick Lowell	Silver Spring, Maryland
Smithson, John E.	Webbers Falls
Steinsiek, Michael H.	Arvada, Colorado
Stewart, Rodney E.	Edmond
Stokes, Dennis L.	Guthrie
Stone, Keith	Edmond
Teeter, Leon	Yukon
Thrash, Wilma M.	Tulsa
Wakefield, David Edward	Oklahoma City
Walters, Dale E.	Oklahoma City
Wheeler, D. B.	Blanchard
Wise, Lu Celia	Tulsa
Wood, Mrs. John A.	Jones
Worthington, Mrs. Judy	Vancouver, Washington
Zaninelli, Philip D.	Midwest City

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

April 25, 1975 to July 24, 1975

Bowers, Zella Zane	Colorado Springs, Colorado
Watson, Mrs. O. Alton	Oklahoma City

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

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